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To the Editor of THE BRITISH WEEKLY.

SIR,—There is no literary work of the eighteenth century more interesting to the Christian public than Wesley's Journals, and its value will probably increase as the centuries roll on. As a history of the evangelical revival of that century it has no competitor; and the insight which it gives of the religious life of the nation during the same period can be found nowhere else.

All the more important it is that the work should be preserved in its integrity, as far as human skill and human faithfulness can preserve it.

In former editions, so far as the Irish portions are concerned, many mistakes occur in the spelling of the names of places—the fault of the transcribers—so that it is difficult to know where we are at times. Thus we have Dingbridge, Mayra, Brough, etc., and in one place Mr. Wesley is represented as preaching repeatedly in a mill pond. "Mill Deep" is the expression, and our readers naturally interpret it as the mill pond—a rather curious place for a pulpit.

The new edition is a vast improvement on all that have gone before it; but it is all the more to be regretted that it is marred by repeating some of the old mistakes, and, what is worse, other errors are introduced for which there can be no excuse.

The fourth volume is now to hand, and on page 173, under date July 7, 1756, we read: "I preached at Aughrim morning and evening, and then rode on to Castlebar." The distance between these two places Mr. Wesley gives in another part of the Journal as thirty-seven Irish, or ninety English, miles! Rather far, we should say, for an evening ride after an evening service. But the entry goes on to say that on the following morning "a coach full of us, with several horsemen and others on foot, went to Ahascragh," a place not far from Aughrim, whence he had set out the evening before! This makes the evening's ride to Castlebar impossible, and if proper care had been taken the correct name of Wesley's destination on the evening alluded to would have been found, as it is mentioned elsewhere in the Journal.

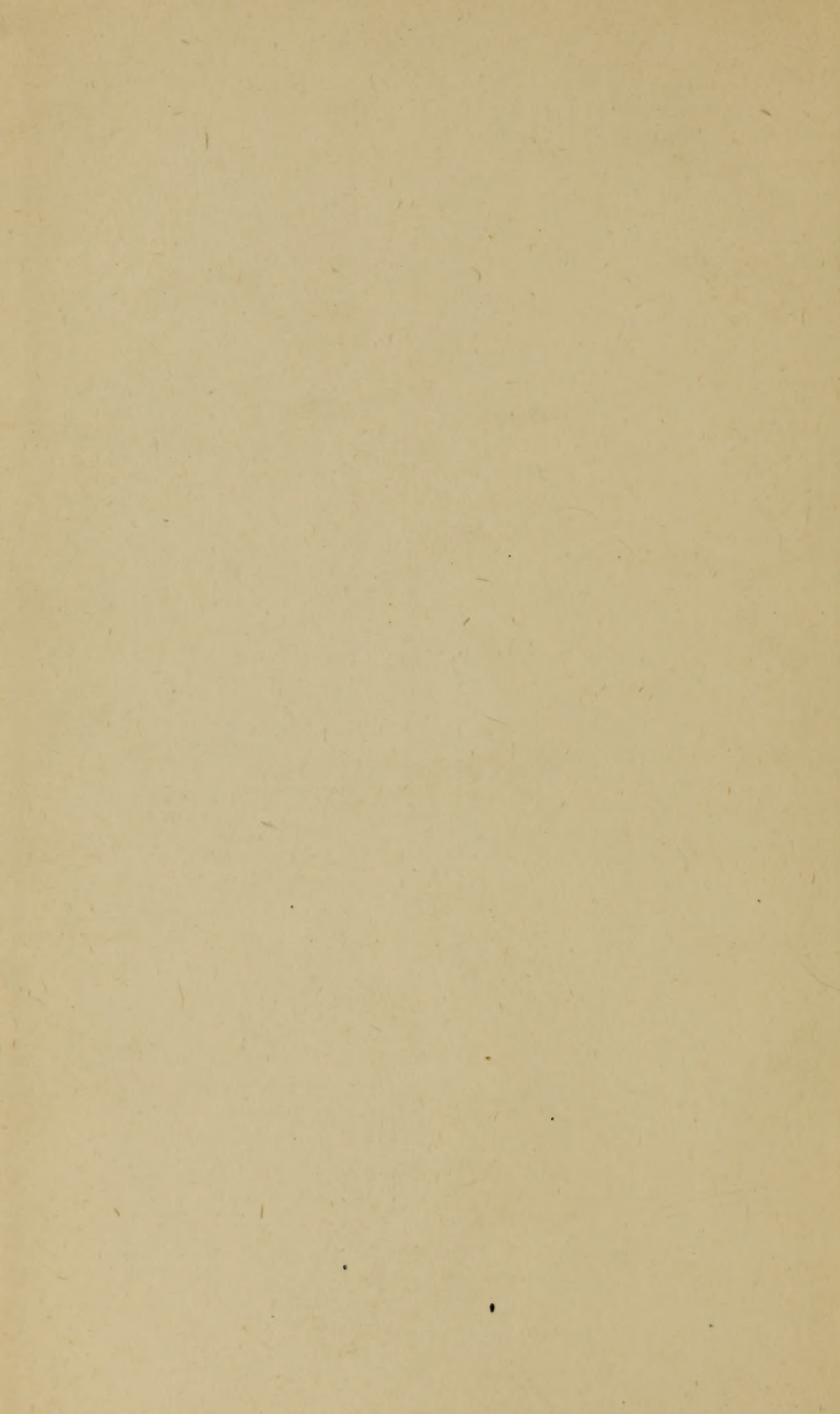
In the same volume we have the well-known name of a place where Wesley frequently preached, "Cleg-hill," near Longford, mutilated into "Cleggil," a word not more easily written, with an uncouth pronunciation, and its descriptive character simply effaced. Wesley spelt the word properly; it is given correctly in the early editions of the Journal, and there is no valid reason for the change.

But there is a more serious alteration to be mentioned. On page 501 we have the record of Wesley's journey from Enniskillen to Sligo: "After riding round and round we came in the evening to a lone house called Carrickbeg." In the early editions of the Journal this place is called "Carrick-a-biggan," and by which name the place is still recognised. Mr. Wesley never invented such a strange-looking name; he must have got it from the people who lived there, and there is no warrant or excuse for displacing the old name for another which has not only a different spelling, but a very different meaning. In a footnote the editor informs us that Carrickbeg is the name of the old "Blacklion Inn," but no one in the locality ever heard such a name given to the inn. Carrickbeg is the name of a townland remote from Blacklion, and in a different county, and by no reasonable possibility could Mr. Wesley on this journey have made his way to the townland of Carrickbeg.

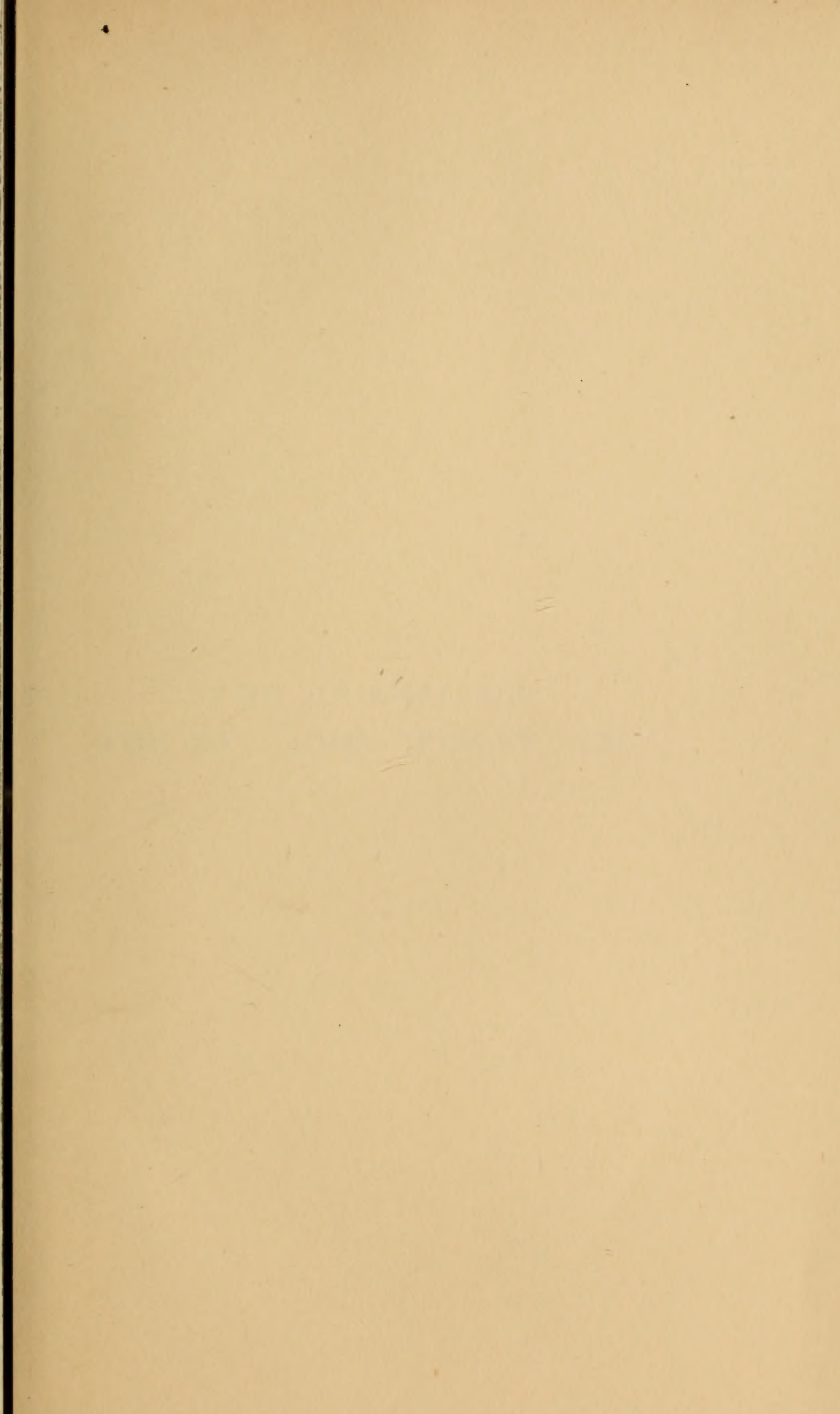
JAS. BRADSHAW.

REVIEW BY PROFESSOR LOOFS.

To English readers the most interesting feature of the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* for November 23 is the article by Prof. Loofs, of Halle, on Wesley's Journal in the Standard Edition prepared by the Rev. Nehemiah Curnock. Dr. Loofs says that this Standard Edition deserves the attention of all who are interested in modern Church history and in the records of the various denominations. The learned professor, who is himself fully acquainted with the extensive Wesley literature, gives a clear historical account of the Diaries. After touching on the difficulties of Mr. Curnock's task, he says: "We must admire the energy, perseverance, and patience of the editor." Dr. Loofs can appreciate the astonishing skill and industry shown by Mr. Curnock in his monumental work. He criticises some points of detail, complaining especially that the sections in the Diaries which are parallel to the Journal have not been printed in full, and for the most part not literally. He admits that worthless matter might have crept in, but replies that even the most skilled expert cannot be certain that what looks like worthless matter to-day may not gain very much in value as new original material is discovered and as new questions arise. Dr. Loofs thinks that the Diaries of the time preceding the American journey ought to have been printed. The review, however, taken as a whole, is very favourable to the book, and will help to introduce it in German circles. The critic recognises that the work was not intended for specialists, but for the general body of readers in the great Methodist Church. The review closes as follows: "If, as we may hope, the appearance of this new edition of Wesley's Journal should bring to light further manuscript material, the Methodist Church will be able, both intellectually and financially, to give this great and, in its way, excellent edition of Wesley's Journal a yet greater and more excellent successor."












THE JOURNAL OF  
THE REV. JOHN WESLEY, A.M.







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*J. Hilliard pinx.*

*J. Fisher fecit.*

John Wesley M. A.

Fellow of Lincoln Colledge Oxford

*Printed for & sold by R. Dorton at the White Horse without Newgate London 1748.*



# THE JOURNAL

OF THE REV.

## JOHN WESLEY, A.M.

SOMETIME FELLOW OF LINCOLN COLLEGE, OXFORD

ENLARGED FROM ORIGINAL MSS., WITH NOTES  
FROM UNPUBLISHED DIARIES, ANNOTA-  
TIONS, MAPS, AND ILLUSTRATIONS

EDITED BY

NEHEMIAH CURNOCK

ASSISTED BY EXPERTS

STANDARD EDITION

VOL. I

NEW YORK: EATON & MAINS  
CINCINNATI: JENNINGS & GRAHAM







## PREFACE

WESLEY'S JOURNAL was originally published in a series of 'Extracts,' each filling a small duodecimo volume of a hundred pages or more. The first was printed in Bristol by 'S. and F. Farley, and sold at the New School-house in the Horsefair.' It is not dated; but as the last entry was made on Wednesday, February 1, 1738, and the Second Extract is dated 1740, it is safe to infer that in or about 1739 the Journal was issued to the public. In some version or other it had, however, long been known to the Holy Club and to members of the Wesley family; for the Journal originally, as Wesley himself intimates in the Preface, was written for private use, and it was not the 'design or desire' of the writer 'to trouble the world with any' of what he modestly calls his 'little affairs.' At one time there must have been in existence many copies and several versions of the Georgia Journal, possibly also of the Second Extract. The Diary, to which Wesley refers in the first paragraph of his Preface, shows conclusively that he transcribed his Journal and 'Accounts'; whilst allusions in letters and other circumstances prove that these transcriptions were intended to serve the purpose of private letters to his mother and brother and sisters, and to such friends as James Hutton, John Clayton, and Richard Morgan. The versions, differing from the printed Extract and from one another, were prepared each for a special purpose. One, for instance, seems to have been the first rough draft of a business-like document intended for presentation to the Georgia Trustees in London. Precisely such a document was presented in the spring of 1738, but has not yet been discovered in the archives of the Colonial Office. Another 'version,' limited to the voyage of the *Simmonds*, was drafted for the special information of

Samuel Wesley, at that time head master of Blundell's School in Tiverton. It is now in the possession of an old Devonshire family. A third copy, or version, was published in 1741, and was entitled

An Extract from the Rev. Mr. John Wesley's Journal with regard to the Affidavit made by Captain Robert Williams (John vii. 51). London: printed in the year 1741. 12mo, pp. 12.

The Rev. Richard Green's notes on this scarce publication are of special interest:

The affidavit is mentioned in the Preface to the Journal (*Works*, vol. i. p. 3). See also Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. i. pp. 429-30.

This very rare tract consists of such portions of Wesley's Journal printed in 1739 as relate to the accusation and trial of Wesley for refusing the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to a communicant in Savannah. The first date given (p. 2) is June 25, 1736: it should be 1737. Not a little scurrilous writing appeared in reference to this event. Whitefield, in *The Weekly History*, very stoutly defends his friend, after having made careful inquiries into the circumstances on the spot.

A fourth sectional version was transcribed by Wesley himself in Oxford for the special benefit, it may be reasonably conjectured, of Mrs. Susanna Wesley and her son Samuel.

These and other versions have been freely used in the production of a new text, which represents as fully as circumstances permit all that Wesley wrote in journalistic form respecting his voyage to and life in Georgia. Readers who so wish may distinguish at a glance between the old and the new material, the latter being printed within square brackets. The utmost care has been taken to preserve unaltered Wesley's own phraseology, even to the grammatical peculiarities which he shared with other writers of the day. The whole of the printed Journal will be found intact, except that here and there—very occasionally—a more vigorous or picturesque phrase, borrowed from another copy in Wesley's handwriting, has been substituted for the printed version of the same sentence. It will be found that no new textual matter has been printed in the Second Extract, a portion only of which appears in the present volume. No



manuscript copy of No. II has hitherto been discovered. This is the more remarkable, because in all probability Wesley sent copies of his German Journal home for the information of friends, and it is in the highest degree probable that he communicated a journal-account of his conversion to his mother, to his brother Samuel, and to Mr. Clayton. These copies, however, if they ever existed, have been either destroyed or buried in forgotten family archives.

For reasons which may be gathered from the following statement of facts we have ventured to entitle this 'The Standard Edition of Wesley's Journal.'

The late Rev. Richard Green devoted a lifetime to the study of the Journal and to the collection of Wesley publications. His library, represented by his *Wesley Bibliography*, is the most complete of its kind in the world. His knowledge of the Journal text and of all the literature necessary for its exposition was unrivalled. It was exhaustive and singularly accurate. Before his death Mr. Green strongly urged that in the preparation of a Standard Edition the first edition should be practically discarded. It was full of inaccuracies, as indeed were all the editions published during Wesley's lifetime. The successive publications were not, in the strict sense of the term, new editions at all, but reprints, even to the reproduction of errata. In 1771 Wesley began the republication of all his prose writings, with certain specified exceptions. The *Works* were issued in weekly numbers of seventy-two pages each, price sixpence; also in thirty-two volumes in this and the three following years. The Journal Extracts, which begin in volume xxvi, are reprints of the first edition. (Green's *Bibliography*, p. 179.)

In 1808 the Conference directed its Editor, the Rev. Joseph Benson, to prepare a new edition of Wesley's *Works*. This he did in seventeen octavo volumes. Benson's edition of the Journal is prejudiced from its first page by an unexplained and unwarranted curtailment of the Preface and by the entire omission of Wesley's Introduction. It gains, however, by the insertion,

as footnotes, of two letters, one to Mrs. Wesley and the other to Charles, by explanatory notes on Machiavel and Dr. Bray, and by a brief extract from Whitehead's *Life of Wesley*. But no serious attempt seems to have been made by Benson to produce a strictly accurate text. He was too much occupied with Presidential duties to give the minute and critical attention which so vast an undertaking as the republication of John Wesley's prose writings demanded. The printer who handled the seventeen volumes overlooked Wesley's tables of errata, an injury particularly disastrous to the Journal.

In 1828 the Rev. Thomas Jackson was entrusted with the task of editing yet another edition of Wesley's *Works*. This he did in fourteen octavo volumes. Having access to Wesley's manuscript corrections and to many other sources of information, he devoted himself to the production of a pure text. It was, perhaps, inevitable that he should fall short of his own lofty ideal. When Mr. Green made a careful examination of Jackson's so-called 'Third Edition,' he discovered in the Journal no less than two hundred mistakes in dates alone; nor does the Fifth, which forms the basis of the present edition, succeed in entirely eliminating such errors. During recent years, however, thanks largely to the work of the Wesley Historical Society and to the zeal of collectors and students, the text of the Journal has been purged from error, and materials of great value have been accumulated for its elucidation.

Foremost in importance, so far as the early Journal Extracts are concerned, are the Diaries, which for various reasons have hitherto been inaccessible. These are the sources whence Wesley constructed his Journal. An account of them will be found in the following pages. They often assist us to fill wide gaps in the Journal; they supply names of persons and places, together with much additional information; above all, they enable students to picture more vividly the daily life of the man who even before his conversion was an enthusiastic evangelist. Mr. George Stampe has entrusted the most priceless treasure in his large collection to the editor of this edition, so



that he might patiently decipher the records of Wesley's daily life at Oxford, Wroot, and Stanton from 1725 to 1727. Mr. Russell J. Colman gave free access to the collection of Diaries and other Wesley MSS. which his father, the late J. J. Colman, of Norwich, acquired from Mr. Gandy, who was executor to Henry Moore. During many months the editor photographed these Diaries and letters. How large is the collection, and how great the importance attached by the Conference Office to an accurate copy, may be inferred from the fact that the photographic copying involved the use of more than three thousand dry plates. One of the Georgia Diaries was missing from the collection. It had been given by Henry Moore to a friend. Fortunately we were able to trace the missing volume to the possession of Bishop Hendrix, of Kansas, U.S.A., who very generously lent it for the service of this edition. Mr. Andrews, of Exeter, with equal generosity lent the MS. of the First Extract—Benjamin Ingham's copy of Wesley's *Voyage Journal*—the copy that was undoubtedly sent to Samuel Wesley.

Many have cried out, with pardonable impatience, for the publication of a volume which has long been promised. But a work of this character could not have been produced hurriedly or in a much briefer space of time. An unused shorthand had to be learned, a cipher without a key deciphered. To edit Wesley's *Journal* under the jealous eye of a Conference Committee might seem to be an impossible undertaking; and it would indeed have proved itself impracticable except for the graciousness of individuals. To the Rev. Charles H. Kelly the editor owes a deep debt of gratitude. He made the photography of the Colman Collection possible, and boldly took the responsibility of purchasing, on behalf of the Conference, the valuable Weise MSS. The Rev. W. L. Watkinson, who began the task of gathering materials for this edition, handed over to the editor all his accumulations. Since the work was commenced some of the most capable expert advisers have passed to their reward—Thomas M'Cullagh, Richard Green,

Richard Thursfield Smith, and Dr. James Harrison Rigg. Of surviving friends grateful mention must be made of the Rev. Henry J. Foster, the editor of the Wesley Historical Society's *Proceedings*; the Rev. Richard Butterworth; the Rev. John Telford, B.A., who has read all the proofs; and the Rev. Thomas E. Brigden, who has supplied eighteenth-century prints.

To the librarian of the Colonial Office we are indebted for assistance in discovering, and for permission to photograph, three very early unpublished maps of Georgia; and to the Secretary and officials of the Record Office for facilities to study the Minutes and Journals of the Georgia Trustees and a remarkable collection of letters from Georgia from 1735 to 1738.

It is impossible to name all who by advice and encouragement have assisted in the work. This volume, however interesting in itself, is but the forerunner of other and far more important volumes. May it be for the glory of God in the kindling of new zeal, in the creation of a surer trust in the good Providence that shapes human means to divine ends, and in the diffusion of that grace which brings salvation to churches and nations!

NEHEMIAH CURNOCK.

RAYLEIGH,  
*October 1909.*

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## INTRODUCTORY

JOHN WESLEY'S EARLY LIFE IN THE  
LIGHT OF UNPUBLISHED DIARIES.  
THE FIRST OXFORD DIARY.  
WESLEY'S CIPHER.



## JOHN WESLEY'S EARLY LIFE IN THE LIGHT OF UNPUBLISHED DIARIES

THE Diaries available for annotating a new edition of Wesley's Journal have been preserved in a series of small neatly written volumes.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately the series is far from complete. We have the beginning and the end; but at several points volumes are missing. Between the years 1741 and 1790 we lament a gap which possibly may never be filled. To many readers the Diaries, though not wholly unintelligible, would, if published, prove disappointing. Intended for private use, their information concerning Wesley and his friends and their times is fragmentary. Enough is told to serve the purpose the diarist had in view, but not enough to appease the curiosity of readers a hundred and sixty years later. The writing, moreover, is severely abbreviated. A cipher is used to which no key is provided, or only one more perplexing than the writing itself. In the later

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<sup>1</sup> The following table gives the broad facts with reference to Wesley's private Diaries:

Oxford I.	April 5, 1725 to Feb. 19, 1727, Mr. G. Stampe, Great Grimsby.
Lost vols.	Feb. 20, 1727 to April 29, 1729.
Oxford II.	April 30, 1729 to June 17, 1732, Colman Collection.
Oxford III.	June 18, 1732 to Sept. 30, 1733,     "     "
Oxford IV.	Oct. 1, 1733 to April 22, 1734,     "     "
Lost vols.	April 23, 1734 to Sept. 6, 1734.
	Sept. 7, 1734 to Feb. 8, 1735 (once in Colman Collection).
	Feb. 9, 1735 to Oct. 16, 1735.
Georgia I.	Oct. 17, 1735 to April 30, 1736, in the Colman Collection.
Georgia II.	May 1, 1736 to Feb. 11, 1737, Bishop Hendrix.
Georgia III.	Feb. 12, 1737 to Aug. 31, 1737, Colman Collection.
Lost vol.	Sept. 1, 1737 to March 31, 1738.
London and Bristol,	fragments from April 1, 1738, Colman Collection.
Lost vol.	April 1739 to Oct. 14, 1739.
London, &c.	Oct. 15, 1739 to Aug. 8, 1741, Colman Collection.
Lost vols.	Aug. 9, 1741 to Feb. 24, 1790.
Last Diary.	Feb. 25, 1790 to Feb. 24, 1791, in Headingley College Library.
The Oxford Monthly Review at one point extends beyond the Diary, Oxford IV,	



volumes a system of shorthand, long disused, is employed, and is more or less interwoven with the partially discarded cipher. For those, however, who patiently interpret them, the Diaries have messages of great importance. They belong to periods in Wesley's career during which he himself and his life-work were in course of development, and they reveal the Providence which prepared, prevented, and led him through ways unknown. From this point of view even the most monotonous pages assume a new meaning and value.

This first volume of the Standard Edition includes the Georgia episode, from the embarkation at Gravesend in the autumn of 1735 to early in 1738, a period of two years and three months. This portion of the Journal, as we hitherto have possessed it, is an extract from a larger journal, itself constructed from memory,<sup>1</sup> aided by brief notes entered day by day, and often hour by hour, in Diaries some of which have recently come to light again.<sup>2</sup> Though these Georgia Diaries were known to be in existence, the material they contained was hidden, and for half a century or more the little volumes themselves were not visible save to the families which possessed and securely guarded them.

We now know that material not less valuable exists for the elucidation of Wesley's life at Oxford prior to the Georgia period. As early as the spring of 1725, some months before his ordination, Wesley began to keep a diary. These Diaries are accessible, but their interpretation is far from easy. Wesley was an economist of space and words. Signs and abbreviations, plain to him and sufficient for his purpose, are enigmas to us. Had he adopted one simple system, either of shorthand or of abbreviated longhand, the task of deciphering would have been comparatively easy. But before learning Byrom's<sup>3</sup> system, he

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<sup>1</sup> Certain of the more graphic descriptions were written immediately after, and in part during, the events pictured.

<sup>2</sup> As the result of recent discoveries, the text of the Georgia Journal now more nearly approximates to Wesley's original draft.

<sup>3</sup> The Oxford Diaries show that he taught Weston's shorthand, but did not

use it himself. Charles Wesley was an expert writer of Byrom's shorthand. In Georgia he insisted on his brother's adoption of the system as a protection against unscrupulous tamperers with their correspondence. A portion of the third volume of the Georgia Diary is in Byrom's shorthand, and all the later Diaries.

wove into his own scheme of abbreviation a shorthand unknown to modern experts. The greatest difficulty of all, however, arises from the cryptic writing which Wesley curiously interwove with his other forms of abbreviation. Here again, not content with a single and simple cipher, he introduces as the months go by new elements, making it more and more complex.<sup>1</sup> Why he thus disguised his pen will appear later.

The first Oxford Diary<sup>2</sup> was acquired a few years ago by Mr. George Stampe, of Great Grimsby. It differs from other manuscript books of the series in appearance, being much older, and also in the general character of its contents. It is not only a diary, but contains time-tables of study, lists of pupils and of subscribers to his father's *Dissertations on Job*, accounts, lists of books read or to be read, texts on which sermons are to be written, and miscellaneous notes and extracts. As a diary it is of priceless interest, if only because it opens the series. But, more important still, it reveals the man himself at the outset of his quest after saving faith and the new creation. The Diary becomes a drama, the scenes of which are laid in Oxford, Wroot, and Epworth, in Gloucestershire and Worcestershire, and again in Oxford. Many persons are introduced whose names have hitherto been unknown to us. Others whom we have slightly known appear in a new and striking light. The record, extending from April 5, 1725, to February 19, 1727, forms a preliminary study enabling us more perfectly to understand the genesis and work of the Holy Club, the causes leading to the Georgia expedition and its apparent failure, and, finally, the early evolution of that remarkable condition of spiritual helplessness which proved to be a discipline preparatory to an evangelical conversion. The publication of this Diary as it stands would be of little if any interest except to a small number of expert students. It has been thought, therefore, that an analysis of its contents, with translated extracts and a few passages in facsimile, would be sufficient as an introduction to the well-known letter<sup>3</sup> to Mr. Morgan, senior, in which Wesley describes the founding of the Holy Club.

<sup>1</sup> For the Wesley cipher-writing and its interpretation, see pp. 71-7.

and translations, is given on pp. 36-70.

<sup>3</sup> *Works*, vol. i. pp. 5-14.

<sup>2</sup> An analysis, with facsimile examples

Returning from Epworth in 1729 to fulfil those college duties which Lincoln expected from its younger Fellows,<sup>1</sup> he found that Mr. Robert Kirkham, of Merton College, whom he had hitherto known only as a youthful member of the Stanton family,<sup>2</sup> and his brother Charles and William Morgan, both of Christ Church, had formed a small society for the study of the classics and the New Testament and for the cultivation of religion. Wesley at once joined this society. Under his influence it became, in study and the observance of church rites, more and more devotional, spiritual, and methodical. Nicknames, intended to load it with reproach, were rained upon it. The fittest of these has survived, and 'Methodist' has won imperishable fame.

The popular impression is that Wesley himself founded and organized the society of Oxford Methodists.<sup>3</sup> Fertile in resource, it is assumed that he was a great organizer. It is more in accordance with facts to say that, however great he may have been in organization, he was not an originator. He utilized the experience of the past, borrowed freely from his contemporaries, knew how to follow a friend's initiative, and had a rare gift of assimilation. He was quick to see the usefulness of new ideas, and did not despise them because they came from other Churches or from friends and allies in his own circle. The class-meeting, lay preaching, and the love-feast are illustrations in point. Wesley, however, did not himself conceive the idea of the Holy Club. He swiftly recognized the value of a simple institution into the founding of which men some years younger than himself had been led.

The influence of the Holy Club on the religious and irreligious life of the University increased, not rapidly, though with marked effect, deepening the one and exasperating the other. But its most important result was seen in the development of

<sup>1</sup> Wesley was induced by the rector of his college to resign the curacy which he held under his father, and return to Oxford, that he might undertake the education of some young gentlemen in whose welfare Dr. Morley was deeply interested. He arrived in November 1729. (*Jackson's Life of Charles Wesley*, vol. i. p. 21.)

<sup>2</sup> See p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> 'An Oxford Methodist' was the designation used by Wesley in later life. 'Our Company' is the title used in the *Oxford Diaries, 1729-1733*. 'Holy Club,' like 'Methodist,' 'Bible Moths,' &c., was a nickname given in scorn.



John Wesley himself. His Diary, notwithstanding the extreme brevity of its entries, reveals a man who, from his birth a chosen vessel, is passing through psychological changes that are prophecies of the future. To a considerable extent he has laid aside weights and besetments which unfitted him to run the race set before him, and is unconsciously being prepared for a task the nature of which is as yet hidden. The story he tells to Mr. Morgan, the father of William, reflects a light into which he himself is slowly—very slowly—passing. It is the light of a coming day, and it makes apparent the kind of spiritual life that became his ideal, eventually fulfilling the original purpose of the Holy Club. Whatever might become of the 'body' of Oxford Methodism, its soul would pass to an appointed goal. The corn of wheat falls into the ground and dies; but in due time it comes again in the triumph of a new and richer life.

If it is asked why the new society did not drift into mysticism, as so many of its predecessors had done, or degenerate into a mere social club with some charitable or other beneficiary object as its excuse or occasion, the answer may be found in the account given by Wesley to the father of his young friend. That story he had already told with all humility to his parents and to the chaplain of the bishop of his diocese. They rejoiced in the character stamped upon this new outbreak of university devotionism. Most of all were they thankful for that which rapidly became its salient feature. Attendance at Holy Communion, strict observance of church order, the devout study of Holy Scripture, hours stolen from sleep and worldly amusements<sup>1</sup> and devoted to religious exercises—these things, though not without value, were in themselves of little moment compared with that practical religion which every day cared for the poor, the sinful, and the dying. Oxford Methodism was intensely practical. It reflected the life of Him who, in the synagogue of His own boyhood, stood up and read those words which, since our Lord endorsed them, have always been the sign and charter of true religion: '*The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me, because He*

<sup>1</sup> Wesley renounced all his recreations, and during the Georgia period all classical studies, plays, and fiction. The

Diaries show how great was the renunciation. Cf. letter to Samuel Wesley (see Appendix I. vol. vi.).

*hath anointed Me to preach the gospel to the poor ; He hath sent Me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised.'*

William Morgan began the religious work that resulted in the Christian philanthropy of Methodism. From Wesley and his friends the future was hidden. But those of a later time, to whom the shrouded past becomes an open vision, can see the mind of Christ hovering over the little company and the hand of God directing all their enterprises. The first Oxford Diary, as we shall presently more fully learn, has this among other peculiarities, that it contains no reference whatever to the philanthropies which became the most striking feature in the daily life of the first Oxford Methodists. In the whole history of Methodism it would be difficult to find a more remarkable contrast than that which may now be drawn between the Rules and Resolutions of Holy Living so prominent in Wesley's Cipher Diary and the 'Questions' in Wesley's letter to Mr. Morgan<sup>1</sup> which so admirably describes the life of the Holy Club, and, we may add, of Methodism in its noblest periods.

How came it to pass that Joseph Benson, in his edition of Wesley's Journal, omitted the letter to Mr. Morgan? Did he fail to see its essential value as an introduction to the Georgia episode? Thomas Jackson restored it, and it is never likely that a single line of a document so prophetic will again be omitted.

Wesley believed that the purpose of the Holy Club, fulfilled to some extent in Oxford, might be carried out with even greater effect among the Indian tribes of the Far West. The root of his mistake may be discovered in the text printed on the title-page of the first Extract of his Journal: '*What shall we say then? That . . . Israel, which followed after the law of righteousness, hath not attained to the law of righteousness. Wherefore? Because they sought it not by faith, but as it were by the works of the law.'*

The fact remains that in Wesley's judgement—a judgement

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<sup>1</sup> Wesley's Introduction to the Georgia Extract (see pp. 87-102).



OXFORD FROM THE HENLEY ROAD.





1. LINCOLN COLLEGE, OXFORD, IN WESLEY'S TIME.

2. CHRIST CHURCH COLLEGE, OXFORD.

*Photographs by H. W. Tawnt & Co., Oxford.*

formed, be it remembered, after his evangelical conversion—the story of the Holy Club was the true interpretation of the moral and religious significance of Georgia. The Mission to Oxford University, like the Mission to Georgia, was comparatively a failure; and for the same reason—because ‘they sought righteousness not by faith, but as it were by the works of the law.’ Yet both episodes served a purpose in the training of Wesley that was not only providential but pre-eminently spiritual.

The voyage to America, the work in Savannah and Frederica, the collapse of cherished hopes, were part of the discipline that brought Wesley to a just understanding of his own limitations. The Holy Club, immediately preceding his Georgia experience, helped him in his progress towards the light, but it fell short of perfect enlightenment. It left him without the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus. Of this deeper and richer experience he had as yet no knowledge. It required the discipline of Georgia to bring him to himself. He could not hope to be a teacher sent from God until he had himself come to God through the only living way, a way that as yet was hidden from his eyes. The more closely the whole subject is studied, the more clearly will it be seen that some account of his religious experience was necessary as an introduction to those religious aspirations and sorrows which marked the Georgia life. No more fitting exposition of his faith and practice at this time could have been furnished than that contained in his own graphic description of the Holy Club.

Why, it may further be asked, did not Wesley begin his Journal at an earlier period, say, from the year of his ordination? He had at his disposal ample material. His first Diary is dated April 5, 1725. He was then twenty-two years of age. In addition to the Diary he had free access to a considerable store of letters; and if we may judge from those that have survived, all were more or less autobiographical. His student life was not lacking in variety. Few men in Oxford were more popular. He had an intimate acquaintance with men of social and intellectual distinction. The later Oxford Diaries show that during his residential university life he was a great traveller in English counties, and often on foot. We may imagine an Oxford and Epworth journal, set in a framework of scholarly and social

interest, its main feature a description of that earnest seeking after true religion which was the dominant impulse of Wesley's early adult life. Such a journal would have fulfilled the evangelist's ideal of religious usefulness in everything he printed as well as in everything he spoke. If his purpose in the Georgia Journal were to portray a soul contending with itself and with adverse and diverse external influences, a soul in course of gradual preparation for the as yet unguessed work of the future, how instructive such a self-revelation would have been! We should have seen the slow process of spiritual enlightenment, and have learned much concerning the way in which God made all things work together, now by providential discipline, and now by spiritual striving. But it was not possible for Wesley in the year 1739 to begin an autobiographical record with the day of his ordination. Had he attempted such a course, he must have brought into the *personnel* of the story friends who had admitted him into the intimacies of family life. He had no right to betray the confidence of private intercourse. Other reasons operated coincidentally, as will appear in the annotations. For our present purpose it may suffice to remember that Wesley was not at liberty to publish the contents of his private Oxford Diaries without the consent of persons from whom by this time he was far removed.

That Wesley's awakening began long before he thought of going to Georgia, and before the founding of the Holy Club, no one who has read his Diaries can for a moment doubt. When did the first awakening take place? Who aroused this prince in Israel, and, under God, made him henceforth a restless, unsatisfied seeker after his Lord? The answers to these questions form a chapter in Wesley's religious experience hitherto almost unknown. A few of the facts have been familiar to readers of his biography, but quite recently a much fuller light has dawned.

When in his printed Journal for 1738 Wesley came to 'Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday,' May 22, 23, and 24, he quoted 'a letter to a friend,' and then proceeded to review his religious experience from childhood onwards. Such a review was necessary if readers were to understand the significance



of 'what occurred' on Wednesday the 24th. This remarkable document should be carefully studied by those who would form just views of Wesley's opinions and experience at the most critical moment of his career. Here a few sentences will suffice. Having described the religion of his childhood at home, of his boyhood at the Charterhouse, and of his student life for five years at Christ Church, Oxford, he writes :

When I was about twenty-two, my father pressed me to enter into holy orders. At the same time, the providence of God directing me to Kempis's *Christian Pattern*, I began to see that true religion was seated in the heart, and that God's law extended to all our thoughts as well as words and actions. I was, however, very angry at Kempis for being too strict; though I read him only in Dean Stanhope's translation. Yet I had frequently much sensible comfort in reading him, such as I was an utter stranger to before; *and meeting likewise with a religious friend, which I never had till now, I began to alter the whole form of my conversation and to set in earnest upon a new life.*<sup>1</sup> I set apart an hour or two a day for religious retirement. I communicated every week, I watched against all sin, whether in word or deed. I began to aim at, and pray for, inward holiness. So that now, 'doing so much, and living so good a life,' I doubted not but I was a good Christian.

No biographer or commentator, so far as we are aware, has succeeded in ascertaining the identity of this religious friend. And in truth the mystery could not now have been penetrated, except for the incidental light thrown upon it by the Diaries. That Wesley himself regarded the friendship referred to in the italicized sentence as of supreme importance is proved by the fact that the conviction formed in April 1725 remained his unwavering conviction in April 1732, and, at the most critical moment in his life, in May 1738—a period of thirteen years. A book and a friend were used by the providence of God to check and to change the career of John Wesley. The book we know; but who was the 'religious friend'? Was he an Oxford tutor, or a fellow student? The phraseology seems to exclude relatives, nor is the sex defined. The friend might have been a man or a woman; could it have been father or mother, 'my brother Samuel,' one of his sisters, or, as we at one

<sup>1</sup> The italics are our own.—ED.

time guessed, John Griffiths, his 'first convert'? These and other surmises naturally fill the mind of the close student as he lingers on this critical passage. The words that immediately follow succinctly summarize the religious life described in the first Oxford Diary. Of that life we have hitherto known nothing except the general features inferred from the above passage and from the few family letters that have survived. The details are preserved in the cipher record of the first Diary. An examination of the first page in the Diary<sup>1</sup> at once fastens attention upon a sentence obviously inserted at a somewhat later date in a space that may have been left vacant for it. The process-plate only imperfectly preserves differences in ink; but it sufficiently emphasizes the special importance Wesley attached to the entry in question. The page, it will be noted, is filled with studies of the morning and afternoon up to the Friday of the second week in April. At this point Wesley went out of town; he does not, however, explain where he went, nor could we have guessed his destination but for what follows. He no doubt spent the interval between Monday, April 10, and Friday, May 28,<sup>2</sup> on the borders of Gloucestershire. On May 28 he resumes his Diary. The sentence at this point inserted is plainly written, with the exception of one word and two capital letters; these are in the peculiar cipher-writing fully described in another place.<sup>3</sup> The cryptic word is certainly the name of a person; the words accompanying it mark the very great importance attached to the incident in the diarist's life. The following is the inserted passage:

M. } Monday <sup>10</sup> April <sup>10</sup> went out of town.  
 A. } 22. Friday April 14. 1725 Footman 2203m3<sup>0</sup> 55  
 Lch. not to be in vain!  
 May 28 Friday

<sup>1</sup> See p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Wesley's dates, like the pages of his Diaries, and his use of numbers generally, are not to be relied upon without careful verification. In striving to rectify errors, the student has to remember the complications which arise in connexion

with Old and New Style. Two of the dates in the above passage, as originally written, were wrong. Wesley, discovering the error, attempted to rectify it; in so doing he rather adds to the confusion.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 71.

The erasures strengthen the impression of extreme care in making the entry, but they do not succeed in clearing up the date-figures. The name written in cipher is *Varanese*, the pseudonym of Miss Betty Kirkham, a younger daughter of the Rev. Lionel Kirkham, rector of Stanton, and a member of the correspondence and reading circle which included John and Charles Wesley and Mrs. Granville's two daughters.

For his definite reawakening in Oxford Wesley was indebted largely to the teaching of certain devotional books: Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ*, or *Christian Pattern*; Bishop Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living and Dying*; William Law's *Christian Perfection*. Reading his own carefully drawn account, we can scarcely avoid wondering under what circumstances, or by what friendly voice or pen, Wesley's attention was first directed to these devotional writers. The providence of God directed Wesley to Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ*, and Varanese was intimately associated with the seemingly trifling incident. The details we may never know, but the facts are beyond question. At or about the same time the *Holy Living* fell into his hands, probably through the same or a similar agency. And if we may anticipate, about a year later, and again following immediately on a visit to the rectory at Stanton, he began an almost furious study of William Law, whose *Christian Perfection* had then been published about two years.

It will probably be urged, in reply, that the communications between Oxford and Epworth in 1725 indicate Susanna Wesley as the person who kindled her son's enthusiasm for devotional literature. But a study of the original letters proves conclusively that this could not have been the case. Kempis and Taylor were almost as great a revelation to Mrs. Wesley as to her son. In the review of his experience already quoted he writes: 'When I was about twenty-two, my father pressed me to enter into holy orders.' He was born in 1703: in April 1725, the date of the Varanese entry, he was therefore 'about twenty-two.' He went out of town on 'Monday, April 10.' Easter in that year fell on March 28. He returned to Oxford on Friday, May 28. On the day following, May 29, he wrote a letter to his parents from Oxford: 'I was lately advised [he defines the mode of providential direction] to read Thomas à Kempis over,



which I had frequently seen, but never much looked into before. I think he must have been a person of great piety and devotion ; but it is my misfortune to differ from him in some of his main points.' On June 8 in the same year his mother sent him a long letter in which, replying to his inquiry, she wrote : ' I have Kempis by me ; but have not read him lately. I cannot recollect the passages you mention ; but, believing you do him justice, I do positively aver that he is extremely in the wrong in that impious, I was about to say blasphemous, suggestion, that God, by an irrevocable decree, has determined any man to be miserable even in this world.' She goes on to say that Kempis had ' more zeal than knowledge.' From this it is quite clear that Mrs. Wesley was not responsible for advising her son to read *The Christian Pattern*.

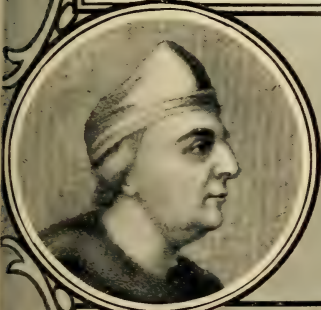
On June 18, 1725, he again writes to his mother, asking questions about Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living and Dying*. In a passage, omitted by Tyerman, he remarks : ' I have heard one I take to be a person of good judgement say, that she [in this case the person advising him was a woman other than his mother] would advise no one very young to read Dr. Taylor of *Living and Dying* : she added, that he almost put her out of her senses, when she was fifteen or sixteen years old, because he seemed to exclude all from being in a way of salvation who did not come up to his rules, some of which are altogether impracticable.' On July 21, 1725, his mother replies : ' I know little or nothing of Dr. Taylor's *Holy Living and Dying*, having not seen it for above twenty years ; but I think it is generally well esteemed.'

This evidence falls short of an actual statement that the 'religious friend' was Varanese, and that it was she who directed his attention to Kempis, and about the same time to Bishop Taylor also. But, though circumstantial, the evidence is clear, ample, and, as Paley would say, 'undesigned.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From April 1725, V., or Var. or Varan\*, is in frequent correspondence with Wesley. In April 1732 the following appears in his regular monthly review : ' N.B. April 20, 1725, saw V[aranese]. April 20, 1732, saw Mr. Clayton ! V F [one of his cipher ejaculations of devout gratitude]. ' On the same page, for May 1732, he enters as letters

written : ' To b S (brother Samuel), S P. (Sis. Patty), my father, Mr. Barnard, Sel(ima), V(aranese). ' Tyerman says that Miss Betty Kirkham married a Mr. Wilson, and died in 1731 ; but John Wesley is writing to her in 1732, she is on his list of correspondents in 1735-7, and Charles sees her in 1737. See Charles Wesley's Journal, new ed. p. 116.





1. THE RECTORY, EPWORTH.

2. SAMUEL WESLEY.

3. SUSANNA WESLEY.

4. EPWORTH CHURCHYARD FROM WEST DOOR.



The question of Wesley's indebtedness to personal friends is a comparatively unworked quarry. The private Diaries show that in Oxford, in Epworth and its neighbouring parishes, and in the Broadway district, he had a large number of intimate friends. Lists of these will be given in due course. A few of them were women; but the majority were men, often older than himself and heads of families. He loved a family circle, loved to sit at the fireside with congenial company, reading aloud or discussing events of the day, books, points in moral philosophy, history, science, plays and poetry, and natural phenomena. Parlour games, such as at that time beguiled the long winter evenings in country rectories and college rooms, he did not despise. In Worcestershire he occasionally danced with friends, and with his sisters almost on every available evening during his visits to Wroot and Epworth. All this illustrates the fact that he had not in him the making of a recluse, or even of a hard, sour-visaged Puritan. He was essentially a friendly man. In Oxford, whether as commoner at Christ Church or a Fellow at Lincoln, he rarely breakfasted, drank tea, or even worked alone. Companionship seemed essential. From the days of the earliest written record it is a story of fellowship. His own title for the Holy Club in his manuscript Diaries is 'Our Company.'

Like many of the greatest and best men of our own times, he owed much to the friendship of women. All his lady friends, beginning with his mother and sisters, were women of culture and religious disposition. Some, like the ladies of Stanton Rectory and the Granvilles, were highly educated, readers of the best literature, and brilliant in conversation. All were devout and, according to the early eighteenth-century standard, earnest Christians. Remembering what Oxford and most of the villages were at this time—immoral, irreligious, tainted with infidelity; remembering also the evil influence wielded by not a few clever and reckless women, we cannot but rejoice that Wesley, at twenty-two years of age, fell under the influence of some of the best and most intellectual women of his day. How disastrous might have been the fate of this young student—susceptible, highly strung, and most attractive—except for the spells cast upon him by English gentlewomen at a time when



he most needed their restraining and inspiring influence! Among these, Varanese ranks as his 'first religious friend.'

It was in this time of religious conviction that Wesley's habit of diary-writing took root. Let us stand at a little distance from the picture etched in Oxford Diary No. 1, and try to realize what Wesley was at this period. The Diary contains a triptych. There are three sharply defined and correlated pictures.

1. We see an Oxford student in transition. He is passing from the status of a layman into that of a clergyman. He is leaving Christ Church, and is entering on the career of a Fellow of Lincoln. For five years, from seventeen to twenty-two, he had been winning the reputation of an industrious, a keen-witted and successful student; a thoughtful, versatile, and lively comrade. Too frail in health to be an athlete, he had nevertheless been able to hold his own in the tennis-court, to pull an oar on the river, to swim, ride, hunt, and to walk long distances. There is no evidence—and had there been any, his own self-upbraiding pen would certainly have supplied it—that these years had witnessed any scattering of 'wild oats.' The worst that he can say against himself is that he had 'gone on contentedly in some or other known sin.'

At Oxford he was not only a great reader, but his manner of handling books gave him the mastery of them. He analysed, extracted, sometimes condensed for the benefit of friends, and always 'collected,'<sup>1</sup> to use his own phrase. It is open to conjecture whether Wesley could ever have become a great scholar. True he had intellectual capacity of a very high order. But withal there were two disqualifications: frail health compelled him to indulge in a disproportionate amount of rest and recreation, and he was essentially discursive. Reviewing the work of a week, month, or year, as his custom was, he often upbraids himself for 'idleness.' The context of his confessions raises the suspicion that such idleness consisted more frequently than not in excursions into by-paths of

<sup>1</sup> The word is used, in Wesley's sense, in Mrs. Delany's *Life and Letters*. It means making a synopsis of a book read, with notes and extracts, to use in pre-

paring for examination. "'Collection" is (5) A private examination at the end of each term at the colleges of the English Universities' (*Century Dictionary*).



literature and knowledge and in visits to 'the Coffee House' to read the news. He spends, for instance, precious hours in reading Ben Jonson's play *The Alchemist*, and *Pyrates*.<sup>1</sup> In self-examination he gives, in cipher, judgement against himself thus: 'Idleness slays.' But the severe concentration on selected subjects and the rigid self-denial in the matter of current literature necessary to expert scholarship never characterized Wesley at either Christ Church or Lincoln. He knew more in the wider field than most of his contemporaries, and his knowledge was exact and fairly comprehensive; yet, like many other English men of letters, the width of his learning impeded his flight upwards to the heights of professorial distinction. It is important to remember all this, because this very limitation, coupled with habits of economy in the rescue of spare moments for reading, made him in after life a leader of popular education—the best gatherer and scatterer of useful knowledge that Georgian England knew.

2. Twice after his election to the Lincoln Fellowship he acted as his father's curate in the twin parishes of Wroot and Epworth. Of the first visit, which extended from April to September 1726, we have a record in some detail within the covers of the quaint little No. I Diary.<sup>2</sup> Allowing for differences of locality, companionship, and recurring duties, he lived in his father's parishes much as he lived and conducted himself in Oxford. He worked in the old garden at Wroot, made arbours (one of the seats in which probably remains in part to this day), gathered roses and elder flowers for his sisters, cut stakes, shot plovers in the fenland that then lay between the two parishes, wrote sermons for himself and his father, drank tea here and there, swam on summer mornings in the fen river, and went to every village fair within reach; transcribed letters to or from Varanese, 'Na.,' Aspasia, and his brothers; explored a hermit's grave, covered by a great stone;<sup>3</sup> as one to

<sup>1</sup> The first edition of *Robinson Crusoe*, published in 1719, had on the title-page the following: 'His strange Adventures among Pyrates.'

<sup>2</sup> The longer period, which closed late in 1729, is also recorded in an 'Oxford Diary'; but part (probably one volume) of the record is lost.

<sup>3</sup> *The Gentleman's Magazine* of 1747 gives a full account of this antiquarian jaunt, taken by Mr. George Stovin, of Crowle, in company with Samuel Wesley, to Lindholme, near Hatfield, in Yorkshire. John was of the party. (*W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 7.)

whom hard reading had become easy, he pursued his classical and theological studies, read and collected Spenser's *Faërie Queene*, indulged in *The Spectator*, in plays and other light literature; discussed points of doctrine or moral philosophy with his learned mother, carefully noting her opinions in his Diary; laboriously copied out *Dissertations on Job* for his father; read to his sisters as they sat working in the arbour, stood godfather to sister Nancy's baby, discoursed to Miss Kitty Hargreaves, read Spenser to her, and was not unappreciative of her gentle friendship as was his father (not his mother); paid frequent visits to his mother's great friend, Mr. Hoole, at Haxey Rectory; preached severely to the people of Epworth, not sparing their sins, especially their gossip and scandal, visited their sick, and buried their dead. Mindful of the voice that called him to the devout life, he 'writ' his Diary, and gave himself to prayer and self-examination. He lived as one who was only, as yet, within sight of the frontier of the kingdom of heaven.

What a contrast between the daily life of 1726 and that of 1739! At Wroot we see a better sort of country parson in times degenerate. He is far removed from George Herbert in *The Church Porch*, and, on the other hand, from William Grimshaw, the Methodist rector of Haworth; but on the whole he is making progress towards, and is being prepared for, the great ministry of the future. He is gentlemanly, refined, familiar with the best literature of the day, a congenial companion; to some extent worldly, yet standing absolutely clear of grossness, though not of what he so frequently calls 'levity'; not exempt from temptation, but 'buffeting' his body, and bringing himself under the iron rule of law and resolution. All the while he honestly strives to be a Christian disciple—an Israelite indeed, in whom there is no guile.

Could such a man ever have aroused a whole country to religious enthusiasm? Could such a scheme of morality and religion ever have forged Methodism, with the world as its parish and baptisms of fire as its normal experience? We follow this little, handsome, clean-living parson as he rides about the fen lands in immaculate attire—cheery, conversational, adored by his sisters, the ever-welcome companion of his scholarly mother; and, apart from miracle, we have difficulty in realizing

that this man, a few years hence, will be one of the Church's greatest evangelists.

3. The third picture of Wesley is in some respects the most attractive. Between 1725 and 1729 he frequently visited the parishes of Broadway, Buckland, and Stanton. They are still amongst the most beautiful of our English villages, and in Wesley's early days were enriched by family life of a specially interesting and intellectual character. Wesley had personal friends in all three, and elsewhere in the same neighbourhood. He lived on terms of intimate friendship with their families. Many of them were represented in the University, which was only one day's ride distant. They seem to have been closely connected with the Church of England, as well as with the political and aristocratic life of the times, and to have formed a little coterie—intelligent and religious.

The village of Stanton, with its cottages of stone, its ancient cross, and quaint old church, since the early part of the eighteenth century has remained almost unchanged. The broad highway leads to the hill on which Wesley and his friends, Miss Betty Kirkham and her sister Damaris, one memorable day in the autumn of 1726, conversed seriously for an hour. The rectory in which Wesley spent so many happy hours has been demolished; but the garden remains, and we may still stand at the open gate where he so often reined in his horse. By the courtesy of the rector we are permitted to reproduce a drawing of the house as it was in the eighteenth century (see p. 25). The present dwelling, erected by a Roman Catholic family, may be more convenient, though it can scarcely be more beautiful. During his visits to the neighbourhood, Wesley lodged sometimes at the Broadway vicarage with Mr. Griffiths, or with the Allens, and sometimes in the village of Buckland with the Tookers.<sup>1</sup> Buckland, within walking distance of Mr. Kirkham's rectory, lay midway between Broadway and Stanton. Mrs. Granville and her daughters lived in Gloucester. A little earlier, when Wesley was first introduced to the family, their home was in Buckland. At the death of Queen Anne, Colonel Granville, like many other members of the disaffected

<sup>1</sup> 'Parson Tooker' was rector of Buckland. Mrs. Delany describes him in vol. i. of *The Life and Correspondence*. (See Appendix XXVII. vol. vi.)



party, suffered a reverse of fortune. His elder brother, Lord Lansdowne, was sent to the Tower. Colonel Granville also was arrested. On his release he removed his family to Buckland, where they lived for some time in a house provided by Lord Lansdowne. It is now a farmhouse in the occupancy of a family well known in Methodist circles. After his ordination Wesley frequently preached in the churches of these villages, and spent his shorter holidays in one or more of the homes which welcomed him as a guest.

It was through the Kirkhams that Wesley added Mrs. Granville and her daughters, Mary and Anne, to his circle of friends. Charles Wesley, who matriculated at Christ Church in 1726, was also a member of the same pleasant fellowship; but, unlike his brother John, he did not preserve copies of the letters that passed between himself and the Gloucestershire ladies. The Granvilles, the Wesleys, and the Annesleys were of the same social rank. Mary, the elder daughter, was at this time the youthful widow of Mr. Charles Pendarves, of Roscrow, Cornwall. In 1743 she married Dr. Delany, who was afterwards appointed Dean of Down. Throughout life she was on terms of intimacy with families of the highest distinction, to many of which, indeed, she was nearly related. In her old age Mrs. Delany was received into a peculiarly close and beautiful friendship with George III and Queen Charlotte. She was a lineal descendant of Sir Bevil Granville (or Grenville, as the name was sometimes spelt), who fell in battle fighting for Charles I, and of Sir Richard Grenville, the hero of the *Revenge*. In an age when few great names were untainted, no shadow of reproach ever fell upon the fair fame of Mary Granville. She ranks amongst the ablest and most interesting women of the eighteenth century. By a singular coincidence she counted the Irish Wesleys also amongst her chief friends. She was god-mother to the father of the Duke of Wellington. In the Stanton rectory Wesley made the acquaintance of another lady whose name figures frequently in *The Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Delany*—Sarah, elder sister of Miss Betty Kirkham and wife of the Rev. John Chapone. All the members of this correspondence circle, following a fashion of the day, adopted names which lightly veiled their identity and added a touch



I. THE RECTORY, STANTON.

2. THE CHURCH, STANTON.



1. THE RECTORY AT WROOT. BAY WINDOWS MODERN; FRONT ROOMS FACING THE GARDEN OCCUPIED BY WESLEY.

2. THE GARDEN, WROOT.

3. THE GARDEN, WROOT, LOOKING FROM ARBOUR.



of romantic colour to their friendship. Betty Kirkham was Varanese; Mrs. Pendarves, Aspasia; John Wesley, Cyrus. Later, Miss Anne Granville joined the group as Selima, and Charles Wesley as Araspes. The correspondence between John Wesley and the Granville ladies survives in part, transcribed by Wesley. Much of it has been published in *The Methodist Magazine*, also by Tyerman, by Dr. Rigg in his *Living Wesley*, and in Telford's *Life of John Wesley*. There is no reason why the whole should not be published. Those who desire a more detailed account of this friendship will find it in Dr. Rigg's remarkable study of Wesley. Written at a time when complete information was not available, *The Living Wesley* anticipates recent disclosures, and is a vivid and discriminating sketch of a noteworthy episode in Wesley's life.

It would not be necessary to bestow so much space upon these friendships but for their influence upon Wesley. They fostered refinement, thoughtfulness, and religious aspiration; they were an incentive to literary activity, slight in itself, yet important in its results. We are indebted to these women, and in a less degree to the Wesley sisters, for selections of poetry, and other extracts and collections which subsequently led to those larger literary efforts that made Methodism an educational force, and every itinerant preacher's saddlebags a book-store. Several of the dainty little volumes in the Colman Collection are examples of these literary beginnings. It was for a lady student that Wesley wrote his earliest known transcription and annotation.

A study of Wesley's religious experience at this time is involved in the causes that took him to Georgia.

The Georgia Trustees were an influential body of merchants, politicians, and philanthropists, who held under charter from the Crown the considerable tract of country which has since become the State of Georgia, U.S.A. The unreliable character of the English colonists and the neighbourhood of Indian tribes were difficulties weighing at this time on the minds of the Trustees. Some safeguard against internal dissensions and disloyalty to established government was provided by the arrival of Moravian immigrants, who had suffered much for conscience' sake, and

who were a highly disciplined community. If the Indian tribes could be brought under Christian influence, instead of being a source of danger to their neighbours they would become an element of strength to the colony. For their conversion the Trustees required missionaries and teachers who, forsaking all, would be content to live and die alone in the wilderness.

Dr. J. Burton, of Corpus Christi, Oxford, one of Wesley's intimate friends and a godly High Churchman, was a member of the Georgia Trust and a generous supporter of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. In relation to Georgia the Trust and the Society worked as allies. It is interesting at this point to remember that Lincoln College was founded 'for the propagation of the Christian faith and the extirpation of heretics.' On September 8, 1735, Dr. Burton wrote to John Wesley.<sup>1</sup> The letter came at a moment when many circumstances induced Wesley to regard it as a call of God. His friendship with Miss Betty Kirkham (Varanese) continued, though it now appeared unlikely to become more intimate. Aspasia, after a silence of three years, had written suggesting a renewal of her correspondence with Cyrus and Araspes, but her plea fell upon deaf ears. By this time she belonged rather to that literary and artistic world in which Dean Swift, Dr. Delany, Garrett Wesley, Handel, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and the Duchess of Portland were shining lights, and among her most intimate friends. A pathetic reply, in the style of high courtesy that had prevailed throughout, closed the Wesley-Granville episode. Many of the University friends of former years had passed on their several ways, and the Holy Club seemed to be breaking up. Robert Kirkham had accepted a curacy under his uncle. William Morgan was dead. Clayton had become a High Church parish priest in Salford. Gambold had retired to the rectory of Stanton Harcourt, in Oxfordshire, where he was already verging toward the Moravianism which eventually claimed him. Charles was willing to go to Georgia as General Oglethorpe's secretary, and was shortly to be ordained. Ingham for the present was in Yorkshire.

Coincidentally with this slow shaping of affairs in Oxford, the

<sup>1</sup> This letter, 'the oldest Methodist missionary document in existence,' is now in the possession of Mr. George Stampe. (*Wesley Studies*, p. 69.)

question of John's future had been under discussion. The family earnestly desired that he should seek the next presentation to Epworth, succeed his father, and so preserve the Epworth home for his mother. Samuel Wesley, junior, who himself had declined the Epworth candidature, urged John to apply for the next presentation. The correspondence will be found in Dr. Priestley's volume and in the Colman Collection. Ostensibly it was jealousy for the fulfilment of his brother's ordination vows that moved Samuel Wesley; but he was not great at *finesse*, and the plea really at the back of the good man's mind was the provision of a home for the dear old mother when the rector, who was known to be dying, should pass away. John, taking his brother Samuel on his own professed ground, wrote at once to Dr. Potter, who had ordained him, and put a plain question. The letter to Samuel in which this question is effectually settled is supremely important.<sup>1</sup>

‘OXON, *March 4, 1735.*

DEAR BROTHER,—I had rather dispute, if I must dispute, with you than with any man living, because it may be done with so little expense of time and words.

The question is now brought to one point, and the whole of the argument will be in a single syllogism:

Neither hope of doing greater good nor fear of any evil ought to deter you from what you have engaged yourself to. But you have engaged yourself to undertake the cure of a parish, therefore neither that hope nor that fear ought to deter you from it.

The only doubt is whether I have engaged myself or not. You think I did at my ordination, ‘before God and His high-priest.’ I think I did not.

However, I own I am not the proper judge of the oath I then took. It being certain and allowed by all—*Verbis in quibus quis jurejurando adigitur, sensum genuinum, ut et obligationem sacramenti et modum et mensuram praestari a mente non praestantis, sed exigentis juramentum.*<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The original is in the possession of a collateral branch of the Wesley family, and has not often been seen. The late Mr. Thursfield Smith took a careful copy, which is here reproduced.

<sup>2</sup> Tyerman, quoting the letter, probably at second hand, omits this sentence. An expert has given a translation. He says: ‘The general sense is clear. I make it somewhat as follows: “To

words in which any one is caused to take an oath, the true meaning, and also the manner and extent of the obligation of the oath, is supplied from the mind, not of the taker of the oath, but of him who demands it.” The words, which are not clear, are evidently a quotation from a law book, probably from some English Canonist, who is reproducing an established principle of Roman law.’



Therefore it is not I, but the high-priest of God before whom I contracted that engagement, who is to judge of the nature and extent of it. Accordingly the post after I received yours I referred it entirely to him, proposing this single question to him, Whether I had at my ordination engaged myself to undertake the cure of any parish or no? His answer runs in these words:

REVD. SIR,—It doth not seem to me that at your ordination you engaged yourself to undertake the cure of any parish, provided you can, as a clergyman, better serve God and His Church in your present or some other station.

Now, that I can as a clergyman better serve God and His Church in my present station I have all reasonable evidence.

Dr. Burton keenly appreciated the piety, zeal, and High Church proclivities of the Holy Club. He acted in the matter as a Trustee of the colony, and in friendly alliance with General Oglethorpe and the S.P.G. It appears that at one time he seriously hoped to capture the whole Club for the service of this mission. But it was not homogeneous, and a successful transfer of its membership to Savannah, Frederica, and the Indian camps could only have led to confusion. A few letters, little known, from the Thursfield Smith, Stampc, Priestley, and Colman Collections explain how Wesley came to share in the Georgia expedition. They will be found chronologically arranged in Appendix XII. vol. vi.

It is a singular fact that the old rector at Epworth, by this time at rest, had unwittingly prepared the way for the appointment of his two younger sons to Georgia. He was one of the first and most enthusiastic supporters of Oglethorpe's scheme, and was in correspondence with him and the Trustees as early as 1732.<sup>1</sup> When John Wesley, fulfilling his father's dying request, was in London negotiating the publication of *Job* and its dedication to Queen Caroline, he met Oglethorpe, and agreed to his proposal. The final arrangement was that Wesley and Ingham should go to Savannah as missionaries to the Indians, Charles becoming secretary for Indian affairs.

Three distinct sets of persons shared the responsibilities of an extremely difficult situation: Wesley and his friends, the Oglethorpe party, and the Moravians—missioners, Government agents, and German refugees.

<sup>1</sup> See Journal of Georgia Trustees in the Record Office, and letters in *Clarke's Wesley Family*, vol. ii. p. 252, and vol. i. pp. 334-7.

1. Wesley did not take the voyage to Georgia that he might become a parish priest, but to be a missionary to the Indians. Unfortunately one of the conditions agreed upon between himself and the Trustees was that, until access to the Indians could be obtained, he was to act as minister to the church in Savannah, in succession to the Rev. Samuel Quincy, the late incumbent. This confounding of things that differed, and the absence of clear definitions and lines of duty, led to trouble. Moreover, we must never lose sight of the fact that Wesley by this time was an extreme High Churchman. His ritualism, his severe literalism, and his perfectly conscientious yet overstrained adherence to rubrics and canons brought him into conflict with the people, few of whom were members of the Church of England or of any other Church.

2. But if Wesley went out for the sake of the Indians, and for them alone, Oglethorpe as Governor of the Colony, Causton as Chief Magistrate of Savannah, and others of the governing class, were most of all concerned for the colonists. The problem, every day becoming more and more serious, in Savannah, Frederica, and the outlying plantations, was largely disciplinary, educational, moral, and religious. From the Governor's point of view, Wesley and his friends were needed far more by the colonists than by the Indians. The pastor in charge of the church was about to return to England. His flock were as sheep in the wilderness without a shepherd. Rough, lawless, licentious, they presented a serious moral problem. Causton may not have been lifted many points above his neighbours; nor, it is to be feared, was Oglethorpe immaculate. But, at all events, they both must have felt the advantage of having in the church a man of Wesley's calibre—a scholar, a gentleman, a man serious, intensely in earnest, with a will of his own, and animated by a keen sense of duty. Tyerman ridicules the 'molehill empire'—'a pompous, minikin miniature of the great system of government at home.' A careful study, however, of published and unpublished documents shows that the evils and perils and necessities of Georgia, if on a minute scale, did not otherwise differ from those recorded in the history of empires. Oglethorpe might also have prayed:

Ah God, for a man with heart, head, hand,  
 Like some of the simple great ones gone  
 For ever and for ever by!  
 One still, strong man, in a blatant land,  
 . . . . . one  
 Who can rule and dare not lie.

He himself, if Henry Moore's version is to be relied upon, had personal need for the presence, friendship, and fearless loyalty of Wesley. In Frederica, his head quarters, he and his secretary, Charles Wesley, lived in a nest of hornets. Henry Moore's story has been discounted. Tyerman dismisses it with little less than contempt. But Moore held the Colman collection of Diaries and Letters at a time when it was more complete than now. Wesley's own hand had lifted the veil concealing many of the Georgia facts, the Oglethorpe part in a threatened tragedy among the rest. Moore knew what he was writing about.

3. The Moravians in Georgia differed essentially from the English colonists. They were refugees for conscience' sake. They had their own minister and organized worship. Bishop David Nitschmann had come with a party of immigrants for the express purpose of ordering the Congregation of Brethren in Savannah, and ordaining an elected elder, or bishop, who should be duly invested with authority to secure sound doctrine, wholesome discipline, and all that made for holiness.

Of Wesley's life in Georgia he himself is the best biographer. What estimate he put upon his strange experiences may be inferred from the care with which he wrote and rewrote the story. Judged truly, as indeed he himself judged it, Georgia was the final outcome of the long struggle that began with the finding of his first religious friend, and the reading of *The Christian Pattern* and the *Holy Living and Dying*. In the spring of 1725 he set out on a new life. In the last days of 1737 he left Georgia, landing at Deal on Wednesday, February 1, 1738. For nearly four months he wandered hither and thither seeking rest. On Wednesday, May 24, he found the peace for which, during thirteen weary years, he had striven, toiled, suffered, prayed.



Many writers have referred to Wesley's 'so-called conversion.' Now, no one who believes in the necessity of a supernatural change, or in its possibility, would dream of so characterizing St. Paul's conversion, or St. Augustine's, Martin Luther's, or John Bunyan's. Could Wesley have fulfilled his mission, the prophetic vision of his dying father—the revival of God's work within the Church of England and ultimately throughout the worldwide parish—if he had not passed through the experience which Dr. Rigg so justly calls his 'evangelical conversion'? No matter what view is held with reference to the nature and process of the spiritual crisis that comes in every good man's life, the facts of Wesley's life-story, more clearly revealed now than ever before, confirm all Methodist students in their old conclusion that, until his heart was 'strangely warmed' in Aldersgate Street, he neither knew, as a normal experience, the meaning of saving faith, nor had he the power to fulfil his Lord's mission.

Yet we must not belittle the partial attainments of Oxford and Georgia. Wesley himself was much too sensible and practical to undervalue the worth of rules and 'works,' or the conscientious labouring after a perfect character and blameless life which had distinguished his career during the thirteen years of his novitiate. One of the ablest students<sup>1</sup> of Wesley's Journal says: 'A man's religious life begins when he becomes an earnest seeker after truth, however unenlightened his search. Wesley always looked back to his days at Oxford with emotion. In a letter to his brother Charles,<sup>2</sup> December 15, 1772, he writes: "I often cry out, *Vitae me redde priori!* Let me be again an Oxford Methodist! I am often in doubt whether it would not be best for me to resume all my Oxford rules, great and small. I did then walk closely with God, and redeem the time. But what have I been doing these thirty years?"' Upon which this writer remarks: 'This may seem rather inconsistent, but Wesley was no martyr to the bugbear of consistency.' It may here be noted as a significant fact, that when Wesley was compiling his *Twelve Rules of a Helper*, he modelled them upon the earliest rules and resolutions recorded in his first Oxford Diary, 1725.

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. Richard Butterworth.

<sup>2</sup> *Works*, vol. xii, p. 131. This quota-

tion from Horace is thus translated by Boscawen, 'My former happy life restore.'

There are two excellent commentaries on Wesley's religion from 1725 to 1738. One is the remarkable analysis of personal experience inserted in the Journal, May 24, 1738; the other is the 7th chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. These two records should be borne in mind as we study the Diaries. In those narratives and confessions, as they might not inaptly be called, we see him at twenty-two years of age raising a certain standard of religious life. He sets about this work with extreme care; and all through these thirteen years, however careless and almost undecipherable his handwriting may sometimes be when recording other things, whenever he resumes the task of resolution-making or confession he writes with a clearness and firmness of hand quite pathetic. If any one desires to see John Wesley's penmanship and his gift of idiomatic expression at their best, let him examine his apparatus for self-examination.

His standard takes the form of rule and resolution. Sometimes, both at Oxford and Wroot, he holds a Saturday night 'private band' with his own soul; he reads his resolutions, makes rigid inquest upon his own thoughts, upon his conversation, studies, and amusements during the week; he brings all his most secret motives and emotions to the test, making confession to himself at the bar of his own conscience. Questions and confessions are written in the remorseful Diary. He binds his tortured soul to the horns of the altar, and the flames play around it. He has no mercy upon himself. Not once does he excuse himself or enter a single plea in extenuation. When the record is more humiliating than usual, his only remedy is a pathetic strengthening of the outward standard or a new emphasis added to an old rule, and always with a cry to God in the sacred tongue *Κύριε βοήθει*. More law, more methods; a new cord to the flagellant's whip, or a new knot in the old cord. As we read from page to page we expect to find this self-upbraiding candidate for saintliness in the grip of despair. Nothing, however, daunts him. Saturday night finds him in the depths, but on Sunday morning he is bravely beginning again. Defeat and failure always seem to stimulate Wesley to new effort.

When he reviews the whole period, he refers to brief moments of sensible comfort and passing gleams of joy. These he

regards as anticipations of the future. Though naturally a cheerful man, there is little joy in his religion. His sacred song is set in a minor key. It is a wail of distress and disappointment. In the first Diary there is no rejoicing. How extraordinary the contrast between these yellow, dreary pages and St. Paul's letters to the Thessalonians or to the Philippians; or between the Wesley religion of 1725-9 and the manuscript hymn-book which for fifteen years was his constant companion in evangelistic travel! We may even now see the thumb-marks on his favourite page—deeper, more stained with use than any other:

Oh for a thousand tongues to sing  
My great Redeemer's praise!

and

Now I have found the ground wherein  
Sure my soul's anchor may remain.

*Hymns For Believers Rejoicing* found no place in Wesley's Saturday-night exercises in the year 1725.

Another mark of true religion absent from the first Diary has already been noted. Service for others did not form part of Wesley's original standard of holy living. It was Oxford Methodism that saved him from religious selfishness. The voyage to Georgia, with its ministries for others, carried him still farther in the same direction. Nor was Savannah, its many disappointments notwithstanding, wanting in a certain useful training for service.

This strange story of pilgrimage had its stages, its discipline, its instruction in faith and righteousness, its prophecies of the future. Nothing in the long journey from the town of Legality to the Cross was lost. Not only Methodism, but the whole Christian Church, is the richer to-day because of all the way in which John Wesley, during these years, was led and humbled and proved.



## THE FIRST OXFORD DIARY

WESLEY wrote both Diaries and Journals. The distinction may be arbitrary and illogical, yet it is convenient.

His Journals were fully written, but not necessarily for publication. Not always content with one version, he laboriously 'transcribed' in various forms. The Georgia Journal, or its most important section, survives in at least five distinct versions. They are in Wesley's handwriting. One may surmise that he thus wrote and rewrote for the clearing of his own mind, that he might see his life in black and white, and so be in a position to judge accurately as to his own motives, attainments, doings, failures. He wrote also for his mother, his brothers, and possibly for his sister Emilia (with whom for many years he corresponded intimately); for the Huttons, for members of the Holy Club in Oxford and London; also for Clayton, Rivington, and others; and later for the society at Fetter Lane, and his own societies in London, Bristol, and Newcastle. There is reason to believe that the number of autograph journals lost is greater than those now accessible.

In addition to the Journals, Wesley wrote Diaries—not one continuous, day-by-day Diary, but a series, preserving in their form the dividing-lines of the writer's life. For instance, the Diary written during his Oxford career differs in form from the Diary kept on board the *Simmonds*, whilst the former is itself broken into sections more or less distinct. Wesley's script also varied. The varieties mark changes in the writer's life. His first Diary, kept in a note-book used for several purposes, begins in a slightly abbreviated longhand. On the first page a few words in cipher appear. Whenever in this volume (Oxford Diary No. I) religious experience or intercourse with intimate friends is introduced, the record is in cipher wholly or in part. Oxford Diary No. II is written in a much more

Monday Apr. 5. 1725. - To Feb. 19. 1727.

- M. I made a Thoms & Vers & translated a page of G. W. E. C.  
 A. I writ two Letters, read a book of Syphilis & half a play  
 M. Translated four Pages of y<sup>e</sup> Father &  
 A. Read so or twelve p. in y<sup>e</sup> S. & transl. so p. of G. W. E. C.  
 M. Translated 4 p. of W. E. C. went out to Breakfast with -  
 A. Made a Thoms, went to Dining, read of a B. of Syphilis.  
 M. Transl. 2 p. of W. E. C.  
 A. Read Half y<sup>e</sup> 2 Vol. of y<sup>e</sup> Father  
 M. } Friday Monday 11 Apr. 1725. went out of town.  
 A. } 2<sup>d</sup> } Friday April 14, 1725. Footman 200 m<sup>3</sup> 5. 5.  
 M. Translated 4 p. of W. E. C. let it not be in vain!  
 A. Three Pages - Writ a Letter May. 26. Friday  
 M. Read so ch. in S. Matthee & d. in C. R. - 2<sup>d</sup>  
 A. Writ 2. Letters  
 M. Collected 20 pages in y<sup>e</sup> Government of the Tongue 29  
 A. Two & twenty more; d. in C. R. -  
 M. Twenty pages went out to breakfast & sermon 30  
 A. 23 more  
 M. At breakfast & at y<sup>e</sup> Bodlian. June. 30  
 A. Read 12 Odes in Horace d. in C. R. -  
 M. Went out for R. R. to y<sup>e</sup> Bodl. 2  
 A. Read 12 Odes in Horace & went to y<sup>e</sup> Bodl.  
 M. Read 12 Odes; 3  
 A. Made an end of y<sup>e</sup> first book; collected 5 p. in G. of y<sup>e</sup> S.  
 M. Went out to B. read first Ode in y<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> book. 4  
 A. Went to Div. Disp. heard y<sup>e</sup> Geography of y<sup>e</sup> S. of Milton  
 M. Collected 15 pages in G. S. 5  
 A. Writ two Letters





severely abbreviated longhand, with a few reminiscences only of the cipher which so largely prevails in the earlier volume. The monthly reviews, which in No. II take definite shape, and until the voyage to America continue with regularity as a valuable autobiographical feature, are easily read. The veils of cipher and abbreviation are lifted, or they lose their opaqueness. No. II as a whole is remarkable for its untidiness. The handwriting is hurried, confused, and for this reason alone is often undecipherable. The same characteristic marks considerable portions of the first volume, reappearing in Georgia No. III. Everywhere, however, bad writing disappears when the diarist enters into his closet, shuts to the door, and communes in secret with his own soul and with his Father in heaven. All the monthly reviews, the resolutions, general and particular questions, confessions and ejaculatory prayers, are written with minute care. They are pictures of neatness, order, succinctness, and, except for a few eccentricities of letter and figure formation, might be set as copies for schoolboy imitation. In all the Oxford Diaries an ever-increasing number of pages are devoted to the registration of the daily work of a college tutor. His scheme of marking class attendance may have been borrowed; but if so, he improves on the original until it perfectly answers his purpose. In one of the Rules for 'our Company,' he regards scholarship as a Christian virtue, emphasizing 'the necessity of method and industry, in order to either learning or virtue.' The Oxford class-registers embody this sentiment in details which, however small, bear silent testimony to the manner in which the Fellow of Lincoln discharged his trust as a college tutor. In neatness and orderliness the tutorial record, being a part of his religion, ranks with experience and friendship. Business, represented by accounts of income and expenditure—kept as a religious duty—is honoured by scrupulous exactness. At first the accounts are included in the Diary volume. Later they monopolize one of the series.

The Oxford Diary No. III is written in abbreviated longhand. The writing is good, and there are many signs of an increasing orderliness and steadfastness in daily life. The diarist has become a 'Methodist,' and that not only in relation to the great affairs of life, but also and equally in such details as

caligraphy, margins, paging, and dates. In form and style it is the diary of a man living according to rule.

The last Diary written at Oxford (No. IV) carries self-examination to its high-water mark. Nothing more elaborate for the torture of a tender conscience or for the training of a good conscience has ever been devised. The earlier part of the volume is arranged on the plan adopted in No. III. But in January 1734 a new scheme is introduced, with fine pencil rulings that answer to the departments of a Holy Life, secular, religious, intellectual, and physical. Numbers down the left-hand margin represent the hours of the day, from four o'clock in the morning until nine at night. A second column is introduced, with the letter 'e' for 'ejaculatory prayer'; and a third with figures down the middle of the page for minutes spent at the close of each hour in devotion. The same general plan, with fewer pencil rulings, is preserved in the *Voyage* and later *Georgia Diaries*, until, with the advent of Byrom's shorthand, untidiness reappears, and the diarist, distracted by the apparent fruitlessness of his scheme of personal religion, and by the failure of the mission for which he has sacrificed so much, bids fair to lose himself in a pathless wilderness. One of the volumes, containing a section of the *Georgia* daily record, disappeared many years ago from the collection now in the possession of the Colman family. Through the channels of gift and purchase it has passed ultimately into the hands of Bishop Hendrix, of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, by whom it has been lent for the service of this edition of *Wesley's Journal*.

With the new life that began in London and Bristol the Diary revives, but in a new form. The wearying apparatus for introspection and self-diagnosis wholly disappears. Byrom's shorthand, in strong lines and curves, tells the story of travel, preaching, and society-meeting. Names and numbers are 'writ plain.' A short space only is given to the daily record, and on the face of it the Diary has become a mirror in which, even at this distance of time, we may see the stir and labour and strife of a great church movement. To place the first page of No. I Diary (April 1725) side by side with the last page of the *Evangelistic Diary* still in our possession is to produce a contrast as significant as dramatic.

All the Diaries have this in common: they are private records. Those who would ransack the archives of the dead, and refuse sanctuary to their most confidential self-communings, would print the Diaries as they stand. Fortunately they are in unknown tongues, and few would care to devote months to the task of decipherment. On the other hand, how few reputations, even of the saintliest dead, would survive the preservation of diaries containing in brief sentences their innermost thoughts! Yet the student of Wesley's life returns from behind the scenes with a profounder regard than ever for the man who so frankly unveils himself.

One peculiarity relaxes to some extent the stern law of silence which otherwise might restrain investigation. Wesley did not shroud his Diaries in wellnigh impenetrable veils for his own sake, but for others who now, with their families for the most part, are gone. Further, he did not destroy his Diaries; he left them, knowing that they would fall into the hands of surviving friends who would treat them with respect.

For our present purpose a description and an analysis of the first Oxford Diary will suffice as a study preparatory to Wesley's own account of the Holy Club. Just as the account he gave to Mr. Richard Morgan of Dublin was a fitting introduction to the story of the Oxford Mission to Georgia, so the substance of this Diary will prove helpful to a more perfect conception of that Oxford Methodism which Wesley strove to plant in Georgia and would fain have given to Red Indians and to the whole world.

The book is a small duodecimo volume, stoutly bound in half vellum and much-worn marble boards, antique in appearance, the paper poor in quality and yellow with age; the ink varies greatly; the writer's pens are hand-made quills. Compared with the beautiful calf-bound volumes of the Colman Collection, the book is poverty-stricken, probably a century older, and much the worse for wear.

How came the note-book into Wesley's possession? Do the covers yield the secret of its origin and earliest use? The inner side of the cover is filled with writing, the meaning of which is fairly obvious. It is a plan of study for the new year, thought out as the year 1721 drew to a close—a time-table of



work and correspondence drawn up by John Wesley at Christ Church in his eighteenth year, four years before his ordination—with the exception of a well-known Charterhouse letter the oldest writing of his in existence. But there is other and older writing on the page, partly covered by the time-table, though without any attempt at obliteration.

Three Wesley names appear thus :

Jo: Wesley  
John Westley  
Sam: Westley

and interwoven with them the words :

‘ Job, afternoon and pupils.’

Conjecture—and, however reasonable, it can only be conjecture—suggests that originally the book was purchased by John Westley of Winterbourne-Whitchurch, grandfather of the John who was destined to fill its pages. This earlier John Westley, a brave, witty, scholarly, simple-minded itinerant evangelist, may be claimed as one of the fathers of Methodism. Of him it was said that, when a schoolboy, he had a very humbling sense of sin, and a serious concern for his salvation, and soon after began to keep a diary, in which he recorded remarkable instances of providential care over him, the method of God’s dealings with his soul, and how he found his heart affected under the means of grace and the occurrences of Providence. This method he continued, with little intermission, to the end of his life. Adam Clarke adds : ‘ It was probably his example, which he must have known, that led his grandson, the founder of the Methodists, to follow the same practice.’<sup>1</sup>

It may be objected that Wesley, in his Preface to the first ‘ Extract,’ attributed his habit of keeping a journal to ‘ an advice given by Bishop Taylor in his *Rules for Holy Living and Dying*.’ But the two statements—Dr. Clarke’s and Wesley’s—are not inconsistent. What the latter says is, ‘ I began to take a *more exact account* than I had done before of the manner wherein I spent my time, writing down how I had employed every hour.’ The Oxford Diaries illustrate and reconcile the two statements. He began to keep the Diary before reading Jeremy Taylor ; and it

<sup>1</sup> *Wesley Family*, vol. i. p. 32. See also Whitehead’s *Life of Wesley*, vol. i. p. 2.



*Horaki Odorum*

Phil. Grim

Ad.

Several *Horaki* have several incisions in the

embellation is to be a first shot

v.9 *Coriandula pulverem* *Allympanicum*

*Billiger*

v.8 *Scorpium* *Domitius* *euchet* ad *Deo*

v.4 *Spergenius* *colere* *Monotilus*

v.10 *Quicquid* *de* *glaci* *veritur* *ore*

v.12 *Arctice* *condiciones* *bothy* *furniture*

v.15 *Luctum* *Sanis* *fluctibus* *lfricus*

v.16 *Inductu* *paupertatem* *hosi*

v.20 *Antem* *obscis* *acmere* *de* *die* *so* *convenit*

a part of day to mark

v.21 *Vindicta* *monita* *sub* *orbulo* *Amad-*

v.23 *Acta* *monitibus* *Detestata*

v.25 *lib* *lucis* *in* *the* *open* *air*

v.29 *Detestum* *Mederie* *proxima* *frontem*

*Antem* *Allympanicum* *San* *Allympanicum* *San*

*Antem* *San* *Allympanicum* *San* *Allympanicum* *San*

*Antem* *San* *Allympanicum* *San* *Allympanicum* *San*

*Antem* *San* *Allympanicum* *San* *Allympanicum* *San*

*Antem* *San* *Allympanicum* *San* *Allympanicum* *San*

*Antem* *San* *Allympanicum* *San* *Allympanicum* *San*

*Antem* *San* *Allympanicum* *San* *Allympanicum* *San*

mythem more dangerous than being

out of the *Allympanicum* nest which is cold from

a small *Allympanicum* mythem now *Allympanicum*

*Sanis* *fluctibus* *San* *Allympanicum*

*Antem* *San* *Allympanicum* *San* *Allympanicum*

*Antem* *San* *Allympanicum* *San* *Allympanicum*

*Antem* *San* *Allympanicum*

*Antem* *San* *Allympanicum* *San* *Allympanicum*

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*Antem* *San* *Allympanicum* *San* *Allympanicum*

*Antem* *San* *Allympanicum* *San* *Allympanicum*

*Antem* *San* *Allympanicum* *San* *Allympanicum*



was, as he says, only after the advice he received that he enlarged its scope, making it a more exact record of what he did not only from day to day, but often from hour to hour.

This note-book belonged, apparently, to John Westley, of Whitchurch. Had the good man lived, the little volume would have been filled, as others like it had been, with events and thoughts of his life; and it would then have passed, with the rest of his diaries, into the possession of Dr. Calamy, whose quotation from one of them seems to have been the original from which both Whitehead and Clarke quote. But, its owner dying, it was inherited, with other personal effects, by his son Samuel. Who wrote 'John Westley's' name in the book we do not know. There is often a family likeness in the handwriting, as in the faces and figures, of the Wesleys. It may be that all three names were written by one hand, or by two or three. There can be no doubt, however, that we have the succession—the grandfather John Westley, his son Samuel Wesley, his grandson John Wesley. The book would probably come into the hands of the rector of Epworth unused, or with only two or three pages written upon, pages which have been neatly cut out. We may imagine that when John, having finished his school life at the Charterhouse, removed to Oxford,<sup>1</sup> his father gave him this note-book, advising that he should imitate the example of his grandfather whose name he bore, reminding him that he also, his father, had kept a diary with accounts of his expenditure. Probably the earliest use John made of his grandfather's old-fashioned little book was to transcribe extracts and notes from the first Ode of Horace. These he wrote in the schoolboy handwriting of which other examples survive in the earliest known letters to his mother and in a letter to the Treasurer of Charterhouse concerning a mistake in the payment of his exhibition. The last figure of the date in the latter is indistinct, 'but there are indications of its having been the figure 1, making the date 1721.'<sup>2</sup>

At the close of this same year, 1721, when John was not yet nineteen years of age, something occurred to compel a more

<sup>1</sup> In 1720.

<sup>2</sup> *Homes and Haunts of Wesley*.  
Facsimile letter from the *Greyfriar*,

pp. 151-4. See note on p. 46, also facsimile opposite, for an example of Wesley's earliest handwriting.

serious outlook. What it may have been we do not know; perhaps a letter from his father, or mother, or his brother Samuel.<sup>1</sup> But, whatever it was, it led him to write, in a small neat hand, upon the inner cover of his grandfather's note-book, a plan which in later years was carried out still more elaborately. He laid down a scheme of studies for 1722—a time-table for each day of the week, a list of subjects which he hoped to study, and an order of correspondence with his father, mother, sisters, and brother. We give a facsimile of the first cover-page on p. 43.

The volume, among other peculiarities, has not been paged; it has been used for various purposes; it begins from both ends, and seems to have been taken in hand more than once as though for regular service in a busy life, and then to have been laid on one side. Whole pages are left blank, and, years having passed, are filled, or partially filled. The date of three early pages, containing lists of pupils provided by Dr. Morley, rector of Lincoln, is as late as 1730, when the volume had already, nearly three years earlier, finished its course as a diary. For the date of two pages that immediately follow, the handwriting—a fairly reliable witness<sup>2</sup>—carries us back eight or ten years. If we could identify 'Mrs. Seaco,'<sup>3</sup> for whose instruction the pages were written, we might approximately date them. They are so beautiful in penmanship, and so interesting as an example of what the scholarly young student calls 'collection,' that we here reproduce them.<sup>4</sup>

Questions arise:

Did Wesley lend his grandfather's little note-book to a lady pupil? Or is this, like some other instances that might be named, a transcription for the student's own use of a separately written paper given to Mrs. Seaco? If the latter,

<sup>1</sup> Or the conversation with the college porter reported by Reynolds. See Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. i. p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> In early life Wesley seems to have had two distinct yet closely allied handwritings. The first he probably inherited from the Charterhouse. The *Greyfriars* letter, the Diary pages on Horace, two letters to his mother in 1723 and 1724, and the General Rules in cipher, are examples. The second style was formed

in Oxford; it persisted, with modifications, to the end.

<sup>3</sup> The name may be a contraction for 'Seacombe' or 'Seacole.' In the accounts he twice pays 'Mrs. Seacole' ten shillings. He had several lady pupils at Oxford—Mrs. Aldrich and Mrs. Bagster of Christ Church, Mrs. Bosom of Magdalen or Merton, Mrs. Green and Mrs. Shelton of Wadham.

<sup>4</sup> See facsimile, p. 44.

have we here one of Wesley's unfulfilled purposes, an unrealized ambition? Probably. We know that he left the Charterhouse with a reputation as a writer of Latin verse. This Diary bears testimony to his love for Horace. He translated and 'collected' all the Odes, Epodes, Satires, and Epistles. The Odes he could at this time have recited in early eighteenth-century Oxford Latin pronunciation, and with the rhetorical finish that made his readings so welcome in private circles. Some of them he had already translated into English verse. With this little volume in our hand, we may surmise that when, in or about 1721, he transcribed and annotated the first Ode, Wesley cherished the idea of a new edition of Horace. There can be little doubt that many congenial pursuits in this spring-time of a virile life shone temptingly before Wesley's eyes. We can easily imagine him at Christ Church, or in the familiar rooms at Lincoln, before the Holy Club had fired him with the 'enthusiasm of humanity,' planning his life, and filling it with scholarly achievements, some of which he tentatively began. Horace, Juvenal, Homer, Shakespeare, Spenser, and Milton were annotated by his facile pen at Oxford and Wroot. At one period his mind inclined towards the drama. His sister Martha, in a well-known letter, thanks him for good plays, and craves more. On the first page of his Diary a mediaeval writer of plays is named twice as a subject of study, and three times on the same page he says that he 'acted an hour.'

But the first and most striking feature of this Diary is the dominating influence of 'Rules and Resolutions.' If the Diary in its earliest and simplest form was an inheritance from his father and grandfather, in its more advanced development it was a fulfilment of Jeremy Taylor's advice. The genesis of its apparatus is distinctly traceable to those 'Rules of Holy Living' which have ever ranked so high in the devotional literature of Christian homes.

Three sets of Rules and Resolutions, written with exquisite care, immediately precede the first page of the Diary. On the same pages, disfiguring their original caligraphic beauty, are examples of an early form of class-register and a list of texts and topics for pulpit preparation, written roughly, at various times, and here and there rudely erased. The cipher in which



the Rules are written is quite simple when once a clue to the principle of decipherment is supplied. Reserving to a later section<sup>1</sup> an account of how the cryptic lines were translated, we here give facsimile reproductions, with a transliteration.

#### A GENERAL RULE IN ALL ACTIONS OF LIFE

Whenever you are to do an action, consider how God did or would do the like, and do you imitate His example.

#### GENERAL RULES OF EMPLOYING TIME

1. Begin and end every day with God ; and sleep not immoderately.
2. Be diligent in your calling.
3. Employ all spare hours in religion ; as able :
4. All holidays [holy-days].
5. Avoid drunkards and busybodies.
6. Avoid curiosity, and all useless employments and knowledge.
7. Examine yourself every night.
8. Never on any account pass a day without setting aside at least an hour for devotion.
9. Avoid all manner of passion.

FRIDAY, *March 26*. I found a great many unclean thoughts arise in prayer [or devotions], and discovered these temptations to it :

- a.* Too much addicting myself to a light behaviour at all times.
- b.* Listening too much to idle talk, or reading vain plays or books.
- c.* Idleness, and lastly—

Want of devotion—consideration in whose presence I am.

From which I perceive it is necessary

- a.* To labour for a grave and modest carriage ;
- b.* To avoid vain and light company ; and
- c.* To entertain awful apprehensions of the presence of God.
- d.* To avoid idleness, freedom with women, and high-seasoned meats ;
- e.* To resist the very beginnings of lust, not by arguing with, but by thinking no more of it or by immediately going into company ; lastly

To use frequent and fervent Prayer.

#### GENERAL RULES AS TO INTENTION

1. In every action reflect on your end ;
2. Begin every action in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost ;
3. Begin every important work with prayer ;
4. Do not leave off a duty because you are tempted in it.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 71 *et seq.*

2. f n r v r i e n 2 u q n o f d f;  
 w x n u r - 2 r o d. ~~o~~ n 2 q n d o d r ~~o~~ ÷ o d d r  
 o n d. y b k, c d. - m. t. y x x m p f  
 S. n r l d l u f m p. - o f m.  
 Q. b. c. m. l. m. n. J. - e. o. o. d. i. n. o. t. m. d. i. t. f

-in f. d. d. w. d. r. n. n. l. s. p. r. n. e. 2 m;  
 Som n. a. b. d. p. r. o. v. i. e. t. i. t. i. s. n. e. s. t. a. n. t.  
 b. o. l. b. r. f. r. a. 2. g. r. u. n. m. d. s. t. d. i. n. g.  
 a. o. u. d. u. n. o. l. a. s. d. i. m. p. i. e. n. t.  
 i. o. n. t. r. i. n. i. f. l. o. p. r. i. n. c. i. p. i. u. m. s. u. p. p. r. e. n. s. i. o.  
 d. o. u. d. d. i. s. t. i. n. c. t. i. o. n. e. s. t. p. r. i. n. c. i. p. i. u. m. e. s. s. e. n. d. m. o.  
 e. o. d. i. s. t. i. n. c. t. i. o. n. e. s. t. p. r. i. n. c. i. p. i. u. m. e. s. s. e. n. d. m. o.  
 b. u. t. d. i. s. t. i. n. c. t. i. o. n. e. s. t. p. r. i. n. c. i. p. i. u. m. e. s. s. e. n. d. m. o.

—and many others.

St. Louis, Mo. 1892.

1. n vr. d. n r. g. v. n
2. B. f. n vr. d. n n. n. n. f. y. v. O. o. c. l. g.
3. B. f. n vr. m. p. t. - h. - j. p. r. -
4. D. n. t. i. v. a. f. 2 d. e. b. s. - i. r. m. p. t. n. t. -

FACSIMILE OF RULES OF HOLY LIVING.

49

1. Went to n.p. & preached at Binsay - sat at H. Pl. 21.  
 2. Read y<sup>e</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> Sal - at y<sup>e</sup> Auction -  
 3. Ended y<sup>e</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> b. read 2<sup>nd</sup> Sal. of y<sup>e</sup> 2. at y<sup>e</sup> Auction - 23  
 4. Dr. at home with Baken - read y<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> Sal. 24  
 5. Went to my Mr. deat Sea -  
 6. Mr. H. V. Read life of Minerva - d. n. p. x. c. 25  
 7. Read Horace, walked to Saltmore.  
 8. Dr. at home with Baken - read part of Horace de Arte  
 Poetica - walked - sat with Mr. Ditcher at y<sup>e</sup> King's head  
 sat at Mr. C. J. n. d. n. H. d. n. p. x. c.  
 9. Dr. at home at H. P. Heard Dr. Feller on Coleridge walked  
 10. Read de Arte Poet. Dr. at C. H. read y<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> b. n.  
 11. Ended Horace de Arte P. read histo. of Minerva x. c.  
 12. Read Horace - y<sup>e</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> Sal. n. branch & rest - x. c. Heard Mr. H. H.  
 13. Read y<sup>e</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> Sal. read Salmon's review -  
 14. Dr. at Baken's - talk of Quasor in Baken - read 5<sup>th</sup> Sal.

Dec. 1. 1725.

b. d. e. v. d. i. n. d. i. c. i. s. t. o. f. x. o. d. i. c. n. o. t. f. o. d. e.  
 p. r. o. d. e. m. p. i. t. o. n. e. b. i. n. p. h. | g. r. i. d. e. p. r. o. d. e. | p. r. o. d. e. p. h. | d. n. p. h. |  
 n. m. p. r. i. c. e. n. d. i. p. n. o. n. e. | d. d. s. b. p. n. o. n. f. o. d. o. r  
 b. r. i. d. e. p. r. o. d. e. | d. i. s. p. m. e. t. r. a. | l. o. p. r. i. c. e. n. o. | c. n. m. n. o. | d. d. p. o. r. p. e.  
 o. g. v. r. a. p. | d. u. r. o. n. m. b. t. r. v. n. | m. | x. c.

Q. o. f. r. d. e. v. r. l. a. s. d. n. p. h. - n. m. p. h. | x. c. b.

- J. 1. Went to Mr. Griffiths & Co. Dr. at Mr. H. d. e. ended y<sup>e</sup> 2. b.  
 2. Read six Spent: branch of Rev. x. c.  
 J. 2. Read 12. Dr. ended y<sup>e</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> b. Dr. at Rev. x. c.  
 3. Read y<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> b. Ended Horace  
 5. 3. d. n. p. h. | b. d. R. S. x. c. m. d. v. | 1/2 - |

FACSIMILE PAGE CONFESSIONS IN CIPHER.



These Rules are a 'collection' of some of Jeremy Taylor's noblest paragraphs. Wesley's indebtedness to the *Holy Living* in framing all his Oxford Rules, his *Twelve Rules of a Helper*, and the Rules of the United Societies, will be obvious to any one who, having read the book, turns to these productions of a man, trained in the school of method, who excelled his saintly master at least in his power to say much in few words.

Towards the close of the year 1725, after a confession of sin and a cry for mercy, he makes a notable addition to his store of Resolutions. The page so fairly represents the general characteristics of the Diary, and its entries for the most part are so clearly written and so slightly abbreviated, that it may be given as it stands without transliteration (see opposite), save as regards the remarkable cipher passage dated December 1, 1725, the decipherment of which reads thus :

Breach of vows : hence careless of fixing days of mortification, &c.

Pride of my parts or holiness : greedy of praise : peevishness : idleness.

Intemperance in sleep : sins of thought : hence useless or sinful anger.

Breach of promise : dissimulation : lying : rash censures : contemning others : disrespect of governors : desire to seem better than I am. Κύριε ἐλέησον.

RESOLUTION :

To fast, &c., every Wednesday in a month. Κύριε βοήθει.

During the first year of his new career as an ordained clergyman Wesley adopted a plan destined, in a slightly changed form, to play a momentous part in the early Methodist societies. Every Saturday night he held an inquisition with regard to his own religious experience. It was a private Saturday-night 'band-meeting,' his Lord and his own soul being, as yet, the only members of the 'band.' Month by month Diary No. I records, usually in the form of confession, the results of this inquisition. The words, as a rule, are few, and invariably in cipher. They end with the familiar prayer for mercy (κ. ε.); or, when a new Resolution is added to the 'Rules and Exercises of Holy Living,' the prayer is for 'help' (κ. β.). Returning from Buckland and Stanton, where the Christmas holidays of 1725-6 were spent, he resumes his work, reading the Latin classics and the Epistle to the Romans in Greek. On Saturday he writes thus :

5. Read Juvenal again : breakfast with Mr. Lehman, talk of Lincoln [this last, with characteristic caution, is in cipher, for he was not yet elected a Fellow of Lincoln].

*Aft.* Drank tea with Gwynn : read the Corpus verses and Vertôt.

And then, it being Saturday night, he draws a line, enters his secret place of meditation, reopens his Diary, and with minute care writes the following spiritual exercise (see p. 57) :

ENQUIRE :

Have I loved women or company more than God ?

RESOLVE : Never to let sleep or company hinder me from going to prayers.

Have I taken God's name in vain ?

RESOLVE : Never to mention it but in religion.

Irreverent behaviour at Church ?

RESOLVE : Never to laugh or talk idly there.

Indevotion ?

Prayer and humility.

Pride ?

Consider death, the Scriptures.

Idleness ?

Six hours every day.

Intemperate sleep ?

At five.

Unclean thoughts ?

God's omnipresence.

*Jan.* 29, 1726.

Lying.

*Sept.* 20. RESOLVED to reflect twice a day.

*Oct.* 24. Once a day to read over the last week's resolutions.

*Dec.* 1. To fast once a month.

Reviewed *Jan.* 31, 1726.

These sacred and hitherto unknown meditations of a young scholar (he was still in his twenty-second year) are published with diffidence, and not without misgiving lest readers, more familiar with modern phraseology than with the words and meanings of the older devotional writers, should read into them a significance not warranted by the known facts of the writer's inward and outward life. For instance, in his severe self-communings he recalls the pleasant Christmas holiday spent in the villages of Broadway, Stanton, and Buckland. Women like

Mrs. Kirkham and her three daughters, Mrs. Chapone, Betty and Damaris, with their intimate friends in the vicarages of Broadway and Buckland, and their neighbours, Mrs. Granville, Mrs. Pendarves (afterwards Mrs. Delany), and Miss Anne Granville, had been his daily comrades during the Christmas and New Year festivities. They were all women of the highest distinction, both intellectually and in point of morals and manners. In the young student's regard they ranked with his own mother and sisters. But there had been much company. A wedding in the Kirkham family, at which Wesley was an invited guest, had increased the gaiety of the old-fashioned 'merry Christmas.' Returning to Oxford, Wesley closes the first month of the new year with a series of searching questions addressed with unsparing 'openness' to a painfully tender conscience. The foremost inquiry in this Saturday-night self-examination echoes the phraseology of the 'Holy Living' and the intimacies of the Christmas friendships: 'Have I loved women or company more than God?'

Another cipher word may here be noted. l—o seems to reappear in a later Diary (1734, for example) as li and l, where, undoubtedly, the interpretation is 'lively.' According to his own diagnosis, Wesley was greatly tempted by the opposite dispositions of 'liveliness' and 'moroseness.' It might be thought possible to translate l—o in a somewhat similar manner. One would gladly accept such relief from an acknowledged difficulty but for the inexorable pressure of facts.<sup>1</sup> The word is used frequently in the confessions of this period. It is clearly and carefully written, nothing in any context contravenes the interpretation, and in one place no other is possible. But by 'lying' Wesley (always the most unrelenting witness against himself) does not mean the deliberately spoken lie, but exaggeration, misrepresentation, the equivocal use of words out of their ordinary and strictly accurate and literal meaning, or a *suppressio veri*, all of which will be recognized as being the temptation of a lively, highly imaginative conversationalist. Betrayed into hasty speech, when the Saturday-night dry light shines on the sayings and doings of the week, he labels his sins of idle words 'lying.'

Even in his exuberant youth a hard reader and a busy

<sup>1</sup> l = 1: — = y: the fullpoint in the centre = i: o = ng.



man, Wesley nevertheless was constantly tempted to waste precious hours in idleness. In early youth and far on into old age an early riser, 'immoderate sleep' was another frequent 'sin.' Constitutionally, and through force of life-long physical infirmity, a lazy man, he resolutely trained himself into the habit of ceaseless diligence. But the process was slow and painful. In this Diary we see the habit in the early stages of its growth and in its struggles. No early Methodist preacher knew better than John Wesley how hard it was for young men to 'be diligent.' Light literature, plays, books like *Gulliver* and *Hudibras*, music, the customary outdoor and indoor recreations of the day, tea-drinking with friends, long walks and various forms of horse exercise, brightened a laborious life, and at the same time allured into that which he regarded, in his more serious moments, as a sinful waste of time. One of the pathetic complaints against himself frequently met with is 'intemperate sleep' or 'immoderate sleep.' Another constantly recurring word in cipher is  $\cdot \acute{e} \cdot m \cdot n$  (idleness). One of his Saturday-night reviews (October 1, 1726, p. 57) is recorded in two words  $\cdot \acute{e} \cdot m \cdot n$   $\dot{\text{c}}$ .  
idleness      slas
The history of the brief cryptic sentence is interesting. During the previous days he has made a new sermon and has preached it at St. Michael's, has written verses, enjoyed recreation in the Common Room of his own College of Lincoln and among his former comrades at Christ Church, indulged, as he frequently did, in light reading (in this case the *History of Pyrates*) and ended the working-week on Friday night with 'writ to my mother.' His Saturday-night verdict on the week's doings is, 'Idleness slays.' The word translated 'idleness' is beyond question. The next word may, as shorthand experts think, be a 'phraseogram.' It seems to stand for words in which s-s occurs. Here it is combined with 'l' and 'a.' The following passage from Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living* (p. 5, ed. 1858) solves the difficulty. It certainly affords an illuminating commentary on Wesley's life-long battle against idleness, whether in sleep or trifling employment.

Idleness is called 'the sin of Sodom and her daughters,'<sup>1</sup> and indeed is 'the burial of a living man'<sup>2</sup>; an idle person being so

<sup>1</sup> Ezek. xvi. 49.

<sup>2</sup> Seneca.

useless to any purposes of God and man, and he is like one that is dead, unconcerned in the changes and necessities of the world; and he only lives to spend his time and eat the fruits of the earth: like a vermin or a wolf, when their time comes they die and perish, and in the meantime do no good; they neither plough nor carry burdens; all that they do either is unprofitable or mischievous.

All this John Wesley 'collected' into a cryptic phrase, writing it in his grandfather's little diary-book that it might whisper warning amidst the distractions of a pleasant life—'Idleness slays.' Sunday morning followed, and we may picture him riding through the autumn-tinted lanes to Combe parish church, where he read prayers once, and, returning to Oxford, preached at Christ Church. On Monday, October 3, he went to the Coffee House, where he read the news, and again 'writ my mother.' In the after part of the day he wrote to his hard-working brother at Westminster, read Lilly's Life,<sup>1</sup> and two days later rode to Broadway—a memorable journey.

These exercises of religion recorded in this first Diary are repeated in a more and more elaborate form in later Diaries. They prepared the way for the Holy Club; they found their fullest development in the class-meeting, private bands, and 'Helpers' of the United Societies, with their Rules and fellowship.

At a later period, when under the influence of the Holy Club the keeping of a diary had become one of his most serious 'actions,' Wesley divided his life into compartments, giving to each a name in his Monthly Reviews. One of these review pages is given on p. 67.

The compartments are indicated by marginal letters. Under R. he notes religious exercises, e.g. preaching, studies, reading, &c.; L. represents studies in Latin, G. Greek, H. Hebrew, Fr. French; Lr. the principal correspondence of the month; T. his travelling; Pu. matters specially relating to his pupils; Ac. the 'actions,' or, more probably, what Jeremy Taylor calls the 'accidents'—i.e. the happenings of his life.<sup>2</sup> In a later volume we purpose giving the complete series of these pages. They form a succinct, intelligible, and most interesting

<sup>1</sup> Which he read again later (Journal, Oct. 18, 1763). Lilly was a famous astrologer of the seventeenth century.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the Bible use of the phrase 'It fell on a day' or 'It came to pass.'

autobiographical record of the years 1732-4. One of the pages is here introduced for two reasons: (1) it shows how the scheme of life drafted on the cover-page of the first Oxford Diary was carried out in subsequent years; and (2) it affords further proof that the identification of Varanese (Miss Betty Kirkham) as 'my first religious friend' is correct. She here ranks with Clayton,<sup>1</sup> afterwards vicar of Salford, as a gift of Providence. She continues to rank with Wesley's special correspondents until 1736, or, in other words, almost to the eve of his departure from Georgia. If the lost Diaries filling the gap between September 1734 and October 1735 should be discovered, 'V,' like Clayton and Hutton, will be found holding a place of high regard among the religious friends of the leader of the Holy Club.<sup>2</sup>

Following Wesley's example in his Monthly Reviews, we will now attempt an analysis of the first Diary.

Under the head of Religion we naturally turn to his ordination to the office and work of the Christian ministry. The record reflects his condition of mind at this time and the habits of his daily life.

*Sept. 17, 1725.*

*Friday.* Breakfast with Mr Sherman [his tutor] (of passive obedience) vindicated St<sup>l</sup>: p. i. κ. ε. p: c. T. F.<sup>3</sup>

*Aft.* Read *The Gentleman's Library*, subscribed the Articles, read Dr Bennet. p. i. κ. ε. Sat at the Coffee House. Idle talk.

*Sat.* Read Mr Russill's sermon, Dr Bennet: p. i. κ. ε. R said [? Read] Bishop Bull's *Companion*. p. c. T. F.

*Aft. Saturday.* inde: Boasting, greedy of praise, intemperate sleep, detraction, lying: κ. ε. p. i. κ. ε. p. c: T. F: heat in arguing: p. c. T. F.

<sup>1</sup> Clayton's advent marked the more perfect organization and inspiration of the Holy Club.

<sup>2</sup> A letter was written to her from the *Simmonds*, Oct. 18, 1735, also to Clayton, S[ister] Emilia, and other choice friends. Her name appears in the correspondence list at the end of Georgia Diary No. II.

<sup>3</sup> These letters, partly English and partly Greek, constantly recur at this time. They are probably devotional and ejaculatory. 'κ. ε.' no doubt means

Κύριε ἐλέησον and 'κ. β.' Κύριε βοήθει; 'p. i.' may mean 'prayer,' 'intention'; 'c. T. F.' (cursive capitals) may be a cryptic formula of thanksgiving. If this interpretation is approximately correct, the constant use of the letters in connexion with daily work, letter-writing, intercourse with friends, means that Wesley strove at this time after literal obedience to the apostle's injunction, 'In everything by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving let your requests be made known unto God.'





Dr. Nathan Thomson (C.P.N.). Born 1792 at New York City.  
Read the Greek Library, submitted articles, and Dr. Barnard.

C. H. S. C. P. H. S. C.

Read the *Journal* of D. B. Co. p. i. v. s. Read D. B. Co. *Complete*  
p. c. v. s.

2. Scherzay. 12718. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851,

M. New and Second Deacons by B. B. of England. K. E. P. 1 p. c. 17.  
 2. Walt is mostly of the same name as Walt.

W. Parker's teaching & growth - ed. B. p. c. 5. 5.  
ed. B. p. c. 5. 5. Parker's own letters - Dis-  
cuss.

113 mostly on a little r.o.p.c. & g. 29

most likely before you reach Mr. Wincomb's safe & may  
not be a little - with money & bread. I, to I always bring  
one!

20-1  
U. Walden honor! & thank you Father p.i.x.e. I would like

5. Bro. with B. p. c. 5. F. M. Bro. with an hour  
five to steel wires to 10 minutes for 4 coils. p. c. 5. F.

U. Borden: 2240 Madison Ave.  
W. Borden: read her name - p. s. c. c. p. c. f. f.  
D. Went to Mr. Dr. R. P. G. at present.

Q. Will the V. eat alone with *Pentamerus* ~~etc~~

5. Red Rock Ward p. 2 x.c.  
6. Coll. Bennett compared Coll. washed and found 4 fec.

with Mr. Ogden / 1. c. predicted to accomp. c. J. F. Leavelle, Mass.

In the book B. of P. Mathon, at p 38 verse are  
These words.

be the first the Kingdom of God & his righteousness  
and all these things shall be added unto you

Which we are but Strangers & Dismiss in this World  
and as you not how soon, but are sure that ere long we shall  
leave it, yet are we usually so deeply concerned for the  
Things of this life, or if we were designed to continue in  
it for ever. Inasmuch that observing how many lay persons  
& Point out are to our subsisting <sup>in</sup> ~~at~~ even fast in our  
<sup>that they neglect to write it</sup>  
present station, we are apt to imagine almost all our  
Thoughts about them, & many times rather to seek with  
too much care & anxiety, and that there is not a fault  
peculiar to our Age may appear, in that first man No  
place more not free from it, they move so much to their us  
with needless care of this kind, that our Lord has been  
pleased to set aside great part of this Chapter, to warn us  
them of the Vanity of such proceedings. To this purpose the  
master use of several powerful yet obvious Arguments.

REDUCED FACSIMILE OF FIRST PAGE OF WESLEY'S  
FIRST SERMON.

REDUCED FACSIMILE RECORDING HIS ORDINATION.

*Morn.* Was ordained Deacon by the Bishop of Oxford. κ. ε. β. : p. c. T. F.

*Aft.* Walked in Trinity Gardens : collected D<sup>r</sup> Bennet : heard M<sup>r</sup> Bear on the Holy Ghost teaching the Apostles all truth : collected Bennet : p. c. T. F. Sat at Burman's : read Bishop Burnet *of his own times* : disputed warmly on a trifle. κ. ε. p. c. T. F. Sept. 19.

*Morn.* Was treated by Ditcher at the Coffee House and Tennis Court : p. c. T. F. Collected Bennet. Writ out the *Duke's Funeral* for M<sup>r</sup> Burcomb ; talked of marriage with Griffiths : walked round the meadow. Resolved to Review always twice a day.

*Aft.* Walked an hour : writ to my father. p. i. κ. ε. : walked from five to six : went to Tatham's : sat at the Coffee House : p. c. T. F.

*Tues.* Breakfast with Burman : p. c. T. F. collected Bennet : walked an hour.

*Aft.* Collected Bennet : played two hours at tennis.

*Wed.* Breakfast with Burman : read *Jane Shore* : p. i. κ. ε. p. c. T. F.

*Aft.* Writ to my Brother and to N. : sat at Lincoln. p. c. T. F.

*Th.* Breakfast with Burman : writ to Varanese : p. i. κ. ε.

*Aft.* Writ to Varanese : sat at home with company.

*Fri.* Read Clark and Ward : p. i. κ. ε.

*Aft.* Collected Bennet : compared Clark and Ward : walked out : drank tea with M<sup>r</sup> Rigby, talk of predestination p. c. T. F. Sat at the King's Head.

Mr. Sherman was Wesley's tutor ; Griffiths the son of his friend the vicar of Broadway, whose 'fancy' Christian name, probably, was 'Robin.'

At the Coffee House he read the news, *The Spectator*, and other periodicals of the day, paying 3*d.* a sitting, or a guinea a year. At the King's Head friends would lodge.

From a reference in his printed Journal we know that Wesley's first sermon after his ordination was preached at South Lye (or Leigh) near Witney. Among the miscellaneous papers in the Colman Collection the MS. is preserved. Strange to say, no record of the sermon or of its preaching appears in the Diary. Sunday, September 26, 1725, is left blank. The Saturday previous he spent collecting Bennet, breakfasting with Ditcher, walking with Burton of Corpus Christi (who ten years later induced him to undertake the Georgia Mission), reading Watts on Predestination, and writing, as usual, bitter



things against himself, among them being this: 'heat in arguing.' This ever-memorable week closed with the old cry, 'Κύριε ἐλέησον!' On Sunday morning he rides alone through Oxfordshire lanes towards Witney, and, halting at the quaint old church at South Lye with frescoed walls, he presents his authority signed by Bishop Potter, and preaches, from an exquisitely neat little MS., on 'Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and His righteousness.' Nearly seventy years later, 'in age and feebleness extreme,' Wesley preached in the house at Leatherhead—it still survives—from the companion text, 'Seek ye the Lord while He may be found; call ye upon Him while He is near.' These were his first and his last sermons.

The first diary-recorded preaching-Sunday is October 3: 'Preached and read prayers at Fleet Marston and Winchenden.' Apparently the sermon delivered at South Lye did not satisfy his fastidious taste or, we may hope, his hungry spirit; for he spent the preceding week in reading Watts, the Greek Testament, and the Book of Common Prayer, in communion with the best of his friends, in prayer and severe self-examination, and in writing and revising a new sermon. 'Hide nothing' is the principal Saturday-night record. And, rising early, he rode forth to preach his laboriously written sermon or sermons in two parishes.

The following are typical preaching-Sundays in 1725-6, the record being exact, though for convenience in reading a little freely transliterated.

'Oct. 10.' Having an appointment to preach at Shipton, some miles from Oxford, he hired a horse, for which he would pay, as we learn from the accounts, about 3s. 6d. The appointment evidently included an invitation to spend the week-end with friends, probably at the rectory. Therefore on the Saturday afternoon he 'rid to Shipton,' and on the Sunday 'preached twice, read prayers three times, buried a corpse, talked of good examples, of publishing injuries done to ourselves, and of the natural constitution of the body, &c.'

'Oct. 17. Rode to Tarm [Thame], read prayers, and preached twice.' Returning the same evening, he 'sat with Harrison.'

'Oct. 24.' He again rode to Shipton on the Saturday afternoon, 'preached, read prayers, baptized a child, and married a couple' on the Sunday morning; in the afternoon preached again and 'read prayers twice.'

Riding home on the Monday morning, he spent the afternoon with Burman and in walking to the Castle. The next day he went to Broadway, halting at Evesham, Stanton, and Buckland. He returned home on the Saturday, and spent the Sunday in reading Norris, talking with Mr. Pindar (son of his father's near neighbour) about church discipline, walking, talking of 'loving creatures,' and ended the day 'at Jesson's' rooms.

'Nov. 21.' He 'writ a sermon, read prayers, preached at Binsey, and sat at New College.'

'Jan. 9' (1726). He 'read prayers and preached at Buckland' in the morning and 'at Stanton' in the afternoon.

'Jan. 16. Read prayers and preached at Stanton.'

He wrote, as far as can be ascertained, from fifteen to twenty sermons during the year. The services in which he took part numbered fifty-five. In thirty-four of these he preached. In contrast with records of later years, how scanty the information, how cold the memories! He writes not a word concerning the congregation or his own conscious experience during or after the preaching. He neither rejoices over fruit gathered nor mourns the absence of result. The sermon is 'writ,' preached, and that is all. Once, preaching at Stanton, he preserves a note of the conversation which followed. Mrs. Pendarves and the rectory ladies heard the sermon. It seems to have been preparatory to a celebration of Holy Communion. This is the Diary entry:

Talked of the nature of a Sacrament. Much harm is done by exaggerating the venerableness of it. Proposing it as an object of fear rather than love deters multitudes from receiving it. [Talked] of the fulfilling of the prophecies touching the Messiah, particularly that given to Ahab [? Ahaz]—'He shall be called a Nazarene.'<sup>1</sup>

On Sunday, January 1, 1727, he preached once more at Stanton, and again conversed with his friends on the Sacrament.

<sup>1</sup> That Wesley in 1726, or at any time, should mistake Ahab for Ahaz is extraordinary. But in small details he is frequently betrayed into error, apparently by absent-mindedness and the 'law of association.' This probably happened here. The cipher sign for 'z'—count-

ing one consonant back—would be 'b,' and so he instinctively, and not of set purpose, wrote 'Ahab' for 'Ahaz.' There are several illustrations in the Diaries of error arising from similar causes.

The Sunday following, after reading prayers, he records a conversation on 'Election and Reprobation' with 'Aspasia' (Mrs. Pendarves), who was visiting at the rectory. Two days later came a tragedy that invests a sermon printed in Wesley's *Works* with new and hitherto unexpected interest. 'Robin' Griffiths, son of the vicar of Broadway, died suddenly. A messenger was sent to Wesley, who was staying with the Tookers at Buckland. 'Rode to Broadway,' he writes. 'Mr. and Mrs. Griffiths bear it nobly, with regular, solemn sadness. Talked of him and his death. Proffered to preach for him. Returned, and in the afternoon began a sermon—2 Sam. xii. 23.' Thursday, February 12, he was again at Broadway, transcribing the sermon for his friends, and was present at 'Robin's' burying. On Sunday, February 15, he read prayers and preached the 'funeral sermon' in the old parish church at Broadway. Later in the day he rode home to Buckland, where also he preached—possibly the same sermon; for if our surmises respecting 'Robin' and Miss Nancy Tooker are correct, there was a house of mourning at Buckland as well as at Broadway, and Mr. John Wesley, and Miss Betty Kirkham, with her sister, Mrs. Chapone, and Mrs. Pendarves, loved 'Robin' and Nancy, and in this day of sorrow forgot the faults of both in the tearful memory of their virtues. The preacher returned to Broadway, slept that night with the Allens, and next morning rode back to Oxford, apparently escorting Mrs. Chapone to her husband's house or lodging.

During John's absence his brother Charles had come to Oxford. John and Mr. Sherman went to see his rooms at Christ Church. Three days later a parcel came from the Broadway vicarage, with a letter written by the bereaved and grateful father. 'Robin's' gown and other personal belongings were in the parcel. The copy of the sermon transcribed in the old vicarage at Broadway remained with Mr. and Mrs. Griffiths. The original from which Wesley preached is now in the Colman Collection, endorsed with the date as in the Diary. Many years ago it was recopied and included among Wesley's published sermons, with a footnote to the effect that it was 'preached at Epworth'!

With this pathetic story we exhaust the human interest of Wesley's preaching in the first two years of his ministerial





1. INTERIOR OF CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD.

2. SOUTH LEIGH CHURCH.

3. BROADWAY CHURCH, IN WHICH WESLEY PREACHED FREQUENTLY. (See SER. CXXXV.,  
PREACHED HERE, AND NOT AT EPWORTH.)



1. BUCKLAND CHURCH AND RECTORY.

2. THE HOME OF THE GRANVILLES (MRS. DELANY), BUCKLAND.



life. He was learning the art of sermon-making. But as yet he knew not how to *preach* the sermons he wrote. He was learning also how to report and 'collect' sermons and lectures, as the following interesting examples culled from the first Diary will show:

N.B.—Heard Mr. Colley: Think of God with reverence and modesty; avoid a sanctified forwardness; let your thoughts of Him be mixed, compounded of all His attributes, and not unfruitful; but imitate Him in truth, love, and holiness, and consider Him under the characters He assumes Himself, as a Good Shepherd, a Friend (what an honour, comfort, and support is that relation to Him, entailed, unless we disinherit ourselves, on all the spiritual sons of Abraham, as on him and his active faith), a Father who not only gave a beginning to our existence, but has taken care of us ever since—who, when even our parents forsake us, takes us up, and has provided for us all things necessary both to life and godliness, both to our temporal and eternal happiness!

N.B.—Heard Mr. Coningsby on Passive Obedience: No exception to be made from a general rule, unless either by the lawgiver or from the reason of the thing. St. Paul's reasons are against it; as it is the very idea of government: for supremacy, limited or unlimited, implies a last resort, and from the last resort there lies no appeal. So that to assert both supremacy and resistance, that is, a further appeal, is a palpable contradiction.

If God be the origin of all power, then is the supreme governor His Vicegerent; if His Vicegerent, then he has no superior, but him from whom his authority is derived; and if he has no superior but God, then there can lie no appeal from him to any but God Himself.

Want we authority? all the good men in the world, all the New Testament, our Lord Himself, His disciples, the blessed martyrs, who wanted neither strength nor numbers; our own Church both in her practice, Homilies, and Liturgy, and this Loyal Seat . . . which made no less than three decrees to the purpose, in the compass of the last century.

In the Monthly Reviews, first after Religion, rank serious studies. In these, Latin and Greek classics, or Hebrew, take precedence. French or English literature follows. Theology, church history, and works of devotion are included under the head of Religion. In the six months following his ordination he read Drake and Le Clerc's Physics, Burnet of the Reformation, Dennis against Pope, Salmon's Review, Welstead's Poems, Lee against Locke, Hickes of Schism, The



Great Atlas, Dr. Halley of Magnetism and Gravity, Ditton of Matter's Thinking, the Souls of Brutes, Watts, Keil's Principia, Cowley, Locke, Norris, Heautontimorumenos, Cheyne of Fevers, Ezra in Hebrew, Horace's Odes, Horace's Epodes and Satires, Life of Whiteways, Horace de Arte Poetica and Epistles, St. Matthew, part of the 15th chapter of Proverbs (which he translated into Latin verse), Virgil's Eclogues, Logic, Virgil's Georgics, St. Mark, St. Luke, the Aeneid, Life of Plutarch, Epictetus, the Acts, the Iliad, Romans, Xenophon, Colossians and Thessalonians, Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, Cornelius Nepos, Jackson, Cowley and Watts, On the Case of Subscribing, Prior and Berkeley, Satires of Juvenal, Vertôt's Revolutions of Rome, Synge on Toleration, Clarendon, Milton, Rapin on Eloquence, Ephesians, and twelve Odes of Anacreon. All these books,<sup>1</sup> with a remarkable admixture of Plays, &c., were read, and many of them re-read and collected, in the interval between his ordination (September 1725) and his election to the Fellowship of Lincoln (March 17, 1726)—a fair list in the course of six months by a young student of delicate physique who suffers a martyrdom from chronic bilious catarrh, and is only able to preserve a tolerable measure of health by strict abstemiousness and daily exercise in walking, riding, rowing, or tennis.

Next to Religion and Learning, the letters of friendship filled a large place in Wesley's life at Oxford. As the years passed, letters to be written increased in number, and, we may well believe, in importance. Each letter as received was endorsed, dated, and, in many instances, entered in the Diary. Replies—not always brief and terse, as in later years—were transcribed. Most of the Granville correspondence was preserved in Wesley's handwriting. The Varanese letters have perished. Not a single example is known to exist. Perhaps Mrs. John Wesley destroyed the epistolary fruit of a friendship which, during ten years at least, so powerfully, and on the whole so graciously, influenced Wesley's life. His letters to Varanese—probably much freer and more natural than those written to Aspasia—would, if discovered, be a complete spiritual auto-

<sup>1</sup> Wesley's descriptions or titles, with the order in which the books are named, are preserved.

April 1732.

Ac. At Mr Popl, Jos. Anderson.<sup>He.</sup>  
Lush-ton Sm, W. Pitt, Horn, Berth,  
Bul, Wd, Land, He. Mr Short, Jo. Pin

W.B. April 20. 1725. Saw E. Apr. 20. 1732  
Saw Mr Clayton! 175.

in June May. in

R. Dr at Wood, Gloucester Coll. W. Pittle.  
The two Books of Kings. Romis:  
Part of Lant's A to L. Serana

L. A B of Cesar. 1/2 Stearns de Vif. Inf

Dr To W. Pitt, m. f. M. Barn, Sel, V.

E. Picture of L. Unreid. Confer of  
v L. Common of v. Abdicae. Maeln,  
Julius Cesar.

Ac. At Mr Popl, Barn, Mr. Stoo, W. Pitt,  
S. W. House warm, M. Day, M. Marq  
Boze found, M. Hutton, S. B. Barn,  
King, M. Grange, M. Neatz, M. Vitz,  
M. Clayton, v. R. Nash of Walth,  
Sm, Bul;

Mr Clayton, Sm, P. Pitt, Horn, Bulm,  
Ma, M. M. Popl, M. A. M. B. Mar,  
M. Barn am.

W.B. The Walth near Coscom fell that  
and m. Unhurt! May 16. 175.

S. W. S. m. v.  
2. W. S. v. B. v. Philosoph. Principles—

m. 4. In the 4th v. 20. 21. 22.

M. May 21. Preached read prayers - at John Rogers' 1726.

M. 24. to the to Mr. Barton - at m. S. L.

S. at Epw. at m. Br. Dr. h. tea w. Mr. Pears - called at Mr. Bow  
Mr. Harpers, Sarah Clark & H. Hall. m.

W. 4. W. S. [a] heard Rich. 3. v. half pay officers - walked on the

S. 5. W. S. [a] W. S. ended it - walked on the

S. 6. S. C. to of 3 Royal Convent [a] ended it - w. Mr. Thompson  
in y<sup>e</sup> River m.

S. 13th p. 4 - 20 foot - came -

M. Preached at Epworth - Read prayers -

S. 10. At Harz. in Head Row 2. 102.

W. 11. At Barnby

M. 15. Rode to Harz. preached at Mr. Stools' w. Mr. Bernard  
Geo. E. ft. w. d. - Dr. h. tea v. 20. - Came home at 6.  
with m. m.

M. 16. Put stakes. made two benches in y<sup>e</sup> Church m. 12  
Birthday - S. 20. m. c. 20 2nd - walked -

S. 17. Walk to S. Hamond / Road 4 m. of y<sup>e</sup> Epw. - walked

W. 18. Walked - w. S. / Birthday Epw. in / walked /

S. W. S. v. n. pr. near post - walking walked.

S. 20. W. S. / n. for m. at m. S. 2.

S. 21. W. S. / first class - Read. booklet

M. 22. Preached. W. S. m. S.

M. 23. W. S. / heard a book / read - put in



biography for the years 1725 to 1735. Hundreds of letters that certainly were written from Oxford, Broadway, Wroot, and Savannah may still be concealed in family archives. A careful examination of the Diaries will show whether, in the several known collections, all the letters written to 'my father,' 'my mother,' 'my brother Samuel,' 'Sister Emilia,' 'S. Martha,' 'S. Nancy,' 'S. Hetty,' 'S. Kezia,' 'S. Mary,' and 'Brother Charles' are preserved. Many of these probably have perished. The entire family correspondence, covering so many eventful years—years not wanting in romance, tragedy, and comedy—would form a work of surpassing interest. The Wesleys, whatever their faults or sorrows, claved to one another. The story of one member of the family cannot be written without remembering the fortunes and misfortunes of all.

This account of Wesley's first Diary may fitly close with a picture of his life at Wroot during the summer of 1726. The facsimile, given opposite, of the first complete page of the Diary written at Wroot may be rendered thus :

*Sat.* Writ sermon for my father.

*Aft.* Writ sermon : read Cheyne's *Philosophical Principles*.

Levity slays : Intemperate sleep.

*Sunday, May 1 (1726).*

Preached and read prayers and at Lolin (or Robin) Jaques' :  
1726.

*Mon.* Writ to Na: to Mr Burton : sat at my sister [Nancy] Lambert's.

*Tues.* At Epworth : at my brother's : drank tea with Mr Pennington :  
Called at Mr Barnard's, Mr Harper's, Sarah Clark<sup>1</sup> and  
H. Halt  $\bar{\alpha}$  = Satis.

*Wed.* 4. Writ sermon. Afternoon, heard [sic] *Richard* 3. Read *Half-pay Officers*. Walked or talked.

*Thur.* 5. Writ sermon : afternoon, writ sermon ; ended it : bathed.

*Fri.* 6. Three acts of the *Royal Convert* : afternoon, ended it : with  
Mr Thompson in the river. *Satis sufficit* [and elsewhere].

*Sat.* Miss Kitty Hargrave came.

*Mon.* Preached at Epworth : read prayers.

<sup>1</sup> See two tombstones in front of the west door of Epworth Church. It was a member of the Clark family who stood on the shoulders of a neighbour and lifted the child out of the burning rectory. (*Wesley Studies*, pp. 47, 48.)

*Tues.* 10. At Haxey: read Rowe's second volume.

*Wed.* 11. At Bawtry.

*Sun.* 15. Rode to Haxey: preached: at Mr Hoole's: with Mrs Barnard and her daughters: drank tea: supped: came home at eight with my mother.

*Mon.* 16. Cut stakes: made two benches in the arbour<sup>1</sup>: my sister Nancy's birthday.

RESOLUTION:

Despise nobody's advice.

Walked.

*Tues.* 17. Writ to F. Hammond: read four acts of *The Orphan*: walked.

*Wed.* 18. Walked: writ sermon: ended *The Orphan*: and walked.

*Thur.* Writ sermon: read prayers: went possessioning: walked.

*Fri.* 20. Writ sermon: writ for my father: at my sister Nancy's.

*Sat.* 21. Writ sermon: learnt Alexis: read *Spectator*.

*Sun.* 22. Preached: writ for my father.

*Mon.* Wrote sermon: learnt a tune: read *Spectator*.

His purpose in going to Wroot was to assist his father, who was now in failing health. His work was threefold: (1) he preached, read prayers, and attended as best he could to the duties of two scattered parishes—for this he needed new sermons; (2) he wrote new sermons for his father; (3) he acted as his father's amanuensis in preparing *Job* for the press.

---

<sup>1</sup> The remains (very old) of a bench in the rectory garden at Wroot probably mark the site of this arbour.

## WESLEY'S CIPHER

ALL Wesley's Diaries are disguised, and therefore difficult to read. Abbreviation, shorthand, and a cipher were his devices, securing, he hoped, concealment as well as economy of space and time. In the later Diaries the three methods are found in combination. It is, however, only in the first Oxford Diary that we find the cipher in its fullest development. There concealment is its only purpose. In no sense is it a shorthand. It may have been borrowed, like Wesley's shorthand, and like those 'Rules' and 'Resolutions' which best illustrate the cipher. Some of its peculiarities—for example, the abbreviations and vowel-points—certainly were borrowed; they will not be strange to stenographers. But as a system it has not yet been traced beyond the little book which contains the first Oxford Diary.

Across the middle of an early page in this remarkable volume are written two lines of curious signs. The upper line is partially obliterated by ink markings which seem to be of about the same date as the underlying cryptic signs. They represent a small sheaf of hand-made quill pens. It has been suggested that they were made by rapid back-strokes of the pen. The appearance, however, is as though the page, after the writing of the signs, had been sensitized, and had then received, through a lens, the imprint of a scattered sheaf of quill pens, some being in and some out of focus. By a happy coincidence the signs not obliterated are those most frequently used in the Diary.<sup>1</sup>

It will be convenient at once to state that the upper line of signs consists of consonants, single or in combination,

<sup>1</sup> A line at the top of the page, without apparent meaning, containing six-and-twenty letters partially obliterated, is

possibly an unused cipher. The schedule of numbers at the foot is part of a class-register, or time-table for pupils (p. 73).



that the second line stands for the numerals 1 to 10, with 11 and 12 in a separate small compartment; and that these disguised numerals represent the vowels. But why ten signs for five vowels, or twelve for seven? And, returning to the upper line of consonants, where does the list begin? And why are two, or, in some cases, three signs given for one letter? Further, is the cipher simple or compound? is it in Latin, Greek, or English? And are the words in a sentence properly or unnaturally divided? The keys on this blotted page, if keys they are, seem only to confuse the problem. For the present, therefore, we abandon them, and turn to the Diary itself.

It would be tedious to detail all the slow steps and retracings by which eventually, after many months and indeed years of reasoned inference and testing, all the cryptographic words and sentences have been deciphered. It may be of interest to note that the first effective clue was given to the writer in a dream.<sup>1</sup>

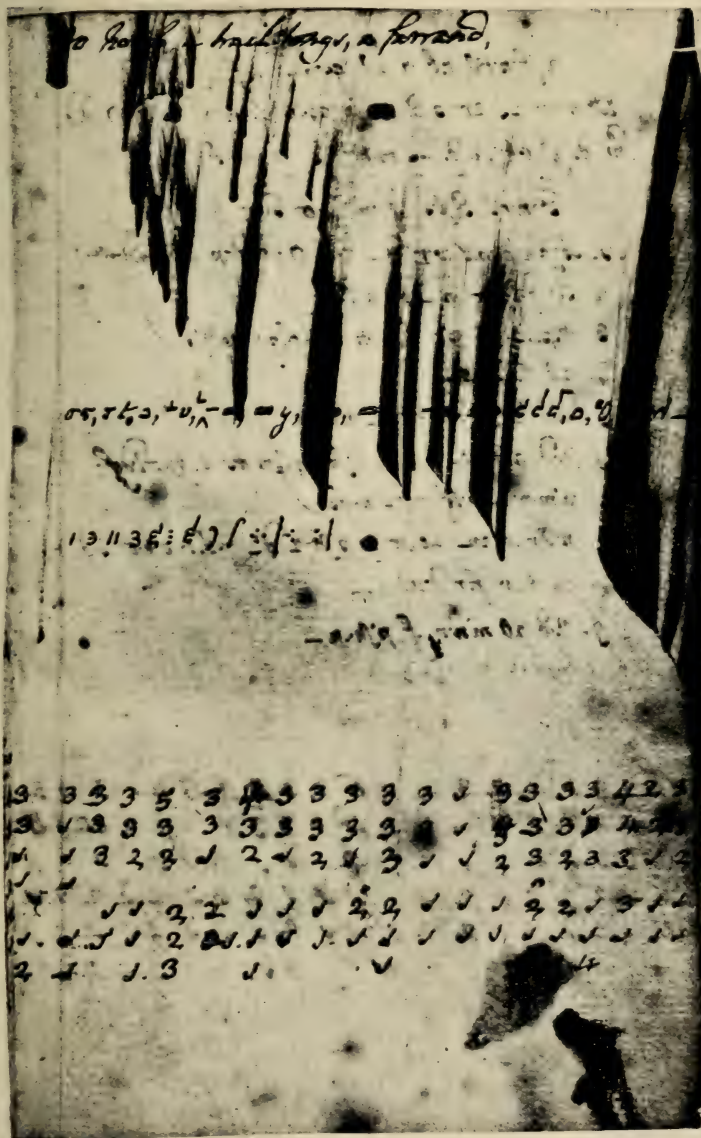
1. If we examine a series of cryptic sentences in various parts of the book, it is at once seen that letters—English, Greek, and at least in one notable instance Hebrew—are used, together with signs, numerals, points, and dashes; and that it is not safe to assume that all signs invariably have a fixed signification.

2. Letters are frequently used in their natural and proper sense. In the first cryptic sentence, overleaf, for instance, 2 f n r '0 r l ' n 20 'q . n . f L . f;—out of twenty-seven signs or letters nine are used naturally. Transliterated the line reads, 'A General Rule in all Actions of Life.' This is one of the simplest forms of the cipher.

An ordinary word, with one consonant changed and all the vowels either omitted or replaced by fullpoints, may look hopelessly perplexing. What, for instance, is this word—sdnr? All the vowels have been eliminated, and one consonant has been changed under the operation of Wesley's numerical

<sup>1</sup> He had discovered a place, far on in the Diary, where ' : ' meant, and could only mean, ' 12.' This, as a clue, proved

useless, until in a dream he saw that ' 2 ' stood for ' a.' This was the first ray of light.



FACSIMILE PAGE OF CONSONANTS AND VOWELS, OUT OF WHICH WESLEY  
CONSTRUCTED HIS CIPHER.

F. L. at Paris - Ward for Spz or Carouls - waited on Dr.  
 Morley - Lib. Spithes -

At V.S.D. - M<sup>2</sup> T<sup>2</sup> S.V. 2<sup>m</sup>

m. C<sup>2</sup> v<sup>2</sup> m

m. - 352

m. C<sup>2</sup> v<sup>2</sup> m

m. C<sup>2</sup> v<sup>2</sup> m

Ady. 5<sup>g</sup>

409.02

Δ. 093 m<sup>2</sup> C<sup>2</sup> v<sup>2</sup> m

m<sup>2</sup> 2<sup>2</sup> - l<sup>2</sup> m

n. 5<sup>g</sup> m. 5<sup>g</sup> 2<sup>2</sup>

n. 5<sup>g</sup> 2<sup>2</sup> m<sup>2</sup> - .. 5<sup>g</sup> m

- 5<sup>g</sup> v m. - 2<sup>2</sup> - m

2<sup>2</sup> - 2<sup>2</sup> 0 2<sup>2</sup> - 2<sup>2</sup>

m<sup>2</sup> - 2<sup>2</sup> - 2<sup>2</sup> m. 5<sup>g</sup> - 2<sup>2</sup>

N. m. 5<sup>g</sup> m. C<sup>2</sup> v<sup>2</sup> m

2<sup>2</sup> - 2<sup>2</sup> - 2<sup>2</sup> C<sup>2</sup> v<sup>2</sup> m

March. 10. 1825.

W. Serna - Lib. a Thom at Dr. M. Carouls Spithes - recd. 2<sup>2</sup> Lib

Woman - Librarian - (Lib) Lib. a Thom at Dr. M. Carouls Spithes - recd. 2<sup>2</sup> Lib

S. Serna - with Mr. Brewster, Hith. 2<sup>2</sup> Lib. a Thom at Dr. M. Carouls Spithes - recd. 2<sup>2</sup> Lib

FACSIMILE LIST OF PERSONAL FRIENDS IN OXFORD COLLEGES (see PAGE 77).



law. Restore the vowels on a simple dot-and-dash system, thus: .sd.n'r\_, and it does not become difficult to guess the word, especially when you are informed that it is used in the first line of this paragraph.

3. If a scheme of cipher-writing, after its adoption, is changed from time to time by the introduction of new and distracting elements, how dire the apparent confusion, and how effectual the protection against decipherment! Such was Wesley's device, and such his purpose. The true key to the cipher is woven into the structure of those Rules and Resolutions which, in Oxford, Wesley was continually making more stringent and elaborate. With each new set the cipher, in which from 1725 to 1730 they were all written, advanced in complexity.

Let us now attack the problem before us. We will begin with the vowels. These Wesley expresses in not fewer than six different ways:

1. Occasionally they are used in their ordinary form. This intensifies the mystery.

2. From the stenographers a system of dots and dashes is borrowed. It must not be assumed, however, that dots and dashes stand for vowels and nothing else. A dot at the end of a word may be simply a sign of abbreviation: 'y' means 'y<sup>e</sup>,' the old-fashioned 'the.' The dash over a word or letter may be a sign of contraction. For instance, 'ō' is 'not.'

As used for vowels, Wesley's dot is identical with Byrom's. Its value is determined by its relation to the consonant with which it happens to be allied. As dots all the five vowels are present in the cryptic sentence quoted above. Or they

may be brought together thus:  $\begin{smallmatrix} \cdot & a \\ \cdot & e \\ \cdot & i \\ \cdot & o \\ \cdot & u \end{smallmatrix}$ . If 'w' and 'y' are used

as vowels, they may be expressed by a dash  $\begin{smallmatrix} - & w \\ & y \end{smallmatrix}$ .

3. The odd numerals—1. 3. 5. 7. 9.—represent a. e. i. o. u.

4. So also the even numbers—2. 4. 6. 8. 10. mean a. e. i. o. u.; whilst 11 and 12 may serve for 'w' and 'y.'

5 and 6. The signs which represent the numerals are similarly treated. The following table may make this complicated system clear:

a	e	i	o	u							
a	e	i	o	u	w	or	y				
/	∅	//	ə	é	:	é'	γ	ƒ	∴	∴	:
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
a	e	i	o	u	w	or	y				
a	e	i	o	u							

If in the cryptic word—.sd.n'r.—we substitute for the dots and the one dash the proper vowels, the word reads 'osdinary.' Substitute for dots the odd signs from the above table, and the word reads thus: *é'sdɛn/r*; or the even signs, *γsd:n∅r*; or the odd numerals, *7sd5n1r12*; or the even signs, and it becomes *8sd6n2r*; or we might mix dots, signs, and numerals indefinitely, and then not exhaust the possible complexities of the Wesley cipher.

So far we have only changed one consonant, substituting for 'r' its next-door neighbour, 's.' We might follow up Wesley's method of treating consonants still further by changing other letters; but, in order to obtain a more complete illustration of the system, we will turn the word 'ordinary' into a plural noun. Slightly varying the cryptic expression, we may write the well-known heraldic 'ordinaries' thus, *ε.q.c.m2s53q*. In transforming the word into Wesley's cipher we have sampled his various methods of vowel expression, and for the consonants have counted one back and one forward alternately. Unfortunately for the decipherer, Wesley revels in new and ever newer complications, as though he had laid himself out to baffle human ingenuity. But the above is the governing principle throughout.

We may now examine the line of consonants on the blotted page. The letters it contains are Greek and English, with a suggestion of Hebrew. As they stand they are useless; treated with the key number one, counted backward they become letters of the alphabet actually in use throughout the volume. But the alphabet begins in the middle, and often two or three alternative signs are given. The list, for some reason, is not complete; but the following will give a fair idea of this strange fragment of an alphabet: σ5, τtɔ, 4ν, 1λ, c, ∅y, -ɔ, 1ɔ, |n-, u, 1, ɔ, c c1, c, o, 0, m r—s=r, t=s t ν (these are partly blotted). From the dividing-line the signs appear to be in

another and rarely used category. They stand for words like 'and,' 'for,' &c., or for double and compound consonants like ct, cl, ch, ng, mm, mt, &c. In actual use the earlier letters of the alphabet—b, c, d, f, g, &c.—are either used naturally or altered by the numerical key, counting backward or forward. The letter b, for instance, may mean c; the capital letter D may be, and indeed in the Georgia Diaries constantly is, C or E. It stands, in fact, for 'Communion' or 'Eucharist.' G is frequently represented by F, T by V, N by M, and vice versa.<sup>1</sup> Each case has to be judged on its merits, and interpretation often depends upon the context. A horizontal line drawn through a letter doubles it. The spelling is frequently phonetic.

Apart from the Rules of Holy Living, one of the most interesting cryptograms is the following list of personal friends, with the names of their respective colleges (see p. 74).

*Tues.* Breakfast at Payne's, and heard Mr. Spry on *Lawsuits*, and waited on Dr. Morley and writ Epistles.

Christ Church—Mr. Sherman.	Merton .	Mr. Frank.
„ Bateman.	Magdalen .	„ Woodeson.
„ Vere.	Wadham .	„ Watkins.
„ Hammond.	Exeter .	„ Pitt.
„ Burman.	New College .	„ Griffiths.
„ Shuckburgh.	Lincoln .	„ Baylif.
„ Llangford.		„ Persehouse.
Corpus .	„ Burton.	Bulman.
„ Pawlin.		

March 10, 1725.

W. Terence. Writ a theme at Dr Morley's. Carried Epistles. Read *The Silent Woman*—Anacreon. Sat at home: Clarendon: Scripture phrase. S. Xenophon: with Mr. Brereton, Hutchins, and Persehouse. Idleness.

<sup>1</sup> The rule seems to be that these letters, when used for sacred purposes, are written as cursive capitals.



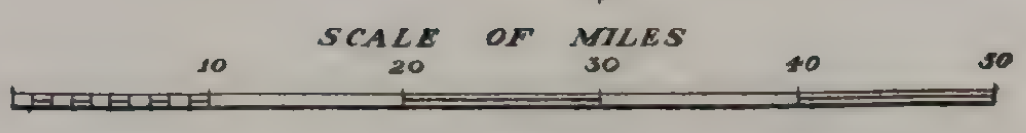


GEORGIA  
AND  
N. CAROLINA  
1860  
BY  
J. M. COLEMAN  
NEW YORK  
1860

WILLIAM H. BROWN  
NEW YORK



GEORGIA  
and  
SOUTH CAROLINA  
1736 - 8  
to illustrate  
WESLEY'S VOYAGES  
AND JOURNEYS





PART THE FIRST  
THE JOURNAL

FROM OCTOBER 14, 1735, TO FEBRUARY 1, 1738

(FROM THE EMBARKING FOR GEORGIA TO THE RETURN TO LONDON)

What shall we say then? That . . . Israel, which followed after the law of righteousness, hath not attained to the law of righteousness. Wherefore? Because they sought it not by *faith*, but as it were by the works of the law.—ROM. ix. 30-32.

*This version of the First Part of Wesley's Journal has been considerably enlarged from unpublished MSS. Five journals, or statements chronologically arranged, have, wherever possible, been woven into the printed text. The new material is indicated by square brackets. The non-bracketed portions of the text represent the edition of 1831 revised and corrected.*

*In the following Notes new information, including the events of days unrecorded in the Journals, is supplied from Wesley's Diaries, now for the first time deciphered.*

A N  
E X T R A C T  
O F T H E  
Rev. Mr. JOHN WESLEY'S  
JOURNAL

From his Embarking for GEORGIA

To his Return to LONDON.

---

*What shall we say then?—That Israel which follow'd  
after the Law of Righteousness, hath not attained to  
the Law of Righteousness.—Wherefore? Because  
they sought it not by Faith, but as it were by the Works  
of the Law.* Rom. ix. 30, 31.

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B R I S T O L:

Printed by S. and F. FARLEY.

And sold at the New School-House in the Horse-Fair:  
and by the Booksellers in Town and Country.

[Facsimile of the Title-Page of the First Edition.]





## *The PREFACE.*

1. **I**T was in Pursuance of an Advice given by Bp. *Taylor*, in his *Rules for Holy Living and Dying*, that about fifteen Years ago, I began to take a more exact Account than I had done before, of the manner wherein I spent my Time, writing down how I had employed every Hour. This I continued to do, wherever I was, till the Time of my leaving *England*. The Variety of Scenes which I then past thro', induced me to transcribe from time to time, the more material Parts of my Diary, adding here and there such little Reflections as occur'd to my Mind. Of this Journal thus occasionally compiled, the following is a short Extract: It not being my Design to relate all those Particulars, which I wrote for my own Use only; and which would answer no valuable End to others, however important they were to me.

2. Indeed I had no Design or Desire to trouble the World with any of my little Affairs: As can't but appear to every impartial Mind, from my having been so long as *one that beareth not*, notwithstanding the loud and frequent Calls I have had, to answer for myself. Neither shou'd I  
have

[Facsimile of first page of Preface to First Edition.]

## *The P R E F A C E.*

have done it now, had not Captain *Williams's* Affidavit, publish'd *as soon as he had left England*, laid an Obligation upon me, to do what in me lies, in Obedience to that Command of GOD, *Let not the Good which is in you be evil-spoken of.* With this View I do at length give an Answer to every Man that asketh me a Reason of the Hope which is in me, that in all these Things *I have a Conscience void of Offence, towards GOD and towards Man.*

3. I have prefixt hereto a Letter wrote several Years since, containing a plain Account, of the Rise of that little Society in *Oxford*, which has been so variously represented. Part of this was publish'd in 1733; but without my Consent or Knowledge. It now stands as it was wrote; without any Addition, Diminution, or Amendment: It being my only Concern herein, nakedly to *declare the thing as it is.*

4. Perhaps my Employments of another kind may not allow me, to give any farther Answer, to them who *say all manner of Evil of me falsely*, and seem to think that they do GOD Service. Suffice it, that both they and I shall shortly give an Account, to him that is ready to judge the Quick and the Dead.

[Facsimile of second page of Preface to First Edition.]



## NOTES ON THE PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

‘IN pursuance of an advice given by Bishop Taylor.’

The *Rules for Holy Living and Dying* do not in so many words advise the keeping of a diary, but the taking ‘an exact account of the manner in which time is spent.’ Jeremy Taylor urges a yearly ‘dressing’ of the soul by ‘confessions, meditations, and attendances upon God ; that he may make up his accounts, renew his vows, make amends for his carelessness, &c.’ This, and much else in a similar strain, precisely describes Wesley’s Oxford Diaries. Each volume commences with ‘General’ and ‘Particular Questions’ and an elaborate apparatus of Confession and Resolution. In the *Holy Dying* Jeremy Taylor says, ‘In this we shall be much assisted . . . if, before we sleep each night, we examine the actions of the past day with a particular scrutiny’ (*Holy Living*, chap. i. pars. 21, 22 ; *Holy Dying*, chap. ii. sect. 2).

‘Fifteen years ago.’

See p. 4.

‘A short extract.’

Wesley sent his Voyage Journal to Mr. James Hutton, son of the Rev. John Hutton, the neighbour and friend of his brother, Samuel Wesley, at Westminster, and in 1738–9 the host of himself and his brother Charles. This, with letters, was read by the Huttons to friends. These readings led to the formation of a society which met at Mr. Hutton’s house, Great College Street, Westminster, next door to the house in which Samuel Wesley, junior, lived when he was a tutor in Westminster School. After this ‘a Poor-Box Society’ was formed, ‘whose members met every Wednesday, each subscribing one penny a week towards a charitable fund for all descriptions of poor people.’ An account of this society, and of the part played in its formation by John Wesley’s Journal and correspondence, was published in the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 1857, p. 158. For a fuller account see *Memoirs of James Hutton*, by D. Benham, pp. 10–13.

‘Captain Williams’s affidavit’ was sworn before the Mayor of Bristol, the 14th day of March, 1740, the Mayor signing himself ‘Stephen Clutterbuck.’ Williams arrived in England in the previous November. The affidavit was not published until after his return to Georgia. In 1743 *The Progress of Methodism in Bristol* was published. A copy of this

extremely rare pamphlet, probably the only copy now in existence, is in the 'Richard Green' collection of Wesley books and pamphlets. It contains a doggerel of 850 lines, Captain Williams's affidavit, and a few of the letters that followed its publication. In the Richmond College Interleaved Journal the Rev. S. Romily Hall, himself a member of an old Bristol Methodist family, has written a full account of this transaction, with copies of the Williams affidavit, Wesley's reply, letters from George Whitefield (who at Wesley's request investigated the case in Georgia itself), and other documents. A few extracts from these voluminous records will be found in Appendix II. vol. vi. See also Wesley's *Works*, vol. viii. pp. 121-2; Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. i. p. 429. Robert Williams's slanders are only of interest because their publication in England and America was the occasion of hastening the issue of Wesley's first extract from his Journal.

Why this Georgia planter should have taken the trouble to appear in the Bristol court against Wesley, and what could have induced him to weave a tissue of palpable falsehoods, deliberately delaying their publication until he himself was safe beyond the wrath of his victim and beyond any possible action at law, is not now hard to understand. He was influenced by personal animosity. Wesley opposed the introduction of negro slavery, and denounced the traffic in white slaves. Of the latter, David Jones, whose story is told in the Journal (see p. 344), was only one of many victims. Little wonder that this fraudulent 'Bristol merchant' and Georgia land-holder sought his revenge in Mr. Clutterbuck's court.

'Part of this was published in 1733.'

In a tract entitled, 'The Oxford Methodists, being an account of Some Young Gentlemen in that City, in derision so-called; setting forth their Rise and Designs. With some occasional remarks on a letter inserted in *Fogg's Journal* of December 9, 1732, relating to them. In a letter from a Gentleman near Oxford, to his friend at London. The Second Edition, with very great alterations and improvements. To which is prefix'd, a Short Epistle to the Reverend Mr. Whitefield, A.B., of Pembroke College, Oxon. London: Printed for J. Roberts, at the Oxford Arms in Warwick Lane, and A. Dodd, without Temple Bar. 1737. Price sixpence.'

Wesley submitted the MS. of this first extract to his friend the Countess of Huntingdon. Her reply, which was an emphatic endorsement, will be found in Appendix III. vol. vi.

# THE RISE AND DESIGN OF OXFORD METHODISM

FROM THE REV. JOHN WESLEY, A.M.,  
TO MR. RICHARD MORGAN, OF DUBLIN.<sup>1</sup>

OXON, *October 18, 1732.*<sup>2</sup>

SIR,

The occasion of my giving you this trouble is of a very extraordinary nature. On Sunday last<sup>3</sup> I was informed (as no doubt you will be ere long) that my brother and I had killed your son: that the rigorous fasting which he had imposed upon himself, by our advice, had increased his illness and hastened his

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Richard Morgan, to whom this letter was written, was Second Remembrancer to the Court of Exchequer, Dublin. His wife, Elizabeth, was a daughter of Anthony Raymond, collector, Drogheda. They had two sons, William and Richard, and one daughter, Mary, who married the Rev. William Godley, rector of Mullaghbrack, Armagh, whose lineal descendants still survive in Co. Leitrim. (*W.H.S.* vol. iii. p. 47, Rev. C. H. Crookshank, M.A., to whom we are mainly indebted for notes relating to Ireland in this edition of Wesley's Journal.)

<sup>2</sup> The words 'Introductory Letter' did not appear in the first edition, which was printed without date, probably in 1739, for Williams's affidavit was dated May 14, 1739, and the Journal was 'sold at the New School House, Horsefair,' the foundation of which was laid May 12, 1739. No. 2 of the Journal was published towards the close of 1740. The date (in error) was printed 'Oxon, Oct. 18, 1730.' Oxf. D. iii., under date Wed., Oct. 18, 1732, has several references to letters

written; but not until the 19th is a letter 'writ to Mr. Morgan' named. It occupies some hours on Thursday and Friday. Sat., 21st, between six and seven o'clock in the morning, the letter is ended (Whitehead, vol. i. p. 450; Moore, vol. i. pp. 192 n., 195). The following is Benson's note on the date of Wesley's letter to Mr. Morgan, in full:

'In all the printed copies of this letter which we have seen the date is 1730; but in the manuscript, in Mr. Charles Wesley's handwriting, the date is 1732, which is the true date of it, as appears from Mr. Morgan's account of his son's death. The true date may be collected from the letter itself, compared with Mr. John Wesley's *Short History of Methodism*, which fixes the time when they became acquainted with Mr. Clayton.' Wesley's *Works*, 2nd [Benson's] edit., 1809.

<sup>3</sup> Sun., Oct. 15, he rose at four; read the Apocrypha (Ecclus.); at 7.15 went to Christ Church; a Mr. Faw[throp] is named; heard two sermons; spent nearly an hour with pupils; prayed many times;



death. Now though, considering it in itself, 'it is a very small thing with me to be judged by man's judgement'; yet as the being thought guilty of so mischievous an imprudence might make me the less able to do the work I came into the world for, I am obliged to clear myself of it, by observing to you, as I have done to others, that your son left off fasting about a year and a half since; and that it is not yet half a year since I began to practise it.<sup>1</sup>

I must not let this opportunity slip of doing my part towards giving you a juster notion of some other particulars, relating both to him and myself, which have been industriously misrepresented to you.

In March last he received a letter from you, which, not being able to read,<sup>2</sup> he desired me to read to him; several of the expressions whereof I perfectly remember, and shall do, till I too am called hence. I then determined that, if God was pleased to take away your son before me, I would justify him and myself, which I now do with all plainness and simplicity, as both my character and cause required.

In one practice for which you blamed your son, I am only concerned as a friend, not as a partner. That, therefore, I shall consider first. Your own account of it was in effect this: 'He frequently went into poor people's houses in the villages about Holt, called their children together, and instructed them in their duty to God, their neighbour, and themselves. He likewise explained to them the necessity of private as well as public prayer, and provided them with such forms as were best suited to their several capacities. And being well apprised how much the success of his endeavours depended on their good-will

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at the rector's house; evening with Holy Club, apparently singing a hymn, Charles talking on Spurstowe's *Meditations*. No reference is made to the information that he and his brother had killed Mr. Morgan's son.

<sup>1</sup> At this time Wesley's rule was to observe one day a month as a Fast. Oct. 11 in this month is named as 'The Wednesday Fast.'

<sup>2</sup> June 11, 1731, writing to his father

Wesley reports William Morgan 'sick at Holt.' In 1732 he was 'affected in his mind, as well as worse in body.' He left Oxford on June 5, returning to his father's house in Dublin. After resting for six weeks he set out, accompanied by a man servant, hoping once more to visit Oxford. Developing serious symptoms, the servant took him back to his father's house, where he died, Aug. 26, 1732. (App. IV. vol. vi.)

towards him, to win upon their affections he sometimes distributed among them a little of that money<sup>1</sup> which he had saved from gaming and the other fashionable expenses of the place.' This is the first charge against him; upon which all that I shall observe is, that I will refer it to your own judgement whether it be fitter to have a place in the catalogue of his faults or of those virtues for which he is now 'numbered among the sons of God.'

If all the persons concerned in 'that ridiculous society,'<sup>2</sup> whose follies you have so often heard repeated,' could but give such a proof of their deserving the glorious title<sup>3</sup> which was once bestowed upon them, they would be contented that their 'lives' too should be 'counted madness, and their end' thought to be 'without honour.' But the truth is, their title to holiness stands upon much less stable foundations; as you will easily perceive when you know the ground of this wonderful outcry, which it seems England is not wide enough to contain.

In November 1729, at which time I came to reside at Oxford,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In Oxford Diary No. I the earliest known Methodist subscription list is preserved, and its expenditure in charity. The Diary shows that the Holy Club saved Wesley himself also from 'gaming' and 'other fashionable expenses' (See facsimile, p. 91.)

<sup>2</sup> Wesley himself used at first no other title than 'Our Little Society,' or 'Our Company.' Later he writes of 'The Oxford Methodists,' and declares this to be the first rise of Methodism. (Benson's *Apology*, p. 77; Gambold's Letter, App. V. vol. vi.)

<sup>3</sup> 'The Holy Club.'—This is Wesley's footnote in the first edition.

<sup>4</sup> His Diary for Oct. and Nov. 1729 marks the transition from the life of a country curate to that of an Oxford tutor, lecturer, moderator, leader. He preached at Epworth, Wentworth, and thrice at Wroot; translated a sermon, and read one in Norris on *Faith and Practice*; collected ten pages of Wake; made notes on a few Psalms, and read, in Hebrew, over again, eight chapters in Genesis; corrected his father's Disserta-

tion *De Filiis Keturae*, &c., wrote out the lists of subscribers to his father's great work on *Job*; consumed an unusually large portion of light literature, reading plays and other entertaining pieces to his sisters and their friends. On Nov. 9 he left home, travelling through rain and floods to Gainsborough, Lincoln (where he halted to visit his sister Emilia), Stamford, St. Neots, Biggleswade, Stevenage, and London. He arrived at the Red Lion in Aldersgate Street at 4.30, drank tea with his brother Samuel and his sister-in-law Ursula at their house in Great College Street, Westminster, and spent the next few days in visiting friends and entertaining himself. At the Old Playhouse he saw *The Scornful Lady*. His Aunt Nancy [Annesley, 'My love to Sister Molly, and tell her she may direct to Aunt Ann Annesley, at Shore House, in Hackney,' Stevenson, *Wes. Family*, 291], at Hackney, gave him tea and promised him her picture. His sister Hetty he saw more than once, also Dr. Wigan [probably Dr. George Wigan,

your son, my brother, myself, and one more<sup>1</sup> agreed to spend three or four evenings in a week together. Our design was to read over the classics, which we had before read in private, on common nights, and on Sunday some book in divinity. In the summer following, Mr. M[organ] told me he had called at the jail, to see a man who was condemned for killing his wife; and that, from the talk he had with one of the debtors, he verily believed it would do much good if any one would be at the pains of now and then speaking with them. This he so frequently repeated, that on the 24th of August, 1730,<sup>2</sup> my brother and I walked with him to the Castle. We were so well satisfied with our conversation there, that we agreed to go thither once or twice a week; which we had not done long, before he desired me to go with him to see a poor woman in the town who was sick. In this employment too, when we came to reflect upon it, we believed it would be worth while to spend an hour or two in a week; provided the minister of the parish in which any such person was were not against it. But that we might not depend wholly on our own judgements, I wrote an account to my father of our whole design; withal begging that he, who had lived

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Principal of New Inn Hall, 1726], Mr. Prior, and others. Then he went by Wycombe and Tetsworth, arriving at Oxford at four o'clock on Saturday afternoon. Saturday evening and Sunday he spent chiefly with his old friends Mr. Hutcheson and Mr. Tottenham, and with a new friend, Mr. Morgan. The book companionships of the next few days are chiefly Horace and the Greek Testament. And thus, 'without observation,' the kingdom of God came to him again, and all things, slowly and silently, as the *Diary* testifies, became new.

<sup>1</sup> The 'one more' was Mr. Robert Kirkham, of Merton College, whom John Wesley had, so far, only known as a schoolboy—pert, jovial, affectionate, greatly admiring his sisters' friend, and desiring that he might become his brother-in-law. From one account it would seem that the idea of a meeting of friends to study the Greek Testament and the classics originated with Mr. Robert Kirkham.

(See Wesley to his mother, Feb. 28, 1730. Tyerman's *Oxford Methodists*, p. 3.)

<sup>2</sup> On Monday, Aug. 24, 1730, he rose as usual at four, spent more than an hour in prayer, at six o'clock began a letter to his friend Varanese, breakfasted with Mr. Rhodes, W. Morgan also being there; read Justinian (possibly the book from which he quoted in a decisive letter to his brother Samuel four years later—see p. 29); again wrote to V., ending the letter (as he then thought); at 2.30 he walked with his brother Charles and William Morgan to the Castle, and, though he knew it not, began the philanthropic and evangelistic work of Methodism. He spent much time afterwards in thought, conversation, and prayer; reopened his letter to his 'first religious friend,' and ended the long day at 9.45 with one of those solemn acts of thanksgiving that usually mark the great events of his early Methodist life.



Collected 33. C. 5 Sept. 29. 1890

of m	0. 2. 6
<del>Expanded Oct. 22 at y</del>	
of Mr Morgan, Oct 21.	0 - 5 - 0
known	0 - 5 - 0
of Mr Hayward, Nov. 7.	0 - 5 - 0
of Mr Boyce, Nov. 15.	0 - 5 - 0
of Mr Br Dec. 17.	0 - 5 - 0
	<hr/> 1 - 5 - 5

Expanded Oct. 22, Oct 24 to	0 - 0 - 6
Oct 31. In Wood & Mott	0 - 1 - 6
Nov 7. at y	0. 1. 1
Nov 7. at y to W. Cox	0 - 0 - 6
Distributed	0 - 0 - 9
Wood, a load - Raff, Nov. 13	1 - 10 - 0
Nov. 14. to W. Cox	0 - 0 - 6.
to Mr Estlin	0 - 0 - 6
Nov. 30. to R. Campbell	0 - 0 - 6
Dec. 1. to Wm Cox	0 - 0 - 6.
to Feb 2. to Wm Cox	0 - 0 - 6.
Dec. 5. at Box to W. Cox	0 - 0 - 6
Dec. 12. to Cox 6, Ric 6, for 6	10 - 0 - 6

Expanded in all	1 - 5 - 6
Rec'd in all	1 - 5 - 6
Due to me	0 - 11 - 0

FACSIMILE ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST SUBSCRIPTION LIST MADE  
BY THE HOLY CLUB.



seventy years in the world,<sup>1</sup> and seen as much of it as most private men have ever done, would advise us whether we had yet gone too far, and whether we should now stand still or go forward.

Part of his answer, dated September 21, 1730, was this :

And now, as to your own designs and employments, what can I say less of them than *Valde probo*<sup>2</sup>; and that I have the highest reason to bless God that He has given me two sons together at Oxford to whom He has given grace and courage to turn the war against the world and the devil, which is the best way to conquer them. They have but one more enemy to combat with, the flesh; which if they take care to subdue by fasting and prayer, there will be no more for them to do, but to proceed steadily in the same course, and expect 'the crown which fadeth not away.' You have reason to bless God, as I do, that you have so fast a friend as Mr. Morgan, who, I see, in the most difficult service, is ready to break the ice for you. You do not know of how much good that poor wretch who killed his wife has been the providential occasion. I think I must adopt Mr. Morgan to be my son, together with you and your brother Charles; and when I have such a ternion to prosecute that war, wherein I am now *miles emeritus*,<sup>3</sup> I shall not be ashamed when they speak with their enemies in the gate.

I am afraid lest the main objection you make against your going on in the business with the prisoners may secretly proceed from flesh and blood. For 'who can harm you if you are followers of that which is so good,' and which will be one of the marks by which the Shepherd of Israel will know His sheep at the last day?—though if it were possible for you to suffer a little in the cause, you would have a confessor's reward. You own, none but such as are out of their senses would be prejudiced against your acting in this manner; but say, 'These are they that need a physician.' But what if they will not accept of one who will be welcome to the poor prisoners? Go on then, in God's name, in the path to which your Saviour has directed you, and that track wherein your father has gone before you! For when I was an undergraduate at Oxford, I visited those in the Castle there, and reflect on it with great satisfaction to this day. Walk as prudently as you can, though not fearfully, and my heart and prayers are with you.

Your first regular step is to consult with him (if any such there be)

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Wesley, son of Rev. John Westley, of Winterbourne-Whitchurch, born Dec. 17, 1662, rector of Epworth (1694-1735), also of Wroot (1726-34).

He died April 25, 1735, aged seventy-three.

<sup>2</sup> I greatly approve.

<sup>3</sup> A soldier past service.



who has a jurisdiction over the prisoners; and the next is to obtain the direction and approbation of your Bishop. This is Monday morning, at which time I shall never forget you. If it be possible, I should be glad to see you all three here in the fine end of the summer.<sup>1</sup> But if I cannot have that satisfaction, I am sure I can reach you every day, though you were beyond the Indies. Accordingly, to Him who is everywhere I now heartily commit you, as being

Your most affectionate and joyful father.

In pursuance of these directions, I immediately went to Mr. Gerard,<sup>2</sup> the Bishop of Oxford's chaplain, who was likewise the person that took care of the prisoners when any were condemned to die (at other times they were left to their own care): I proposed to him our design of serving them as far as we could, and my own intention to preach there once a month, if the Bishop approved of it. He much commended our design, and said he would answer for the Bishop's approbation, to whom he would take the first opportunity of mentioning it. It was not long before he informed me he had done so, and that his lordship not only gave his permission, but was greatly pleased with the undertaking, and hoped it would have the desired success.

Soon after, a gentleman of Merton College, who was one of our little company, which now consisted of five persons, acquainted us that he had been much rallied the day before for being a member of *The Holy Club*; <sup>3</sup> and that it was become a common topic of mirth at his college, where they had found out several of our customs, to which we were ourselves utter strangers. Upon this I consulted my father again, in whose answer were these words:

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<sup>1</sup> The rector's desire was partially fulfilled. In the spring of 1731 John and Charles walked from Oxford to Epworth. Some time after their return they both wrote (June 11, 1731) to their father and mother. (App. VI. vol. vi.)

<sup>2</sup> Gerard prophesied that Wesley would 'one day be a standard-bearer of the Cross, either in his own country or beyond the seas.' This he said in reply to George Lascelles, who was speaking

against the Holy Club. (*W.M. Mag.* 1832, p. 793.)

<sup>3</sup> The 'five persons' were John and Charles Wesley, William Morgan, Robert Kirkham (the 'gentleman of Merton'), and either Boyce or Gambold—probably Boyce, for Gambold, according to his own account, did not join until later. On R. Kirkham's membership see Wesley's letter to his mother, Feb. 28, 1730. (App. VII. vol. vi.)

December 1.

This day I received both yours,<sup>1</sup> and this evening, in the course of our reading, I thought I found an answer that would be more proper than any I myself could dictate; though since it will not be easily translated, I send it in the original. Πολλή μοι καύχησις ἐπὲρ ὑμῶν πεπλήρωμαι τῇ παρακλήσει, ὑπερπερισσεύομαι τῇ χαρᾷ<sup>2</sup> (2 Cor. vii. 4). What would you be? Would you be angels? I question whether a mortal can arrive to a greater degree of perfection than steadily to do good, and for that very reason patiently and meekly to suffer evil. For my part, on the present view of your actions and designs, my daily prayers are that God would keep you humble; and then I am sure that if you continue 'to suffer for righteousness' sake,' though it be but in a lower degree, 'the Spirit of glory and of God' shall, in some good measure, 'rest upon you.' Be never weary of well-doing: never look back; for you know the prize and the crown are before you: though I can scarce think so meanly of you as that you would be discouraged with 'the crackling of thorns under a pot.' Be not high-minded, but fear. Preserve an equal temper of mind under whatever treatment you meet with from a not very just or well-natured world. Bear no more sail than is necessary, but steer steady. The less you value yourselves for these unfashionable duties (as there is no such thing as works of supererogation), the more all good and wise men will value you, if they see your actions are of a piece; or, which is infinitely more, He by whom actions and intentions are weighed will both accept, esteem, and reward you.<sup>3</sup>

Upon this encouragement we still continued to meet together as usual; and to confirm one another, as well as we could, in our resolutions, to communicate as often as we had opportunity (which is here once a week); and do what service we could

<sup>1</sup> Wesley's reply to his father's letter of Sept. 21, quoted in the text, and the second letter in which he asked further advice, are here referred to. On Dec. 11 John again wrote to his father, thanking him, on behalf of the little company, for his sympathy and further advice. (App. VIII. vol. vi.)

<sup>2</sup> 'Great is my glorying of you: I am filled with comfort, I am exceeding joyful' (R.V. 'Great is my glorying on your behalf: I am filled with comfort, I overflow with joy').

<sup>3</sup> Moore, with the original letter before him, quotes more than Wesley

thought it fitting to print: 'I hear my son John has the honour of being styled the "Father of the Holy Club"; if it be so, I am sure I must be the Grandfather of it, and I need not say that I had rather any of my sons should be so dignified and distinguished than to have the title of His Holiness.' In the same letter he advises them to use great mildness towards their persecutors, but at the same time to avoid a mean or sneaking behaviour, and rather to show an open, manly firmness, which is highly becoming in a mind conscious of acting well. (Moore's *Life of Wesley*, vol. i. p. 171.)

to our acquaintance, the prisoners, and two or three poor families in the town. But the outcry daily increasing, that we might show what ground there was for it, we proposed to our friends, or opponents, as we had opportunity, these or the like questions<sup>1</sup>:

I. Whether it does not concern all men of all conditions to imitate Him, as much as they can, 'who went about doing good'?

Whether all Christians are not concerned in that command, 'While we have time, let us do good to all men'?

Whether we shall not be more happy hereafter, the more good we do now?

Whether we can be happy at all hereafter, unless we have, according to our power, 'fed the hungry, clothed the naked, visited those that are sick, and in prison'; and made all these actions subservient to a higher purpose, even the saving of souls from death?

Whether it be not our bounden duty always to remember that He did more for us than we can do for Him, who assures us, 'Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these My brethren, ye have done it unto Me'?

II. Whether, upon these considerations, we may not try to do good to our acquaintance? Particularly, whether we may not try to convince them of the necessity of being Christians?

Whether of the consequent necessity of being scholars?

Whether of the necessity of method and industry, in order to either learning or virtue?

Whether we may not try to persuade them to confirm and increase their industry, by communicating as often as they can?

Whether we may not mention to them the authors whom we conceive to have wrote the best on those subjects?

Whether we may not assist them, as we are able, from time to time, to form resolutions upon what they read in those authors, and to execute them with steadiness and perseverance?

<sup>1</sup> With these compare the Resolutions known as *The Liverpool Minutes*, which, with the *Twelve Rules of a Helper*, the Conference directed should be read in every Ministers' Meeting and every May Synod once a year. Compare also Jeremy Taylor's *Rules of Holy Living*, and Wesley's practice at Oxford, in Georgia, and to the end of life. An examination of his private Diaries shows that the Rules he imposed upon his followers were less severe than those he imposed

upon himself and faithfully kept. For instance, he advised them to rise at five; he himself rose at four o'clock. He advised gifts to the poor; he gave all he possessed, except so much as he required for the necessary expenses of a tutor's life.

Compare also the *Scheme of Self-Examination* used by the first Methodists in Oxford. (*Wesley's Works*, vol. xi. pp. 514-16; and fully quoted in Richard Green's *John Wesley, Evangelist*.)



III. Whether, upon the considerations above-mentioned, we may not try to do good to those that are hungry, naked, or sick? In particular, whether, if we know any necessitous family, we may not give them a little food, clothes, or physic, as they want?

Whether we may not give them, if they can read, a Bible, Common-Prayer Book, or *Whole Duty of Man*?

Whether we may not, now and then, inquire how they have used them; explain what they do not understand, and enforce what they do?

Whether we may not enforce upon them, more especially, the necessity of private prayer, and of frequenting the church and Sacrament?

Whether we may not contribute what little we are able toward having their children clothed and taught to read?

Whether we may not take care that they be taught their catechism and short prayers for morning and evening?

IV. Lastly: Whether, upon the considerations above-mentioned, we may not try to do good to those that are in prison? In particular, Whether we may not release such well-disposed persons as remain in prison for small sums?

Whether we may not lend smaller sums to those that are of any trade, that they may procure themselves tools and materials to work with?

Whether we may not give to them who appear to want it most a little money, or clothes, or physic?

Whether we may not supply as many as are serious enough to read, with a Bible and *Whole Duty of Man*?

Whether we may not, as we have opportunity, explain and enforce these upon them, especially with respect to public and private prayer and the blessed Sacrament?

I do not remember that we met with any person who answered any of these questions in the negative, or who even doubted whether it were not lawful to apply to this use that time and money which we should else have spent in other diversions. But several we met with who increased our little stock of money for the prisoners and the poor by subscribing something quarterly to it; so that the more persons we proposed our designs to, the more we were confirmed in the belief of their innocency, and the more determined to pursue them, in spite of the ridicule which increased fast upon us during the winter. However, in spring I thought it could not be improper to desire further instructions from those who were wiser and better than

ourselves; and accordingly (on May 18, 1731) I wrote a particular account of all our proceedings to a clergyman of known wisdom and integrity.<sup>1</sup> After having informed him of all the branches of our design as clearly and simply as I could, I next acquainted him with the success it had met with, in the following words: 'Almost as soon as we had made our first attempts this way, some of the men of wit in Christ Church entered the lists against us; and, between mirth and anger, made a pretty many reflections upon the Sacramentarians, as they were pleased to call us. Soon after, their allies at Merton changed our title, and did us the honour of styling us The Holy Club. But most of them being persons of well-known characters, they had not the good fortune to gain any proselytes from the Sacrament, till a gentleman,<sup>2</sup> eminent for learning, and well esteemed for piety, joining them, told his nephew that if he dared to go to the weekly communion any longer he would immediately turn him out of doors. That argument, indeed, had no success: the young gentleman communicated next week; upon which his uncle, having again tried to convince him that

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hoole, rector of Haxey. Compare notes on Wesley's Conversion, p. 468. It is to a letter written by Mrs. Wesley to Mr. Hoole in 1709 (now in the Colman Collection) that we are indebted for the best account of the Epworth fire (printed in an incomplete form in Moore's *Life*, vol. i. pp. 112-14; fully in *Wesley Studies*, pp. 43-6).

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Whitehead and others have endeavoured to identify this learned and pious persecutor, but no one has advanced beyond conjecture. The rule among the Oxford Methodists was to take the sacrament of Holy Communion once a week: hence their title 'Sacramentarians.' Their devotion to works of charity and piety, supposed to belong only to the parochial clergy, won for them the title of 'Supererogation Men.' Other titles by which they were known were 'Methodists,' 'The Godly Club,' 'Enthusiasts,' 'The Reforming Club.' The Wesleys left all titles severely alone. 'Society' at that time had associations

more political than religious, and 'Club,' as Samuel Wesley, junior, saw, was objectionable on other grounds. 'Methodist' was a strictly accurate description of their manner of life—they lived by method; but it was mediaeval, sectarian, and medical. The two words adopted in later years, gradually, instinctively, and without formal resolution, were 'Methodist' and 'Society.' At Oxford Wesley, however, was content with 'our little Company.' A new touch of pathetic memory is thus given to some of the lines in the Wesley hymns, e.g.:

My company before is gone,

and

Come, let us ascend, my companion and friend.

That Wesley, from very early days, thought seriously on the ecclesiastical significance of the word 'Society' is evident from a note in his first Oxford Diary: 'Heard Dr Holdsworth on the authority of the Church as a Society.'

he was in the wrong way, by shaking him by the throat to no purpose, changed his method, and by mildness prevailed upon him to absent from it the Sunday following ; as he has done five Sundays in six ever since. This much delighted our gay opponents, who increased their number apace ; especially when, shortly after, one of the seniors of the college having been with the Doctor, upon his return from him sent for two young gentlemen severally, who had communicated weekly for some time, and was so successful in his exhortations, that for the future they promised to do it only three times a year. About this time there was a meeting (as one who was present at it informed your son) of several of the officers and seniors of the college, wherein it was consulted what would be the speediest way to stop the progress of enthusiasm in it. The result we know not, only it was soon publicly reported that Dr. — and the censors were going to blow up The Godly Club. This was now our common title ; though we were sometimes dignified with that of The Enthusiasts, or The Reforming Club.'

Part of the answer I received was as follows :

GOOD SIR,

A pretty while after the date, yours came to my hand. I waived my answer till I had an opportunity of consulting your father, who, upon all accounts, is a more proper judge of the affair than I am. But I could never find a fit occasion for it. As to my own sense of the matter, I confess I cannot but heartily approve of that serious and religious turn of mind that prompts you and your associates to those pious and charitable offices ; and can have no notion of that man's religion, or concern for the honour of the University, that opposes you, as far as your design respects the colleges. I should be loth to send a son of mine to any seminary where his conversing with virtuous young men, whose professed design of meeting together at proper times was to assist each other in forming good resolutions and encouraging one another to execute them with constancy and steadiness, was inconsistent with any received maxims or rules of life among the members. As to the other branch of your design, as the town is divided into parishes, each of which has its proper incumbent, and as there is probably an ecclesiastic who has the spiritual charge of the prisoners, prudence may direct you to consult them. For though I dare not say you would be too officious, should you of your own mere motion seek out the persons that want your instructions and charitable contributions ; yet should



you have the concurrence of their proper pastor, your good offices would be more regular and less liable to censure.

Your son was now at Holt.<sup>1</sup> However, we continued to meet at our usual times, though our little affairs went on but heavily without him. But at our return from Lincolnshire, in September last, we had the pleasure of seeing him again; when, though he could not be so active with us as formerly, yet we were exceeding glad to spend what time we could in talking and reading with him. It was a little before this time my brother and I were at London, when going into a bookseller's shop (Mr. Rivington's, in St. Paul's Churchyard),<sup>2</sup> after some other conversation, he asked us whether we lived in town; and upon our answering, 'No; at Oxford,'—'Then, gentlemen,' said he, 'let me earnestly recommend to your acquaintance a friend I have there, Mr. Clayton, of Brazenose.' Of this, having small leisure for contracting new acquaintance, we took no notice for the present. But in the spring following (April 20), Mr. Clayton meeting me in the street, and giving Mr. Rivington's service, I desired his company to my room, and then commenced our acquaintance. At the first opportunity I acquainted him with our whole design, which he immediately and heartily closed with; and not long after, Mr. Morgan having then left Oxford, we fixed two evenings in a week to meet on, partly to talk

<sup>1</sup> See letters in App. IV. vol. vi.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Rivington, of St. Paul's Churchyard, bookseller and publisher, was the intimate friend of the two brothers. He published John Wesley's edition of Thomas à Kempis. In the Diaries of this period and in correspondence his name frequently occurs. Mr. Clayton, whom he introduced to Wesley, was the son of a Manchester bookseller, born 1709, educated at the Grammar School of his native town, and entered Brazenose in 1726. He became incumbent of Salford (Manchester) in 1733, where Wesley visited him, and Clayton wrote to his friend at Savannah. Like the Wesleys, father and three sons, like Dr. Burton and many other intimate friends of this period, he was a High Churchman. His friendship was an all-important factor in

Wesley's early life, and his membership in the Company of University Methodists marked a distinct advance in organization and in approximation to the rigid rule and authority of a religious Order. The value Wesley attached to Clayton's friendship is indicated in a facsimile from Oxford Diary No. II, Monthly Summary, where he notes the coincidence of dates: 'April 20, 1725, saw V.! April 20, 1732, saw Mr. Clayton! V. F.' And this estimate is abundantly confirmed by subsequent Diary notes and by the correspondence. (See App. IX. vol. vi.) To this note the late Richard Green added: 'It has been discovered that Clayton helped Wesley in the compilation of his first publication—*A Collection of Forms of Prayer*, 1733.' See above, p. 67, where the Monthly Summary is printed.

upon that subject, and partly to read something in practical divinity.

The two points whereunto, by the blessing of God and your son's help, we had before attained, we endeavoured to hold fast : I mean, the doing what good we can ; and, in order thereto, communicating as often as we have opportunity. To these, by the advice of Mr. Clayton, we have added a third,—the observing the fasts of the Church ; the general neglect of which we can by no means apprehend to be a lawful excuse for neglecting them. And in the resolution to adhere to these and all things else which we are convinced God requires at our hands, we trust we shall persevere till He calls us to give an account of our stewardship. As for the names of Methodists, Supererogation Men, and so on, with which some of our neighbours are pleased to compliment us, we do not conceive ourselves to be under any obligation to regard them, much less to take them for arguments. 'To the law and to the testimony' we appeal, whereby we ought to be judged. If by these it can be proved we are in an error, we will immediately and gladly retract it ; if not, we 'have not so learned Christ' as to renounce any part of His service, though men should 'say all manner of evil against us,' with more judgement and as little truth as hitherto. We do, indeed, use all the lawful means we know, to prevent 'the good which is in us from being evil spoken of.' But if the neglect of known duties be the one condition of securing our reputation, why, fare it well ; we know whom we have believed, and what we thus lay out He will pay us again. Your son already stands before the judgement-seat of Him who judges righteous judgement ; at the brightness of whose presence the clouds remove : his eyes are open, and he sees clearly whether it was 'blind zeal, and a thorough mistake of true religion, that hurried him on in the error of his way'<sup>1</sup> ; or whether he acted like a faithful and wise servant, who, from a just sense that his time was short, made haste to finish his work before his Lord's coming, that 'when laid in the balance' he might not 'be found wanting.'

I have now largely and plainly laid before you the real

<sup>1</sup> Wesley's quotations are from Mr. Morgan's letter, March 1732, to his son William (App. VI, vol. vi.).

ground of all the strange outcry you have heard ; and am not without hope that by this fairer representation of it than you probably ever received before, both you and the clergyman you formerly mentioned may have a more favourable opinion of a good cause, though under an ill name. Whether you have or no, I shall ever acknowledge my best services to be due to yourself and your family, both for the generous assistance you have given my father,<sup>1</sup> and for the invaluable advantages your son has (under God) bestowed on,

Sir,

Your ever obliged,

and most obedient servant.

*John Wesley*

[For Richard Morgan, the younger brother, see *W.H.S.* vol. iii. p. 50 ; Crookshank, vol. i. p. 12 ; and especially Moore, *Life*, vol. i. p. 197. Wesley paid him a visit in Ireland, July 15, 1769.]

<sup>1</sup> Both father and son subscribed to Samuel Wesley's *Dissertations on the Book of Job*. In Oxford Diary No. I is the following entry: 'June 21, 1734. Sent Mr. Morgan five, from 241 to 245.'



# ON THE DEATH OF MR. WILLIAM MORGAN OF CHRIST CHURCH

*Who died August 26, 1732*

BY THE REV. SAMUEL WESLEY, A.M.<sup>1</sup>

*We fools counted his life madness.*<sup>2</sup>

IF aught beneath them happy souls attend,  
Let Morgan hear the triumph of a friend,  
And hear well-pleased. Let libertines so gay  
With careless indolence despise the lay ;  
Let critic wits, and fools for laughter born,  
Their verdict pass with supercilious scorn ;  
Let jovial crowds, by wine their senses drowned,  
Stammer out censure in their frantic round ;  
Let yawning sluggards faint dislike display,  
Who, while they trust to-morrow, lose to-day,—  
Let such as these the sacred strains condemn ;  
For 'tis true glory to be hissed by them.

Wise in his prime, he waited not for noon ;  
Convinced that mortal never lived too soon.  
As if foreboding then his little stay,  
He made his morning bear the heat of day.  
Fixed, while unfading glory he pursues,  
No ill to hazard, and no good to lose :

<sup>1</sup> Eldest son of the rector of Epworth. He inserted this elegy in a quarto volume of 412 pages of his own poetry, dedicated to his kind friend and patron, Edward, second Earl of Oxford, and entitled, '*Poems on Several Occasions.*' By Samuel Wesley, A.M., Master of Blundell's School at Tiverton, Devon, sometime Student of Christ Church, Oxford, and near twenty years Usher in Westminster School.' Published by Rivington, 1736. John Wesley read the proof-sheets in Georgia, noting the fact in his Diary. The poem is not quoted from

Samuel Wesley's published volume, but evidently from his brother's corrected proof-sheets, hence the various readings.

<sup>2</sup> The motto is from the Apocrypha. The whole passage is remarkable, when read in the light of William Morgan's life at Oxford, and of the esteem in which he is now held :

We fools accounted his life madness,  
And his end to be without honour :  
How is he numbered among the children of  
God !

And his lot is among the saints.

Wisdom v. 4 ; cf. vv. 1 to 5.

No fair occasion glides unheeded by ;  
 Snatching the golden moments as they fly,  
 He by few fleeting hours ensures eternity.

Friendship's warm beams his artless breast inspire,  
 And tend'rest rev'rence for a much-loved sire.  
 He dared for heaven this flattering world forgo,  
 Ardent to teach, as diligent to know ;  
 Unwarped by sensual views or vulgar aims,  
 By idle riches, or by idler names ;  
 Fearful of sin in every close disguise ;  
 Unmoved by threat'ning, or by glozing lies.  
 Seldom indeed the wicked came so far,  
 Forced by his piety to defensive war ;  
 Whose zeal for other men's salvation shown,  
 Beyond the reach of hell secured his own.  
 Gladd'ning the poor, where'er his steps he turned ;  
 Where pined the orphan, or the widow mourned ;  
 Where prisoners sighed beneath guilt's horrid stain,  
 The worst confinement and the heaviest chain ;  
 Where Death's sad shade the uninstructed sight  
 Veiled with thick darkness in the land of light.  
 Our Saviour thus fulfilled His great design  
 (If human we may liken to divine),<sup>1</sup>  
 Healed each disease that bodies frail endure,  
 And preached th' unhop'd-for gospel to the poor.<sup>2</sup>

To means of grace the last respect he showed,  
 Nor sought new paths, as wiser than his God :  
 Their sacred strength preserved him from extremes  
 Of empty outside or enthusiast dreams ;  
 Whims of Molinos,<sup>3</sup> lost in rapture's mist,  
 Or Quaker, late-reforming Quietist.

<sup>1</sup> In the original the reading is :  
 For human may be likened to divine.

<sup>2</sup> Six lines omitted here may be found  
 in the volume of 1736 :

Nor yet the priestly function he invades :  
 'Tis not his sermon, but his life, persuades.  
 Humble and teachable, to church he flies,  
 Prepared to practise, not to criticize ;

Then only angry when a wretch conveys  
 The Deist poison in the gospel phrase.

<sup>3</sup> John Wesley, however, so much  
 admired the Spanish mystic as to in-  
 troduce some of his writings into the  
 Christian Library (vol. xxiii. p. 67,  
*The Spiritual Guide*). Whitefield was  
 at one time drawn towards Quietism.  
 (Jackson, *C. W.* vol. i. p. 26.)

He knew that works our faith must here employ,  
And that 'tis heaven's great business to enjoy.  
Fixed on that heaven he Death's approaches saw,  
Nor vainly murmured at our nature's law ;  
Repined not that his youth so soon should go,  
Nor grieved for fleeting pleasures here below.  
Of sharpest anguish scorning to complain,  
He fills with mirth the intervals of pain.<sup>1</sup>  
Not only unappalled, but joyful, sees  
The dark, cold passage that must lead to peace ;  
Strong with immortal bloom, secure to rise,  
The tears for ever banished from his eyes.

Who now regrets his early youth would spend  
The life so nobly that so soon should end?  
Who blames the stripling for performing more  
Than Doctors grave, and Prelates of threescore?  
Who now esteems his fervour indiscreet,  
His prayers too frequent, or his alms too great?  
Who thinks, where blest he reigns beyond the sky,  
His crown too radiant, or his throne too high?  
Who but the Fiend, who once his course withstood,  
And whispered,—'Stay till fifty to be good'?  
Sure, if believed, t' obtain his hellish aim,  
Adjourning to the time that never came.

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<sup>1</sup> Samuel Wesley knew William Morgan not only through his brothers John and Charles, but personally in London.

Probably he lodged with S. Wesley when visiting London. See Morgan Correspondence in App. IV., vol. vi.



# THE JOURNAL

*From October 14, 1735, to February 1, 1738*

## THE VOYAGE

**1735. OCTOBER 14, Tues.**—[About nine in the morning,] Mr. Benjamin Ingham,<sup>1</sup> of Queen's College, Oxford; Mr. Charles Delamotte,<sup>2</sup> son of a [sugar] merchant, in London, [aged twenty-one,] who had offered himself some days before, [and showed an earnest desire to bear us company;] my brother Charles Wesley,

The new version of the Journal enables us to picture the boat, with its passengers, sailing down the Thames, from nine o'clock in the morning until four in the afternoon; also the partitioned section of the fore-castle, with its two cabins, which for more than three months was to be the home of the four friends. It was a section of Oxford Methodism, and, as we shall presently see, the Oxford Rules, by mutual agreement, were strictly enforced. The smaller of the two cabins was allotted to Ingham and Delamotte; the larger to the Wesleys. In the latter the four friends met for reading and prayer.

<sup>1</sup> Born at Ossett, near Wakefield, June 11, 1712; educated at Batley Grammar School; entered Queen's College, Oxford, 1730; joined the Oxford Methodists in 1732; ordained at Oxford by Bishop Potter; in 1736 took possession of a house built for him near an Indian town in Georgia. In 1737 he returned to England, commissioned to find recruits for Georgia, but was led into other work at home. In 1741 he married Lady Margaret Hastings, who already had been instrumental in the conversion of her sister-in-law, Selina, Countess of Huntingdon (App. X. vol. vi.).

<sup>2</sup> Son of a Middlesex magistrate (Tyerman's *Wesley*, vol. i. p. 118). Beyond the facts here stated we know nothing of

Charles Delamotte's early life, or of the circumstances under which Wesley made his acquaintance. His brother William, who was converted through the influence of Ingham and Charles Wesley, as were his mother and two of his sisters, appears to have been the first Methodist—or Methodist Moravian—in Cambridge University. Whitefield had serious thoughts of proposing marriage to Miss Elizabeth Delamotte. Both William and Charles became Moravians. The former died in 1743; the latter Wesley met in 1782. See frequent references to the Delamotte family in Charles Wesley's Journal. Cf. Whitefield's *Life*, by Tyerman; also *W.H.S.* vol. ii. p. 88, and *W. M. Mag.* Feb. 1902, p. 135.

Tuesday Oct. 14. 1735.

(1)

About 9 in the Morning, Mr Ingham of Queen's Coll. Mr De la Motte Son of a Sugar Merchant in London, aged 21 ~~years~~ (who had offered himself some days before, & ~~shew'd~~ shew'd an earnest Desire to bear us Company) My Brother & my self took boat for Gravesend. The Design that mov'd us all to leave our Native Country was not to avoid Want (God having given us Plenty of Temporal Blessings) nor to gain Riches or Honour, which we trust he will ever enable us to look on as no other than Dung & Drops. But singly this, to save our Souls, to live wholly to the Glory of God.

# Mr Burton one of the Trustees, Mr M—n of Lincoln College & H—n Junr of Westminster set out with us.

About 4 in the Afternoon we found the Symonds at Gravesend & immediately went on Board. My Brother & I had a Cabin allotted us in the Forecastle, which had been design'd for Mr Hall. Mr Ingham & Delamotte had the next, we chose to be here for Driveway, there being a Partition between the Forecastle & the Rest of the Ship. Wednesday & Thursday we spent chiefly with Mr M—n & Mr H—n partly on board, partly on shore in exhorting one another, to shake off every weight





and myself, took boat<sup>1</sup> for Gravesend, in order to embark for Georgia.<sup>2</sup> Our end in leaving our native country was not to avoid want, God having given us plenty of temporal blessings, nor to gain riches or honour, [which we trust He will ever enable us to look on as no other than dung and dross;] but singly this—to save our souls, to live wholly to the glory of God.<sup>3</sup> [To take their last leaves at Gravesend, Mr. Burton,<sup>4</sup> one of the Trustees; Mr. Morgan,<sup>5</sup> of Lincoln College; and Mr. Hutton, junior,<sup>6</sup> of Westminster, set out with us. About four] in the afternoon we found the *Simmonds* off Gravesend, and immediately went on board. [My brother and I had a cabin allotted us in the forecastle, which had been designed for Mr. Hall;<sup>7</sup> but he had married a wife, and could not come. Mr. Ingham and Delamotte had the next; we chose to be here for privacy, there being a partition between the forecastle and the rest of the ship.<sup>8</sup>]

In the Georgia Diary, No. I, the first date is October 17. The three days missing, from the 14th to the 17th, should be in the lost Diary commencing October 15, 1734, and ending at October 16, 1735.

For seven days the Voyage Diary is almost a journal, and may be read with comparative ease (see opposite). It afterwards becomes more frag-

<sup>1</sup> Probably at Westminster Stairs, the place of embarkation nearest to the Huttons' house in Great College Street.

<sup>2</sup> Moore (*Life*, vol. i. p. 259) and Jackson (*C. Wesley*, vol. i. pp. 39-47) give summary accounts of the history of the colony of Georgia up to this date. Dr. Stoughton (*Religion in England*, vol. vi. p. 60) gives a good résumé of what was done under Queen Anne and the first Georges by English Episcopalians with a view to the diffusion of Christianity abroad. The missions of the S.P.G. were specially directed to America. See Pratt's *Propaganda*, Hawkins's *Missions of the Church of England*, Anderson's *Colonial Church*, and especially Bishop Berkeley's *Works*, vol. iii. pp. 213-30. For Wesley's appointment see Journal of Georgia Trustees, Record Office, C.O. 5, Oct. 10, 1735, and App. XI. vol. vi.

<sup>3</sup> See Wesley's letter to Dr. Burton in the Colman Collection (App. XII. vol. vi.).

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Burton, of Corpus Christi, was an old Oxford friend of John Wesley,

but never a member of the Holy Club. One of the most influential of the Georgia Trustees, he introduced Wesley to Oglethorpe, and did more, perhaps, than any one else to support Oglethorpe in his Georgia enterprise.

<sup>5</sup> Richard Morgan, junior, of Lincoln College, was the younger brother of William Morgan.

<sup>6</sup> James Hutton, son of Rev. John Hutton, M.A., who lived next door to the house formerly occupied by Samuel Wesley in Great College Street, Westminster, and, like his neighbour, took boarders from Westminster School. James was converted in his father's house under a sermon preached by John Wesley. Both he and Richard Morgan desired to join the Mission.

<sup>7</sup> The Rev. Wesley Hall, curate in the parish of Wootton, Wilts, was one of John Wesley's pupils at Lincoln College, Oxford. In the summer of 1735 he married Martha (Patty) Wesley.

<sup>8</sup> The Trustees had chartered two

*Wednesday* and *Thursday* we spent chiefly with Mr. Morgan and Mr. Hutton, partly on board and partly on shore, in exhorting one another to 'shake off every weight, and to run with patience the race set before us.'

*Fri. 17.*—I began to learn German,<sup>1</sup> in order to converse [a little] with the Moravians,<sup>2</sup> six-and-twenty of whom we have on board, [men who have left all for their Master, and who have indeed learned of Him, being meek and lowly, dead to the world, full of faith and of the Holy Ghost.

mentary and cryptic. The following transliteration of the first three days will assist the decipherment of the page printed in facsimile :

OCT. 17, 1735. *Friday.*

On board the *Simmonds*, off Gravesend.

- 5½ Dressed; prayed with Charles and Ingham. 6. talked of disposing our  
7 business and studies. 7. writ to the Rector, Mr. Hutchins, Sister Emilia.  
8 8½ told each; in talk 9. on business ½ read prayers.  
10½ Writ diary ½. began German Grammar. 12.  
12 Prayed: German 2¾; prayed; talked; conversed till 4; began Deacon with  
5 Delamotte &c. 5. conversed with Ambrosius Tackner;  
6 he resolved to be baptized.  
7½ Sung, conversed 7¾ devotion; read prayers between decks; visited a sick  
8 Moravian, in talk 8½; conversed [or reflected], prayed, undressed 9¼.

ships for the expedition, the *Simmonds* (Captain Joseph Cornish) and the *London Merchant* (Captain Thomas). 'James Oglethorpe, Esq.,' had general charge of the expedition. H.M. sloop *Hawk*, under the command of Captain James Gascoigne, was directed by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to convoy the emigrant-ships from Spithead. On arriving at Georgia Captain Gascoigne was to survey the coasts and harbours near the settlements, for which purpose Mr. Oglethorpe was to provide two scout-boats belonging to the province of South Carolina, the boats being manned from the sloop. According to another statement 'six very large ships' formed the expedition. Of these the *Hawk* was one. See Georgia papers in Record Office, C.O. 5, 1735-7. Charles Wesley refers to the '*London Galley*,' by which he may have meant the *London Merchant*. John Wesley, in the Diary notes on the landing at Peeper Island,

names three captains, and a few days later others are added. (See Record Office, C.O. 5, Georgia Letters, and Gascoigne Correspondence, App. XIII. vol. vi.)

<sup>1</sup> The paragraphs inserted from the *Ingham* copy of the Journal, we may assume, were specially intended for the eyes of his brother Samuel and his friend Clayton. They give a High Church tincture to the Journal, in this respect harmonizing with the Diary and with the phase of ecclesiasticism through which the writer was passing. From this point of view even the phrase 'a little' is suggestive. He would not have Samuel imagine that he had gone over to the Moravians.

<sup>2</sup> In the first edition the name given to the emigrants from Herrnhut is 'Moravians,' changed in later editions to 'Germans.' The Diary names them indifferently 'Germans' and 'Moravians.' For Herrnhut see Bovet's *Life of Zinzendorf*, trans. by T. A. Seed.

[*Sat.* 18.—I baptized at his desire Ambrosius Tackner, aged thirty; he had received only lay baptism before. We dined on shore with Mr. Delamotte's father, who was come down on purpose to see him, and was now fully reconciled (which is of the power of God) to what he at first vigorously opposed.]

*Sun.* 19.—The weather being fair and calm, we had the morning service on quarter-deck.<sup>1</sup> I now first preached extempore [to a numerous and as it then seemed serious congregation.] We then celebrated the Holy Eucharist, [Ambrosius Tackner] and two more communicating with us—a little flock, which we did not doubt God would increase in due time.

*Mon.* 20.—Believing the denying ourselves, even in the smallest instances, might, by the blessing of God, be helpful to us, we [my brother and I] wholly left off the use of flesh and wine, and confined ourselves to vegetable food, chiefly rice and biscuit, [a diet which has agreed with us hitherto perfectly well.] In the afternoon Mr. David Nitschmann, Bishop of the Moravians,<sup>2</sup>

*Saturday 18.*

- 4½ Dressed; prayed; began Genesis 6; Deacon ¾; writ to Varanese,  
 7 Miss Sally Andrews, Sister Emilia 8; talked; writ to Salmon and  
 9 Clayton; 10. Falcon with Tackner; baptized him!  
 11 Delamotte Senior; read Whiston's Catechism.  
 1 ½ dinner, 2½ on board. Conversed 3½. German. 4. Cabin.  
 4 Writ to Sister Kezia, Mr. Vernon, Mr. Hutcheson, my mother,  
 5 Rivington. 5½ talked. 6¼ devotion ½ sung 7. German with Tackner.  
 7 Conversed, prayer, 9¼.

*Sunday 19.*

- 4 Dressed; prayed, Scripture. 6. Deacon, 7. Kempis.  
 8 Xavier; talked 10. Read prayers, preached extempore, Eucharist three  
 11 communicants. 12. Xavier. 1. dined, devotion, prayer. 2. Read with Tackner.  
 3 Read prayers, expounded. 4. Sat in with Hermsdorf. 5. talked; conversed with  
 6 Mrs. Tackner. ½ prayed, conversed. 6½ sung. 7¼ conversed with Oglethorpe.  
 8 Sung with Germans, ¾, with Oglethorpe [lit. 'sat in,' i.e. conversed with him in private; not talked casually, but seriously and with a purpose]; prayer 9.40.

On this page are two indications that Wesley had not entirely discarded the cipher of his earliest Diary. The capital letter 'D,' at the end of line two, Sunday 19, stands for 'Eucharist.' Later, the same letter, with a

<sup>1</sup> He recalls this first Sunday morning service in his reply to Rowland Hill's tract, *Imposture Detected*: 'I preached in the open air in Oct. 1735' (*Works*, vol. x. p. 447).

<sup>2</sup> David Nitschmann, in charge of the Moravian emigrants, was sixty years of age; a sufferer for conscience' sake; a

bishop of the Moravian Church, consecrated in Berlin, March 1735.

Earlier in the year Spangenberg had escorted a detachment, and was now awaiting the arrival of the bishop who had been entrusted with the organization of the Moravian Church, the *Unitas Fratrum* in Georgia.



[Mr. Van Hermsdorf,<sup>1</sup> and Andrew Döber<sup>2</sup>] began to learn English. Oh may we be not only of one tongue, but of one mind and of one heart!

*Tues. 21.*—[God sending us a fair wind,] we sailed from Gravesend. When we were past about half the Goodwin Sands, the wind suddenly failed. Had the calm continued till ebb, the ship had probably been lost. But the gale sprang up again in an hour, and carried us into the Downs.

We now began to be a little regular. Our common way of living was this: From four in the morning till five each of us used private prayer. From five to seven we read the Bible together, carefully comparing it (that we might not lean to our own understandings) with the writings of the earliest ages. At seven we breakfasted. At eight were the public prayers, at which were present usually between thirty or forty of our eighty passengers. From nine to twelve I commonly learned German, and Mr. Delamotte Greek. My brother writ sermons,<sup>3</sup> and Mr. Ingham

difference, stands for 'Delamotte.' A mark above the letter shows that it is taken from the cipher alphabet, and means 'Eucharist' or 'Communion.' The letters 'rt' represent the word 'sat,' one of Wesley's favourite words. It always indicates deliberate intention, serious purpose. If he sits alone, it is that he may *reflect*; if with another person, that he may *converse*, and not merely *talk*. Often he adds the word 'close,' or, as in the last line of this page, the letter 'n,' which seems to mean that, for instance on this Sunday evening, he and his chief were 'within,' in the privacy of his own cabin, very seriously conversing. Other reminiscences of the old cipher are occasionally found.

In line three, October 17, the letters 'tea' do not mean either tea or teaching. The mark over the first letter shows that 't' stands for a complete word: 'told each' meets all the requirements, and gives sense: at the earliest moment he wrote, telling his friends, his kinsfolk, his publisher, and the rector of his college, where he was and how he fared.

His first tutor in German was Tackner, who also was his first *Simmonds* convert. Tackner and his wife, and her daughter, Betty Hazle, are frequently named in the Frederica sections of the Diary.

<sup>1</sup> Hermsdorf was an officer permitted by the Prussian Government to serve the new colony under Oglethorpe. Later he organized the defence of Frederica against the Spaniards.

<sup>2</sup> Andrew, brother of Leonhard and Martin Döber (Benham's *James Hutton*, p. 23). Anton Seifart was chosen the

first bishop of the Savannah Congregation of United Brethren.

<sup>3</sup> Charles Wesley was ordained deacon (Sunday, Oct. 5, 1735) by Dr. Potter, Bishop of Oxford, who also had ordained his brother John and Ingham. On the Sunday following (Oct. 12) he was ordained priest by Dr. Gibson, Bishop

read some treatise of divinity or instructed the children. At twelve we met to give an account to one another what we had done since our last meeting, and what we designed to do before our next.<sup>1</sup> About one we dined. The time from dinner to four we spent with the people partly in public reading, partly in reading to those whom each of us had taken in charge, or in speaking to them severally, as need required. At four were the evening prayers, when either the Second Lesson was explained—as it always was in the morning—or the children were catechized and instructed before the congregation. From five to six we again used private prayer. From six to seven I read in our cabin to two or three of the passengers, of whom there were about eighty English on board, and each of my brethren to a few more in theirs. At seven I joined with the Germans in their public service, while Mr. Ingham was reading between the decks to as many as desired to hear. At eight we met again, to exhort and instruct one another. Between nine and ten we went to bed, where neither the roaring of the sea nor the motion of the ship could take away the refreshing sleep which God gave us.

*Fri. 24.*—Having a rolling sea, most of the passengers found the effects of it. Mr. Delamotte was exceeding sick for several

During these days he read Deacon and Xavier; pursued his German studies so diligently that on Thursday, 23rd, he ended the German Grammar; began to teach English to Nitschmann and Hermsdorf; sang every day 'with all' and 'with the Germans,' and began his friendship with von Reck and Mr. Hird.

of London. He took orders reluctantly, Dr. Burton urging him to do so, and his brother John overcoming his scruples. It does not appear that he had either preached or written a sermon before embarking for Georgia. The sermons he preached in the Isle of Wight while the ship lay in Cowes Harbour were those he wrote on board the *Simmonds*—Charles Wesley's first sermons. The exact date of Charles Wesley's ordination seems to be nowhere recorded. His own Journal does not begin until later. John Wesley's Diary for the early autumn of 1735 is lost. Assuming that Charles spent no long time in London before embarking,

and that his ordination as deacon took place on a Sunday, we have provisionally adopted Sunday, Oct. 5, as the day.

<sup>1</sup> The fact that the four friends were living under Oxford Rules accounts for certain peculiarities in the Diary. Neither on board ship, nor subsequently in Georgia, would Wesley take any step without consulting his brethren; and when they were not at hand, he fulfilled the spirit of the rule of his order by consulting the Moravian elders. This rule he afterwards imposed upon his preachers. It is still in force, being embodied in the *Twelve Rules of a Helper* (see *Minutes*, vol. i. p. 678, and *Sum. Meth. Law and Discipline*, p. 245).

days; Mr. Ingham for about half an hour. My brother's head ached much. Hitherto, it hath pleased God, the sea has not disordered me at all; nor have I been hindered one quarter of an hour from reading, writing, composing, or doing any business I could have done on shore.

During our stay in the Downs, some or other of us went, as often as we had opportunity, on board the ship that sailed in company with us, where also many were glad to join in [the prayers of the Church and to hear the Word of God explained.

[*Sun. 26.*—We had a new communicant.

[*Mon. 27.*—Mr. Johnson<sup>1</sup> complained to Mr. Oglethorpe that having the public prayer in the great cabin was a great inconvenience to him. He said he could not bear to stay in the room when so many people were in it, and that he could not stay out of it while they were there, for fear of catching cold.

In the Journal as hitherto published the days between October 24 and 31 are unrecorded; also the days between November 1 and 16. This new version and the Diary account for each missing day.

OCT. 25, *Sat.*—His reading this morning, at five o'clock, is the 'Bible, and at six and seven 'Deacon' and Common Prayer.' He again preaches on board the other ship and visits the sick passenger, a Mrs. Walker, with whom he 'disputes.' He notes in the evening that Charles is 'perverse.' Every available moment is given to the study of German.

*Sun. 26.*—For early morning reading, Nelson took the place of Deacon. He had a 'good time' on board the other ship, where he read prayers and preached. For Hermsdorf, von Reck, and the Saltzburghers he always entertained the highest regard. The Moravians and the Hirds were almost the only people on board the *Simmonds* who did not, sooner or later, cause him pain and anxiety. Returning to the *Simmonds*, he again preached, administered the Eucharist, and conversed; the result, noted at the foot of the page, being 'Strengthened one another.'

*Mon. 27.*—This was a memorable day. It began with an hour of private prayer, from four to five. His Bible he reads to the accompaniment of a rolling sea which leaves him 'well.' At six he prays with Delamotte and Charles. At seven he converses with Oglethorpe, who is 'right.' At eight he reads prayers and attends to business. At half-past nine he 'began *Gesang-Buch*.' It may not be impossible to ascertain, by a comparison of numbers, which *Gesang-Buch* was used by Wesley in Georgia, and from which some of the greatest hymns were drawn. Meantime, the choice seems to lie between two books: (1) The first German Moravian hymn-book—*Das Gesang-Buch der Gemeinde in Herrnhut*—was published in 1735.

<sup>1</sup> Son of the late governor of South Carolina (see Correspondence in Record Office, C.O. 5).

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Deacon was Clayton's friend. See Tyerman's *Oxford Methodists*, p. 44, for account of this once-famous Nonjuror.



After some dispute the matter was compromised, that the prayers in the morning (during which Mr. Johnson was in bed) should be read in the cabin, and the afternoon prayers between decks (the quarter-deck being too cold); the fore hatchway was the best place we could find there, though indeed it was very dirty and very noisy, and so small it would not hold above a quarter of our congregation, and so low none of them could stand upright. But these and far greater inconveniences vanish away before a desire to please God.]

*Fri. 31.*—[It pleased God that the wind came fair, and] we sailed out of the Downs. At eleven at night I was waked by a great noise. I soon found there was no danger. But the bare apprehension of it gave me a lively conviction what manner of men ought those to be who are every moment on the brink of eternity.

*Nov. 1, Sat.*—We came to St. Helen's Harbour, [off the Isle of Wight.

Copies therefore may have been in the possession of Nitschmann and his friends when they joined the *Simmonds*. (2) Freylinghausen's *Gesang-Buch*. This was published in two parts: *Geist-reiches Gesang-Buch, den Kern alter und neuer Lieder . . . in sich haltend*, &c. (Halle). Gedruckt und verlegt im Waysen-Hause, 1704 (*Hamburg*), with 683 hymns and 173 melodies. The second part, *Neues Geist-reiches Gesang-Buch*, was published in 1714. It contained 815 hymns and 154 melodies (Julian's *Dict. Hym.* pp. 768 and 396). Possibly all these books were on board the *Simmonds*; there can be no doubt that Wesley had access to them in 1736, when he began to translate German hymns for the use of his English Societies. Nor can it be doubted that some of the earliest Methodist tunes were drawn from these sources.

The beginning, however, of a revolution in Christian song is not emphasized at the foot of the Diary page; only the 'rolling sea,' Oglethorpe's mood, and 'Mr. Johnson's anger at our having prayers.'

*Tues. 28.*—He reads Deacon *On Common Prayer*, spends four hours in studying German, converses seriously with the men, who are 'affected,' buries James Proctor, and reads the *Life of Gregory Lopez* (which he afterwards included in the *Christian Library*, vol. xxvii.).

*Wed. 29.*—His studies are Wall *on Baptism*, German, and the *Life of Lopez*; the sea is rough, but 'Mr. Johnson is kind!'

*Thur. 30.*—After dinner he spends a quarter of an hour under the deck reading Law to many, who seem to be affected, as are the sailors and the cook, to whom he speaks in the afternoon.

*Fri. 31.*—He begins to read Law's *Christian Perfection* to the people under the deck, and to Charles and Delamotte in their cabin. Alarmed by the great noise in the night, he renews his resolutions.

*Nov. 1, Sat.*—He writes to his mother and Mr. Vernon. Arriving safely at St. Helen's Harbour, he resolves to amend, and reads the resolution to his brother and friends.

[*Sun. 2.*—We passed the Fleet at Spithead, and fell down into Cowes Road.

*Sun. 2.*—He prays for Johnson, reproves the captain, who is convinced, preaches, visits Captain Thomas, and converses with Mrs. Mackay.<sup>1</sup>

In Cowes Roads the ships remained until December 10, waiting for the *Hawk*, which was being refitted for the Georgia survey.

*Mon. 3.*—In the Diary the sign for the four members of the Holy Club is 'C—c,' i.e. Charles and company. It recalls the phrase which so frequently occurs in the Oxford Diary—'Our Company.' With C—c he takes 'a very pleasant walk' in the island. They dine at Newport, commune by the way, write and sign a solemn Agreement (Tyerman's *Oxford Methodists*, p. 70); at two they meet Oglethorpe, with whom they converse and sing. On the way home they converse with Captain Thomas, Wesley reading prayers and preaching on board his ship. This was the first Methodist society-meeting held in the Isle of Wight.

*Tues. 4.*—He spends some time in transcribing names—probably of communicants and of those needing pastoral care. A similar duty he fulfilled the day before on board the other ship. Throughout life he attached great importance to the 'number of the names.' Long lists survive, neatly written with his own hand. It was on this day that he formally began 'visits.' The first names on his visiting-list were 'Hird and family'—staunch friends of the Wesleys afterwards in Frederica, and also (in 1736) friends of Miss Hopkey, who lodged with them some weeks. They deserve to stand first on the roll of Colonial or American Methodism.

*Wed. 5.*—Oglethorpe, whose kindness to the passengers, and especially to the sick, Ingham describes in his own Journal, talks with the women. At one Wesley converses with Davison and company, and at three with the Hird family. In Frederica Davison and Hird were constables. He read prayers and preached; afterwards, for half an hour, he 'explained with Oglethorpe,' who, through impulsive kindness, was already being drawn into difficulty.

*Thur. 6.*—A sermon, which has occupied an hour a day, is transcribed; a new book (*Pietas Hallensis*, by A. H. Francke) is begun with Charles and company; a storm breaks.

*Fri. 7.*—He is still working on a sermon, studying German, visiting, and either reading or expounding to the people. He has an explanation with the captain, and both Captain Cornish and Mr. Johnson come to prayers.

He had long been in the habit of writing sermons, not that he absolutely needed to do so, for every day, morning and afternoon, he expounded; but in this as in so much else he was led on, partly by his own trained habits of accuracy and method, and partly by the unseen Hand which was preparing for the future. Peculiar interest attaches to the sermons written during the voyage, because some, if not the whole of them, were afterwards included in the standard volumes. Ingham, in his own Journal,

<sup>1</sup> In the Minutes of Council, C.O. 5, 690 (April 1, 1737), is a letter in which Oglethorpe tells a fine story of Hugh

Mackay, late Lieut. of H.M. Service, in command of the Hundred of Darien (App. XIV. vol. vi.).

[*Sun.* 9.—A gay young woman, who casually heard me speaking to another on the nature of Christianity, appeared to be much surprised and affected ; but good company soon restored her to her former gaiety.] The wind was fair ; but the man-of-war, which was to convoy us, not being ready, obliged us to wait for her. This was a happy opportunity of building up our fellow travellers [in the knowledge of Christ, wherein they needed to be instructed little less than the savages of America.] May He whose seed we sow give it the increase [in His good time !]

*Sun.* 16.—Thomas Hird, and Grace his wife, with their children, Mark, aged twenty-one, and Phoebe, about seventeen, [who had been educated among the] Quakers, were, at their own often-repeated desire, and after [frequent and] careful instruction, [received into the Church by Baptism, whereby we gained four more serious and constant communicants. Our custom had hitherto been, besides the Second Lesson, to explain part of the

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says that 'during the voyage Wesley went over our Saviour's Sermon on the Mount,' thus laying the foundation for a series of sermons which, at a later period, were published in the 'four volumes.'<sup>1</sup>

*Sat.* 8.—The day was devoted chiefly to sermon transcription, exposition, and German.

*Sun.* 9.—A cold, which grows worse, does not greatly hinder devotions ; at eleven Charles reads prayers and expounds ; at twelve Delamotte, who seems to have shared his chief's distemper, prays and sings for half an hour, and is 'cured in a moment !!' On this day 'M H' (Mrs. Hawkins, wife of a surgeon on board) speaks to him. She is the 'gay young woman' referred to in the text, and the mainspring of most of the trouble that befell both the Wesleys and Oglethorpe in Frederica.

*Mon.* 10.—He converses with Charles von Reck, who sailed with the Saltzburghers on board the *London Merchant*.

The instruction of the Hird family continues from day to day, interrupted, however, by a dispute, which after much talk Wesley settles. Mrs. Tackner, wife of his first German tutor, is added to the list of catechumens. Fresh books of theology or devotion are commenced by the four friends in the cabin. The Hird family are more and more affected, and at last, on

*Sun.* 16, at eight in the morning, Thomas, Grace, Mark, and Phoebe Hird are baptized, Benjamin Ingham being witness.

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<sup>1</sup> In the edition of Wesley's *Works* published in 1771, the standard sermons, fifty-three in number, were printed in four volumes. Vol. iv. also contained 'Advice to the people called Methodists

on the Subject of Dress'; 'Duties of Husbands and Wives,' in seven chapters ; and an 'Extract from Mr. Law's Treatise on Christian Perfection,' in five chapters.



Common Prayer after service. But being informed that some of the people were tired with so much expounding, we proposed to them fairly to leave it off. This they utterly protested against, and desired us to go on as we began, which I did till we came out to sea.

*Mon. 17.*—The Diary page is still divided into columns according to the plan adopted in 1733-4. The need for remark occasionally overleaps the column limitation; otherwise he adheres to his system. Each page ends with a summary, or with notes of specially important events. The following list of columns and their uses will be of interest:

- (1) The hours of the day.
- (2) The ejaculatory prayer.
- (3) The occupation of the hour.
- (4) Devotional minutes ending each hour.
- (5) Matters personal, e.g. health, mood, &c.
- (6) Matters relating to 'our Company' or other people.
- (7) General remarks, as for example, 'v' is 'All well,' or a note of admiration (!) is inserted; a cross (+) indicates something sacred or causing suffering.

The attempt to interpret columns (1), (2), (3), (4) is given without hesitation; the interpretation of columns (5), (6), (7) can only be conjectural; it depends on Wesley's cipher, and the materials here for a reliable induction are much scantier than in Oxford Diary No. I. The following is the interpretation of four lines under this date (Nov. 17, see opposite):

4. Ej. Drest, prayer, private prayer	6 min. sang $\frac{1}{2}$ . read with 2: at one: well
5. Ej. prayer; Bible	7 " " 2 "
6. Ej. Wall on Baptism	6 no taste " " 2 "
7. Ej. talk: $\frac{1}{2}$ past, Wall	5 sang $\frac{1}{2}$

If this interpretation is correct, it means that the rules of 'our Company' were observed; that at the morning exercises two members, besides himself, were present; that they were in agreement, and 'well'; but that *he*, probably as the result of a severe influenza, had 'no taste.' '6 s $\frac{1}{2}$ ' may mean that half the devotional 6 minutes he spent singing.

At ten he wrote to Clayton and Salmon, and notes the fact that he was 'at one' with them. They were indeed, at this time, of one mind. After dinner he finished Collier's *Reasons*, the book he had been reading for some days. Phoebe Hird and Frank Brooks were the young people for whose spiritual welfare he was specially caring. His evening hour with the Germans he marks with a cross. His summary is interesting. The people were well. The noteworthy event of the day was that 'All the people were angry at my expounding so often. All convinced and affected.' The letters 'Lz' recall his first Diary, with its wellnigh endless varieties of devout ejaculation, often in cipher or Greek, or both. There can be little doubt that in this Diary 'Lz' is cipher for *Κύριε βοήθει*.

*Tues. 18.*—In the afternoon 'Hird, Mr. Williams, and his wife' are

<u>27.</u>	Nov. 17. M. 1735		
4 ē dr. p. p. p.	6 1/2 t	12. 5v.	v
5 ē p. lat	7	2. 5v.	
6 ē Wall p	6 no taste	2. 5v	
7. ē F. 1/2 Wall	5 1/2 t		
8. p. sē	6	2. 00	
9 ē Wall	6 t 9	v	
10 ē nr to Cla. to Sal	6 v.	t	
11. ē n Germ	5		
12 n. p. it	6		
1. ē dr. end Collier's 6 qns		all peopl	
2 ē Coll 10 thid. v 6 W. h. m. ang			
3 ē it n. Phoebe 1/2 1/2 6 1/2 c. a			1
4 p. ex	6 1/2	2 ..	
5 ē C. p. 20 p. p. d 7		2	
6 ē p. su it	6	=2	
7. ē n Germ	6	2 +	
8. ē Frank 9 p. u. 6.		v	

Dr v

1 All v people ang at m expound-  
ing so often All n. d. b. aff  
Lz.. +

FACSIMILE PAGE OF DIARY, NOVEMBER 17, 1735.





[Wed. 19.—The man-of-war<sup>1</sup> came, and the wind turned against us. Between twelve and one at night a gentleman<sup>2</sup> who was disgusted at our occasioning (as he supposed) his maid to be set on shore, who was a known drunkard, and suspected of theft and unchastity, waked us by dancing over our heads; but he begged our pardon the next day, and seemed convinced we had done him no wrong.]

Thur. 20.—We [left Cowes,] fell down into Yarmouth Road, [and at four in the afternoon anchored ;] but the next day were forced back to Cowes. During our stay here there were several storms, in one of which two ships in Yarmouth Road were stranded on the island. The continuance of the contrary winds gave my brother an opportunity of complying with the desire of

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named; he conversed seriously with the three. Probably we have here the first mention of the 'Captain Williams' who, some years later, swore an affidavit in the magistrates' court at Bristol. Its publication in America precipitated the publication of the 'First Extract' of Wesley's Journal (see Notes on Preface, p. 85).

He again wrote to Mr. Vernon. For evening reading he began a new book, *Nicomemus; or, a Treatise on the Fear of Man*, written in German by August Herman Francke (see pp. 300-1).

Thur. 20.—At six in the morning Horton was 'very angry,' the result being a talk, intimately, with Oglethorpe. At ten Mr. Vernon came. He remained for the day, and attended the afternoon exposition. He and Wesley sang and conversed seriously together. A letter dated 'London, 18 Nov. 1735,' shows that Mr. Vernon was sending his son to Georgia on board the *Hawk* (App. XIII. vol. vi., Mr. Vernon's letter). From the same letter we learn that Mr. Vernon was interesting himself in the affairs of Wesley's mother. He says, 'I shall continue my care of what relates to your mother's interest in her husband's books.' Wesley notes the kindness of Oglethorpe, his openness, and the fact that Mrs. Lawley, the sick woman befriended by Oglethorpe, was 'seriously affected.'

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<sup>1</sup> The man-of-war was H.M. sloop *Hawk*, with a crew of seventy men.

<sup>2</sup> The Diary enables us to identify this as Mr. Horton, who afterwards was appointed Magistrate in Frederica. Mr. Horton's name frequently appears in the Diary, and in the official documents of the Georgia Trustees. The following extract from the Minutes of Council, C.O. 5, 690, is of interest: 'June 6, 1737. Read a grant of 300 acres of

land in Trust to William Horton, Thomas Hawkins, William Weston, and Thomas Hird at Frederica, to be cultivated in order to raise a maintenance for a minister at Frederica, and for other religious uses.' All these names figure in Wesley's Journal—Horton as a soldier, magistrate, and candid critic of Wesley's preaching, Hawkins as doctor, Weston and Hird as intimate friends.

the minister of Cowes,<sup>1</sup> and preaching there three or four times. The poor people flocked together in great numbers, and appeared extremely affected. We distributed a few little books among the more serious of them, which they received with all possible expressions of thankfulness.

*Fri. 21.*—[I visited Mrs. Lawley] recovering from a dangerous illness. She [had a long time] desired to receive the Lord's Supper, and to be instructed in the nature of it. I thought it concerned her to be first instructed in the nature of Christianity, and accordingly fixed an hour a day to read with her in Mr. Law's treatise on *Christian Perfection*. [She received it with gladness, and seemed every day more earnest to pursue the one thing needful.]

[*Sat. 22.*—Many persons having endeavoured to sow dissension between us and Mr. Horton (whose maid was mentioned before) by representing us as dissemblers, backbiters, incendiaries, and what not, I came to an understanding with him, wherewith he was at the present, blessed be God, fully satisfied.]

*Sun. 23.*—[We had twelve communicants.] At night I was

*Fri. 21.*—He wrote to Mr. T. Delamotte, the father of Charles.

*Sat. 22.*—His cold is 'almost gone.' He spends a morning with Charles and Delamotte in Cowes, taking the *Life of Lopez* to read as they walk. They go to Carisbrooke Castle. At Farmer's, where he prays, converses, and reads *Lopez*, 'they are affected.' At Cowes, where also he reads *Lopez*, many hear and are affected. He dines at Cowes, and immediately on his return begins a course of readings in Law with Mr. and Mrs. Lawley. His notes on the day are cheerful: 'The women at Carisbrooke; at Cowes; Mr. and Mrs. Lawley; Hird and Phoebe affected; Horton open, friendly.'

*Sun. 23.*—His cold is better. He begins a devotional book which, during many months, influenced him and others powerfully. It has left its mark on the hymns of the Wesleys. For a time Hickes's *Reformed Devotions* almost took the place of Kempis and the Psalter.<sup>2</sup> Some of its hymns were sung in the societies (the earliest Methodist societies) of Frederica and

<sup>1</sup> Cowes was in the parish of Carisbrooke, where the rector lived. In 1735 the 'minister of Cowes' was the Rev. Cadwallader Williams, who, however, is said to have died in February of that year. A successor does not seem to have been appointed before the time of Charles Wesley's visit, or if appointed his name does not appear in the parish records. It is quite possible that the

'minister of Cowes' was the rector, who at the time was in sole charge—Rev. Dr. Thomas Tronghear (1722-61), vicar of Carisbrooke and rector of Northwood. This would account for the two visits paid by the Wesleys to Carisbrooke.

<sup>2</sup> In 1755 Wesley included a revised and shortened form of this book in his *Christian Library*. See Green's *Bibliography*, p. 93; *W.M. Mag.*, 1908, p. 791.

awaked by the tossing of the ship and roaring of the wind, and plainly showed I was unfit, for I was unwilling, to die.

Savannah. Immediately following the Hickes note he writes, 'Drest (i.e. robed for public prayers), talked with Delamotte; at seven-forty sung.' What did they sing? Was it one of Austin's hymns? or one of Watts's (he undoubtedly had Watts's *Psalms and Hymns* with him in Georgia, for he selected ten of them to take the first place in the hymn-book he printed in Charlestown)? or one from the *Gesang-Buch* he was now beginning to use in his evening visits to the Germans? The next line in the Diary may throw a ray of light on this interesting question: '8 recappshsci234ptb x'; the marks above the letters assist the interpretation, which probably is as follows: 'Read chapter appointed, prayer, sang hymn, said Creed, Collects 1, 2, 3, 4, Tate and Brady, expounded.' In other words: at eight o'clock on the 25th Sunday after Trinity, Wesley, robed in his surplice,<sup>1</sup> stood between decks, the ship lying in Cowes Harbour, and read the chapters appointed—Prov. xiii. and John xv. He prayed, sang the hymn he and Delamotte had sung together an hour before, said the Creed and four Collects,—Lord's Prayer, Collect for the day, for Peace, for Grace,—sang from the New Version, and expounded the Second Lesson—'I am the true Vine.' How often in later years, when he expounded the same verses in the New Room at Bristol, in the Foundery, or in the Orphan House, did he recall that Sunday morning in Cowes Harbour! The Gospel and Epistles of St. John were favourite subjects for exposition at Wesley's early morning society worship. He may not have realized it at the time, but in that little shipboard parish there had sprung up a branch of the true Vine—the firstfruits of the Methodist harvest. After prayers he had serious conversation with some of the young people whom he was gently leading—Mark and Phoebe Hird and Betty Hazle. At eleven he read prayers, and, as a help to the solemnity of the occasion, 'intoned.' If we would read the story of this memorable Sunday morning aright, we should read the Psalms for the morning, the Lessons, the Collect, the Gospel, and Epistle. At the Eucharist there were twelve communicants. He gives the names in his Diary—'Thomas, Grace, Mark, Phoebe Hird, Mr. Tackner and Betty (his wife), Burk and West.' If we add to these Charles Wesley, Delamotte, Benjamin Ingham, and himself, the number is complete. It was a morning of triumph, for they were all the converts of his ministry—a triumph followed, however, by trouble and humiliation. At one he 'fell' on his 'head'; Oglethorpe was 'very ill'; and a storm filled him with a terror of death of which he was ashamed.

Mon. 24.—He has a long and serious conversation with Mr. Horton, who in the colony will have great influence, and must, if possible, be won; writes again to T. Delamotte, not a hasty note, but an hour-and-a-half letter; he was responsible for Charles Delamotte; William was at Cambridge, and the mother and her daughters were at home in Kent waiting to be drawn into 'our Company.' Wesley even now wasted no opportunity.

<sup>1</sup> In City Road Chapel he wore his surplice when reading prayers. (*Homes, Haunts, and Friends of John Wesley*, p. 149.)



[*Fri.* 28.—Mrs. Hawkins, the gay young woman mentioned before, was at Mrs. Lawley's cabin when I read Mr. Law, as she afterwards was several times. She was always attentive and often much amazed.

[*Sun.* 30.—It pleased God to visit her with sickness. I then began to hope He would perfect His work in her. During this whole time Mr. Johnson was more and more impatient of the contrary winds; and at last, on *Monday*, DECEMBER 1, despairing,

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He studies German, talks with Mrs. Tackner, who, after conversation with Ingham, &c. 'resolves to stand'; after dinner he reads Law to Mr. Lawley, and prays with Oglethorpe, who, still sick, sends for him. The books read privately or publicly during these days are Wall *On Baptism*, *Nicodemus*, Law's *Christian Perfection*, Johnson's *Unbloody Sacrifice*, and the *Life of Gregory Lopez*.

*Tues.* 25.—Hitherto Charles Wesley dined alone with Oglethorpe, whose secretary he was. On this day John Wesley resolves in future to dine with Charles at Oglethorpe's table. Much of the inner anxiety of the prolonged voyage arose from Oglethorpe's friendliness to Wesley, and also his exceptional kindness to sick and hysterical women. Wesley strove, faithfully and without partiality, to fulfil the duties of friend and pastor towards his chief and all others. He rejoices that Oglethorpe is 'open.' The women, under heavy and repeated courses of Law, *Lopez*, and serious conversation, are 'affected.'

*Wed.* 26.—One of Wesley's peculiarities was the importance he attached to small and apparently trifling incidents. He treated as signs things which others would have passed by without notice. To-day he was reading Law, when a child cried. The voice that, long afterwards, stilled tempestuous mobs, soothed the little one into silence. Twice on the page he notes the curious fact.

*Thur.* 27.—A day without event. Johnson, Law, *Nicodemus*, and *Lopez* almost monopolize the page, though prayer, Bible-reading, and exposition fill their accustomed places.

*Fri.* 28.—From this day forward Mrs. Hawkins, the surgeon's wife, figures in the story more and more prominently. Nor is it possible to form a just estimate of all that happened, unless, however reluctantly, we follow closely the course of those events in which she, Mrs. Welch, Mrs. Lawley, and Mr. Oglethorpe played a part.

Already, in some unexplained way, his chief had incurred Wesley's displeasure. A line in the day's summary reads, 'Reproved Oglethorpe; he open.'

*Sat.* 29.—He was reading *Nicodemus* with his three friends when Oglethorpe came. On the interview with him the note, repeated at the foot of the page, is, 'Got no good.' He also remarks, 'Ingham zealous,' a characteristic that Benjamin Ingham never lost.

*Sun.* 30.—For this day Hickes, Bishop Patrick, and Kempis were the devotional books in use. At five in the evening 'Oglethorpe talked with the women,' and Wesley 'prayed.'

as he said, of their ever being fair while he stayed in the ship, he left it and took boat for Portsmouth in order to return to London. In the afternoon we held public prayer in the great cabin, one of the many blessings consequent on his leaving us.]

*Tues. 2.*—I had much satisfaction in conversing with [Mrs. Moore, one of Mr. Oglethorpe's servants,] that was very ill and very serious. [She desired me to read some treatise I judged proper with her, which I gladly promised to do every day. I began with Mr. Norris on *Christian Prudence*; but we never came to the end of it, for] in a few days she recovered from her sickness and her seriousness together.

[By our stay at Cowes we gained two new passengers, both serious, conscientious men.

[*Wed. 3.*—I read the *Second Spira*<sup>1</sup> to one of them (Mr. Reed), Mrs. Hawkins, and her husband. They were all affected for the present. God grant it may sink into their hearts!

*DEC. 1, Mon.*—The only event recorded is the acquisition of the great cabin for evening prayers.

*Tues. 2.*—Several additions are made to the list of persons willing to hear readings and exhortations. One of these the Journal helps us to identify as Mr. Reed; the other the Diary, for December 3, seems to indicate as James Billingham, with whom he 'began' after prayers on Wednesday morning. Arthur, named both on Tuesday and Wednesday as 'open,' may have been 'Daniel Arthur, 17,' who in Wesley's list of passengers (Clarke's *Wesley Family*, vol. ii. pp. 175-7), is berthed with 'John Brownfield, 21'; or 'Arthur Johnson,' whose name occurs in the Georgia Letters in connexion with 'An Account of the Death of our Good Governor, Mr. Johnson' (see Record Office Correspondence, C.O. 5.) But whoever he may have been, Wesley fastened upon him, as he invariably did upon every person, high or low, to whom he could speak a word in season, and to the end of the voyage he cared for him sedulously.

Concerning Mr. Reed there is no uncertainty. His name must be remembered, for he will reappear in the tragic story of Frederica—a courageous friend during days of rebuke and peril, and, as far as we can now ascertain, the first lay pastor in American Methodism.

Mrs. Patterson, with whom also he now 'began,' is frequently named in the Frederica story. Also 'Robert Patterson, 31,' her husband. She seems to have been a Roman Catholic, or to have had leanings that way. At all events, Wesley thought it desirable, after Law and serious conversation, to read to her a 'tract against Popery,' under which she was 'seriously convinced.'

*Thur. 4.*—After prayers he 'began with Jemmy Welch.' The list gives 'John Welch, 30; Ann, his wife, 26; James, his son, 5; John, his son, 3

<sup>1</sup> See *Wesley's Veterans* (John Haime), vol. i. p. 47.

[Sat. 6.—Alexander Craig,<sup>1</sup> the second mate, an oppressive, insolent, turbulent man, who had before insulted and abused many of the passengers, affronted Mr. Oglethorpe himself to his face. The next day he was removed before the mast to the man-of-war. Praised be God for the deliverance of the poor people from an unrighteous and wicked man !]

Sun. 7.—[We had fourteen communicants.] Finding nature did not require so frequent supplies as we had been accustomed to, we agreed to leave off suppers<sup>2</sup>; from doing which we have hitherto found no inconvenience. [John Spurrell, a sailor belonging to the ship, began now to recover from an illness in which his life was despaired of. My brother attended him every day. His resolutions were a little shaken at first by the raillery of his companions, till it pleased God to touch the heart of one of them too, who has ever since gone on with him hand in hand.]

It will be of some interest to remember that another 'Jemmy,' whom we may identify as James Billinghamurst, and who is often named in connexion with boat voyages subsequently, became one of Wesley's favourite pupils. Was he in charge of the boat that took the brothers ashore? They must again have walked towards Carisbrooke, for they dined at Farmer's, afterwards conversing at Mr. Wendover's. During this journey he read the *Answer to the Plausibility Arguments*.

Fri. 5.—To interpret two notes on this day's page it would be necessary to study Johnson's *Unbloody Sacrifice*, one portion of which, relating to the 'Father,' two of the friends heard Wesley read thrice before they were clear as to the teaching. Both as learner and teacher Wesley was thorough.

With James Billinghamurst and Jemmy Welch he began '*Conversations*,' the day following writing them out.

Mon. 8.—His preparation for the morning exposition is the reading of the Greek Testament; he is still writing the *Conversations* with J. B. and J. W. According to the Diary it was on this day he began to read Norris's *Christian Prudence* to Mrs. Moore. Little wonder that an hour and three-quarters of such reading proved distasteful to an uneducated servant woman.

Oglethorpe sent for him; he had an interview, first, with Vernon, afterwards with Oglethorpe and Lawley.

Tues. 9.—Their last day in Cowes Harbour. After prayers and exposition he spent three-quarters of an hour with Oglethorpe 'within,' in which

<sup>1</sup> The note in the Diary is 'Craig beat by Oglethorpe.' See the Gascoigne Correspondence, App. XIII. vol. vi. New names are added to his list—Mrs. Perkins and Mrs. Lambert. In the list of passengers given by Clarke in his

*Wesley Family* neither of these names appears. But we find Samuel and Catherine Parkins.

<sup>2</sup> In Georgia Ingham continued the habit: the Wesleys, he says, resumed suppers.



*Wed.* 10.—[About eight in the morning] we sailed from Cowes, and [at three] in the afternoon passed the Needles. Here the ragged rocks, with the waves dashing and foaming at the foot of them, and the white side of the island rising to such a

connexion 'Weston' is named for the first time. In Frederica Wesley married Weston to Miss Fosset, Sophy Hopkey's chief friend.

A comparison of notes on several days in this month shows that the written Conversations with James Billingham and Jemmy Welch grew into a 'catechism.' This throws light on Wesley's methods of instruction at this time, which, always systematic and thorough, were often catechetical.

At the foot of this Diary page he writes :

'N.B.—No Hourly Prayer like Ejaculations !'

The note explains two signs in this and an earlier diary. Each hour opens with the letter 'e,' and closes with a numeral, 6, 5, or 7. The letter 'e' stands for Ejaculation; the numeral for minutes spent in devotion. 'Our Company,' acting as a religious society, or club, with rules, had instituted a scheme of devotions. On the evidence of the Diaries it came into force January 27, 1734, when the sign 'e' and the numeral '6' first appear on the page in ruled columns. On December 9, 1735, for one day and a half, the 'e' is omitted, and the numeral alone survives. On December 10 the ejaculation is resumed, and continues until January 27, 1736, when it finally disappears; but to the end of the Georgia Diary the 6, 5, or 7 minutes spent in prayer at the close of each hour continues. All such matters were considered by the Society in council; the vote of the majority was binding on all. The 'Agreement' signed at Cowes provided—'*First*: That none of us will undertake anything of importance without first proposing it to the other three. *Second*: That whenever our judgements or inclinations differ, any one shall give up his single judgement or inclination to the others. *Third*: That in case of an equality, after begging God's direction, the matter shall be decided by lot.' In this case the majority prevailed against Wesley for one day and a half. Then for nearly two months *he* prevailed. Eventually, however, he acquiesced, and the hourly ejaculation ceased. In the eighteenth century the habit of devout ejaculations was common among English mystics. Books of pious ejaculations were published. It is said that the late General Gordon thus worshipped. The first Oxford Diary proves that Wesley adopted the habit long before the formation of the Holy Club. In all his examination work, whether for ordination or degree or fellowship, he used it freely, sometimes profusely. Afterwards it faded away. But as the Holy Club became more and more highly organized, it revived in greater force than ever. This note proves that he was reluctant to abandon it, esteeming it as of more value than the hourly prayer.

*Wed.* 10.—The sailing was delayed by alterations on board the *Hawk*, fitting her for the survey of the coast of Georgia. After the man-of-war's arrival contrary winds compelled further delay. Ingham, in his own journal, says that at the last moment a still further delay occurred. Two gentlemen, passengers on the *London Merchant*, were left behind in Portsmouth, where they had gone the night before. The ships waited for them two hours;

height, perpendicular from the beach, gave a strong idea of Him that spanneth the heavens, and holdeth the waters in the hollow of His hand !

To-day I spoke closely on the head of religion to one, [Mrs. Hawkins,] I had talked with once or twice before. [She listened with great attention, and answered readily to all the questions I proposed, and afterwards said, with many tears, 'My mother died when I was but ten years old. Some of her last words were, "Child, fear God ; and though you lose me, you

'but they not coming, we made the best of our way, running about seven and eight miles an hour.'

Wesley himself evidently regarded this, for several reasons, as a momentous day in his life. The page in his Diary is so full, clearly written, characteristic, and easy of interpretation that it is here reproduced, with the following transliteration.

December 10, Wednesday, 1735.

4 Ej drest, prayer 4.50: prayer, sung	6 Sermon on Mt at Ch. 5.	read 2 pres at one.
5 Ej prayer, Bible	7	2 chs with 2
6 Ej prayer, Johnson's <i>Unbloody Sacrifice</i>	6 at 6 ch v 1	2, at one, with 2
7 Ej talk, <i>Lopez</i> , Greek Test.	6 sang $\frac{1}{2}$ at 6-1 equal	2, at one
8 Ej read prayers, sat with W. Wn.	5 s $\frac{1}{2}$ , at one sailed	!
9 Ej with Jemmy Welch, Catechism,	6	at one with 2
10 Ej Catechism	6	at one
11 Ej Mrs Hawkins and Mrs Lambert,	6 they much affected ;	with 2 !
12 Ej Law ; sat [reflecting]	6	
1 Ej Norris to Mrs Moor	6	
2 Ej Sitting with Ingham, Oglethorpe	5 sang $\frac{1}{2}$ and company	prayer
3 Ej Dinner ; sat with Oglethorpe	equal	at one
4 Read prayers ; expounded	6	— et cetera
5 Ej Oglethorpe opened himself pray	7 prayer	2 — !
6 Ej with Mrs Lambert and Hawkins sat, Law.	6 She in tears	
7 With Germans	6	
8 With Oglethorpe ; he open ! O God !	6	
9 Sat with Oglethorpe, 20 past 9 undrest ;	10, asleep : not sick	!
. . . . .		
Personal [or Public.] Sailed from Cowes	G[od]	
Not sick	Κύριε βοήθεις.	
Mrs Lambert much affected.		
Mrs Hawkins twice in tears.		
Oglethorpe opened his heart.	O God !	

Thus from four in the morning till ten at night he spends the first day of his voyage to America. For nearly two months he had been delayed on board this emigrant-ship. But the time had been well spent. He had won several converts, some of whom were afterwards of service to himself and the colony ; he had learned German enough to sing and pray with the Moravians, using both hymns and tunes from their *Gesang-Buch* in his own





Jan. 25. Su

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4 1/2 dr. p. d	7 Calm. w 2 1/2 s. v	
5 1/2 p 20 s l	7	2 s v
6 1/2 p. dr n b	6 s i	2 s v
7 e p	6	2 s v
8 E v i d	6 1/2 s	2 s v
9 1/2 p i u	7	2 s v + ..
10 1/2 p. dr to 4 1/2 s. 3 1/2	6	2 s v
11 r 2 1/2 p. r. 2 1/2	6 20 C	2 s v !
12 1/2 p. dr 20 m. p	6	2
1 w. H. H. Snow	6 wind r f	1
2 d i	6	
3 g r n o	6 Storm. w f a f t !	
4 p. r. n o, C. S.	6 Storm high	
5 p. r	6 Storm v high	
5 p. r. C.	6 a little a f t !	
7 w. g. r. n. r. to p. r. 2 1/2 a f t. R high n !		
- 12 waves covered v ship, - split v main sail		
6 p. r. n o - c	6 Storm	
9 p. r. n o - 3 s l	6 high	
10 p. r. 1/2 s l 1/2 d 3 s l	6	
11 p. r. 1/2 u. 12 a little 6 s l		2 mild !
P. v. 20 C	6 7.4.6. v 6	
2 g r Storm	1. .. n	
main sail split	left a f t	

FACSIMILE OF DIARY, JANUARY 25, 1736 (see PAGE 141).

shall never want a friend." I have now found a friend when I most wanted and least expected one.'

From this day to the fourteenth, being in the Bay of Biscay, the sea was very rough. Mr. Delamotte and many others were more sick than ever; Mr. Ingham, a little; I, not at all. But the fourteenth being a calm day, most of the sick were cured at once.

English worship; he had obtained an extraordinary influence over Oglethorpe—an influence which at a later period saved a great philanthropist soldier from disaster, if not from disgrace, and prevented the ruin of the colony.

The days between the tenth and fourteenth, as recorded in the Diary, are filled, as far as the weather and the health of the 'parish' will permit, with the usual occupations. He cannot always read prayers, but he visits all the more diligently. He can no longer study German, but he ends the *Life of Lopez*, and at their proper times reads the Bible, Law, and Johnson. Pastoral anxieties relate chiefly to Oglethorpe, who is 'quite open and nearly ready to communicate,' to Mrs. Moore, Mr. and Mrs. Hawkins, Mr. and Mrs. Reed, and Mrs. Welch, who apparently was dying. By eight on Thursday the 11th, they are in the Bay of Biscay, where the sea is 'rough,' and on the twelfth 'very rough'; but even off Cape Finisterre he is 'quite well' and able to fulfil his tale of prayers, readings, and pastoral duties.

*Sun. 14.*—It was a dead calm; Wesley preached and administered the Eucharist. Between five and six he read a sermon to Mrs. Hawkins and her friends, who were 'affected.' On the quarter-deck he prayed, and sang and conversed with Oglethorpe, ending a pleasant day with the Germans, and, last of all, with Charles and Ingham. His most important note on the day is, 'Oglethorpe quite open, but deferred Communion.'

*Mon. 15.*—Again the weather was rough. The midday notes hint at something amiss, in which Delamotte is concerned. John Wesley talks seriously with Charles and company; 'Delamotte is open.' Nothing more is revealed until eight in the evening, when this note appears: 'Sat with Ingham and Charles; Law; all angry at  $\frac{5}{6}$ .' We do not know the meaning; but the spiritual atmosphere was charged with the possibility of dispute and confusion. How could it be otherwise? These Diary pages, apart altogether from the interpretation of their mysterious signs and symbols, indicate tension. And no relief is permitted. There is no trace of recreation, or even of changed occupation, breaking the monotony of this exalted and unhuman rule of holy living. The marvel is that the four friends and Oglethorpe and the new communicants were to so great an extent 'at one.' The fractional sign  $\frac{5}{6}$  probably means Member, No. 6, of No. 1 group—that is to say, of the Holy Club. But who was No. 6? No. 5 may have been Oglethorpe. If so, was No. 6 Arthur?

His last note for the day is—'Storm. Quite well. Slept sound!'

*Tues. 16.*—The storm continued, preventing public worship, but not preventing Wesley from writing for three hours, from nine till twelve, on the Eucharist.

*Thur.* 18.—One [Mrs. Welch, who was believed to be at the point of death], being big with child, in a high fever, and almost wasted away with a violent cough, [was by Mr. Oglethorpe removed into his own cabin, he ordering a hammock to be hung up for himself. She earnestly] desired to receive the Holy Communion before she died. At the hour of her receiving she began to recover, and in a few days was entirely out of danger, [and is now in good hope of a safe delivery].

*Sun.* 21.—We had fifteen communicants, which was our usual number on Sundays. On Christmas Day we had nineteen.

*Thur.* 18.—Most of the day he spends with Oglethorpe, for whom he cared with ceaseless vigilance, and for whom he afterwards worked as though he had been his private secretary. In Oglethorpe's cabin lay Mrs. Welch 'at the point of death.' Wesley administered Holy Communion, and afterwards read Psalms to Oglethorpe and left him to read them himself.

*Fri.* 19.—In his early morning devotions he is sleepy and 'very hungry.' It was the fast-day of 'our Company'! So at five o'clock he braced himself—reading the Resolutions, and praying. At eight he began a visitation of the people, which he finished at ten. Then he 'prepared' for the sick, and whilst the gruel was boiling read, in the intervals of his work, Johnson's *Unbloody Sacrifice*. Next he 'prepared' for the Germans, and, whilst others cared for the English, distributed to his sick Moravian friends the hot soothing gruel he himself had made. His note on the day is, 'In four hours got gruel for the people. Resolution on more serious devotion.'

*Sat.* 20.—A calm followed the storm, and 'all were better.' He himself in the early morning was 'tired and hungry.' He overslept himself half an hour. But he went through the allotted prayers and readings. After the eight o'clock service he dressed and went with Oglethorpe on board Captain Thomas's ship (he invariably calls it by the name of its captain). At ten-thirty he returned, reading Johnson in the boat and afterwards to his friends the Hirds.

*Sun.* 21.—It was Oglethorpe's birthday. At Holy Communion the chief was present. In the Diary Wesley gives no hint of birthday festivities. In the Journal he only refers to the number of communicants. It is Ingham who informs us that Oglethorpe gave a sheep and wine to the people, 'which, with the smoothness of the sea and the serenity of the weather, so enlivened them that they perfectly recovered from their sea-sickness.'

*Mon.* 22.—One of the persons who benefited from the serene weather, and, as Wesley believed, from the Sacrament he had administered when she was believed to be *in extremis*, was Mrs. Welch. He visited her every day. Sometimes when he prayed with the sick woman Mrs. Hawkins was present; to-day Oglethorpe and company were in the cabin during



[*Sat. 27.*—I endeavoured to reconcile Mrs. Moore and Mrs. Lawley with Mrs. Hawkins, with whom they had had a sharp quarrel. I thought it was effected; but the next day showed the contrary, both Mrs. Moore, Mrs. Lawley, and their husbands being so angry at me, that they resolved (and prevailed on some others to do the same) never to be at prayers more.

devotions, and they all were 'much affected.' The association of these persons on shipboard must be remembered; also the fact that Mrs. Lawley and Mrs. Moore were never far away. The mysterious 'Arthur' reappears. Wesley had serious conversation with him and his friends.

*Tues. 23.*—At noon he began to read 'Brevint to Reed and Mrs. Lawley.' What he read, probably, was the Preface, concerning the Christian Sacrament and Sacrifice, which, ten years later, he and his brother Charles published separately as a tract and as an introduction to their *Hymns on the Lord's Supper*, on the title-page of that work entitling themselves 'Presbyters of the Church of England.' Dr. Brevint, it is sometimes assumed, was a Roman Catholic. His book, *Missale Romanum; or, the Depth and Mystery of the Roman Mass Explained*, is included in a recent catalogue of 'Roman Catholic Works.' It really is 'an admirable argumentative treatise,' which, like another volume by the same author published two years later, was devoted to the 'reproof of Romish superstition.' The book from which Wesley read to Mr. Reed and Mrs. Lawley on board the *Simmonds* was a practical and devotional treatise on the Holy Communion, written at the request of the Princesses of Turenne and Bouillon—written 'by way of discourse, meditation, and prayer; but taking no notice of contending parties any more than if they had never appeared.'

*Wed. 24.*—Prayer and Bible-reading filled all the hours from four till eight, when he once more took Johnson in hand and ended it. Nelson was now the book he read to the people.

*Thur. 25.*—Christmas Day. Oglethorpe gave a hog and wine to the people. Wesley spent four hours with Quesnel and Kempis. He read prayers, preached, and administered the Eucharist to nineteen communicants. The rest of the day he spent as usual. At eight he conversed with Oglethorpe, who was feverish. At nine he undressed, but could not sleep till twelve.

*Fri. 26.*—At nine he began a *Treatise on the Eucharist*, and worked at it till half-past twelve. The gains and losses of his pastoral work he thus summarizes: 'Heddon serious; Mrs. Hawkins and Mrs. Welch affected; Mrs. Lawley and Mrs. Moore unaffected,' for which he blames himself. In his personal column he writes: 'Lukewarm!'

During the last days of the year he resumed his German studies. Quarrelsome women he endeavoured to reconcile, but their anger was turned against him. His ceaseless prayers, readings, exhortations irritated the people. Either the long confinement on board a crowded emigrant-ship, or the exceptional Christmas fare, or both, induced feverish ailments, the only remedy for which, in those days, was 'bleeding.'

[*Tues.* 30.—Being informed Mrs. Lawley was ill, I hoped she might be in a milder temper, and therefore spent some time with her, and told her of the alteration of her behaviour since her being acquainted with Mrs. Moore. As soon as I was gone, she told all and more than all I said, who from that hour counteracted us publicly and privately to the utmost of their power.

[1736. JANUARY 1, *Thur.*—We celebrated the Holy Eucharist, and had fifteen communicants. Oh may the New Year bring a new heart and a new life to all those who seek the Lord God of their fathers!

*Tues.* 30.—An hour with his German work, and then he 'saw five blooded'; half a psalm, and he saw two more. He turned again to German and the woes of Mrs. Lawley and Mrs. Hawkins, from whom he 'got no good.' More German, with dinner, prayer, and meditation; he strives over and over again with these unhappy women, with the result described in the Journal. The Diary summary is pathetic: 'Got no good with Mrs. Lawley; Mrs. Hawkins affected; Mr. and Mrs. Moore very angry at me.' And so he closes this year, so memorable in his experience.

The Diary from JANUARY 1, 1736, day by day and hour by hour, is not less minute and characteristic than any of the pages so far interpreted in these notes. To avoid monotony, however, we will read more rapidly, except when events of importance occur.

*Sat.* 3.—He begins to catechize six children, and afterwards converses seriously for a quarter of an hour with Phoebe Hird and Betty Hazle, and, later, with Frank Brooks. On Monday night a squall awoke and terrified him. For two days Mrs. Hawkins is 'angry,' with her husband first, and afterwards with others; the day following she is 'serious and open.' This woman, with her ever-varying moods, which Wesley vainly strove to control by daily doses of Law's *Christian Perfection* and *Serious Call*, figures twice or thrice on every page. At this time, as on subsequent occasions, Wesley thought to win her husband, and, through him, to save the wife. The only result was that 'at him' (her husband) she was 'very angry.' With others, whose names are now familiar, he also strove, and from time to time new names appear. The expositions, twice a day, and the sermons on Sundays and saints' days continue, also the catechizing of children and the preparation of converts for Holy Communion. He is in training as preacher, teacher, evangelist, and pastor.

Every day he devotes two or three hours to German. On *Thursday*, the 8th, he resumes readings in Law with the people below, i.e. between decks, and 'resolves to be more zealous and active, especially from five to ten.'

*Fri.* 9.—Ingham, whose call also was to the Indians, joins him, and together they begin an Indian Dictionary; the work continues for two or

[*Sun.* 11.—We had twenty-one communicants. In the afternoon Mr. R. M. and Mrs. Hawkins, between whom some of their neighbours had endeavoured to sow dissension, explained themselves to each other, and came to a thorough reconciliation.

[*Mon.* 12.—Mrs. Hawkins expressed a desire of receiving the Holy Communion. Several being apprised of it, warned me of her insincerity, and laid many crimes to her charge, of which I informed her. In the evening she replied clearly and calmly to every article of the charge, and with such an appearance of innocence as to most particulars, and of an entire change

three hours, when he turns to German, and at eleven is with the Germans. On the new study Ingham writes: 'Monday, January 12, I began to write out the English Dictionary, in order to learn the Indian tongue. Oh! who is sufficient for these things? When the ship rolled so that we could not well go about to visit the people, we generally spent the evening in conversing with Mr. Oglethorpe, from whom we learnt many particulars concerning the Indians.'

Traces of increasing irritability appear. The voyage was again delayed by contrary winds. Ingham says, 'They kept us above a fortnight longer at sea than we otherwise should have been.' On the evening of the 10th Charles and Ingham are angry at John, apparently because he persists in believing that his penitents are sincere and worthy to be admitted to the Holy Communion. Mrs. Mack (or Mackay), Phoebe Hird, Betty Hazle, Arthur, Frank Brooks, and Mr. Delamotte he pronounces seriously affected. He had bestowed much thought and prayer and catechetical instruction upon these young people, and there is no reason to doubt, in their case, the accuracy of his judgement; but Mrs. Welch and Mrs. Hawkins, as we now know, and as Charles Wesley and Ingham at the time firmly believed, were consummate hypocrites. Even now—certainly a few months later—they were joint conspirators in a plot diabolical beyond belief. John Wesley never saw it, until his amazing credulity nearly cost him his life and drove him from Frederica back to the still graver perils of Savannah. Underneath the brief entries in the Diary are hidden the beginnings of a tragedy which, however small and sordid in itself, was fraught with stupendous consequences to Wesley, his brother, and many others.

*Sun.* 11.—From the Diary we learn that the quarrel lay between Mr. Reed and Mr. Hawkins, and that Wesley conversed with each person involved. After the reconciliation, for half an hour, he prayed, sang, and had 'close conversation' with Mrs. Hawkins, under which discipline she was 'affected.'

*Mon.* 12.—Bishop Nitschmann, Brownfield, Horton, and Delamotte were among the 'several' who protested against his determination to admit Mrs. Hawkins to the Holy Communion. With the openness to which he attached so much importance, and which so often brought him trouble, he informed Mrs. Hawkins of the charges against her, with the result that she wept and was 'desperately affected and open.' Unfortunately his theories betrayed him into tactical errors. He discussed Mrs. Hawkins with various people,



of the rest, that I could no longer doubt of her sincere desire to be not only almost but altogether a Christian. She accordingly received the Holy Communion the Sunday following and at every opportunity since. The right hand of the Lord still hath the pre-eminence, the right hand of the Lord bringeth mighty things to pass.

[Wed. 14.—Mr. Oglethorpe taking up *Gother's Sinner's Complaint to God*, alighted upon a part of it which relates

and unwittingly added fuel to the fires he would fain have quenched. Horton long afterwards remembered the fact, and mercilessly upbraided Wesley with his folly. He was learning by bitter experience.

His special work during these days was the preparation of a Catechism for the Children.

Tues. 13.—From 4.45 till 7 o'clock he conversed with Charles. The entries in the Diary are of interest because they incidentally confirm the suggested interpretation of the cryptic letters, figures, &c., in the sixth column—the column that belongs to the Holy Club and other groups on board the *Simmonds*. On this page the letters 'si' (at one) appear only once. On the previous page they are found only in connexion with the Germans and the Children's Catechism. 'Our Company' are not 'at one,' or only on some special point in this grave discussion concerning Mrs. Hawkins and Holy Communion. If it is a question of a catechism for children, ministering to the sick, or expounding Holy Scripture, they are agreed; but this other matter fires them with anger,—*they* because John Wesley is blindly and daringly charitable enough to believe in the professions of a woman whom they conceive to be equal to any lie or any villany; *he* because Charles and all the rest want to drive from Holy Communion a woman who, as he believes, repents of her sins, and is in love and charity with all her neighbours, and intends to lead a new life. In him it is the quality that helped to make him the greatest evangelist of his times; in them the underlying quality that drove Ingham and Delamotte away from him and often set up partial estrangements between himself and Charles.

After prayers he again discussed the burning question with Charles, making no headway. Then he turned, still on the same subject, to Oglethorpe. They conversed seriously by the space of one hour, and then addressed themselves to the equally burning and still more difficult problems of 'Georgia and the negroes.' Repeatedly during the rest of the day he had interviews with Mr. and Mrs. Hawkins; but they were 'very angry,' and he 'got no good.' The precise point of view we can only surmise. But the broad facts are quite clear, and they shed light upon Wesley and upon the times through which he was passing.

Wed. 14.—After the morning exposition he has an interview with Reed. Germans come; they talk of their plans; letters are read; he talks German with them.

Escaping from Mrs. Hawkins and Mrs. Welch, it must have been a

to forgiveness. We then put him in mind of one of his servants, who had injured him some time before. He forgave him from that hour.]

*Thur. 15.*—Complaint being made to Mr. Oglethorpe of the unequal distribution of the water among the passengers, he appointed new officers to take charge of it. At this the old ones and their friends were highly exasperated against us, to whom they imputed the change. But 'the fierceness of man shall turn to Thy praise.'

relief to discuss with Charles and company the new catechism, on which, however great their differences on other questions, they were 'at one.' But again after dinner, and after prayers, his pastoral conscience compelled conversation with the same two women. An hour's reading with Arthur and with Frank Brooks, and his usual evening hour with the Moravians, were some compensation for the day's crosses. Three notes at the foot of the page do not need interpretation. Under the personal and company experience column he writes, 'Lz (Κύριε βοήθει) to be a Christian.' And under the event or occupation column:

MH quite cool.

! Oglethorpe forgave Al. Grim. [Alexander Grimaldi].

*Thur. 15.*—Two slight personal details are noted: He had fallen asleep later than usual the night before (10.15); this morning he does not rise before 5.30. But at 6.45 he reads the chapters appointed, prays, sings a hymn, says the Creed, prays, sings from the tune-book (or Tate and Brady), and expounds. The prayer for himself is 'Lz' (Κύριε βοήθει); the note on the company 'con,' which seems usually to signify 'convinced.' His indulgence in luxury, however simple, is one of the rarities of this Voyage Diary. An example occurs here. At eight he had 'raisins.' His accounts show that at Oxford he often bought raisins.

The Diary shows that it was Wesley who 'inquired' in the matter of water supply and who informed Oglethorpe. Hence the new orders and the appointments that angered the old and unfaithful officers.

Gother's *Sinner's Complaint to God*, which the day before had produced so gracious an effect on Oglethorpe, was now read to Mrs. Hawkins and her sick friend and co-conspirator Mrs. Welch. The famous *Theologica Germanica*, which Luther made so popular, is named to-day, and on many other days. For his final judgement on this book see Journal, November 11, 1741. He seems to have read it to the people in place of the usual afternoon exposition, and afterwards to 'Arthur' and to Frank Brooks, still later again to them but in company with Germans, and at nine to Oglethorpe.

*Fri. 16.*—He must have had on board quite a library of books. Large 'benefactions' of books were made for Georgia direct to the Trustees or through 'Dr. Bray's Associates.' (See Journal of Trustees, Record Office, C.O. 5.) He spent four hours this morning in 'sorting books.' Another preparation for the colonial life now imminent was Oglethorpe's reading of

*Sat.* 17.—Many people were very impatient at the contrary wind. At seven in the evening they were quieted by a storm. It rose higher and higher till nine. About nine the sea broke over us from stem to stern; burst through the windows of the state cabin, [Mr. Oglethorpe's cabin, where three or four of us were sitting with a sick woman, and covered her all over.] A bureau sheltered me from the main shock. [Mr. Oglethorpe removed Mrs. Welch once more into his own bed.] About eleven I lay down in the great cabin, and in a short time fell asleep, though very uncertain whether I should awake alive, and much ashamed of my unwillingness to die. Oh how pure in heart must he be who would rejoice to appear before God at a moment's warning! Toward morning 'He rebuked the winds and the sea, and there was a great calm.'

*Sun.* 18.—We returned God thanks for our deliverance, of which a few appeared duly sensible. But the rest [like true cowards] (among whom were most of the sailors) denied we

the Charter. '*Theol. Germ.*' he finishes, and notes 'Mrs. Hawkins in good temper, and Mrs. Perkins pacified.' Feminine quarrels and outbursts of temper had become the usual thing, so much so that a single day of peace in the great cabin or on deck was worth noting.

*Sat.* 17.—This day's Diary record is unique. It begins at four in the morning and ends at one the next morning—twenty-one hours of continuous strain, in which appear all the usual features: private devotions, prayer and reading with the inner circle—they being for several hours once more 'at one'—public prayers and singing, German study, pastoral conversation, catechizing, readings, and afternoon prayers and exposition. At six in the evening, when the 'Company' were all together, it became stormy. And now the handwriting betrays the shaking of the ship. At nine he writes:

A storm. Sea broke in to us !

10 Prayer, conversed; Afraid to die; Storm still !

11 Prayer, conversed  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; lay on the boards. Slept !

12 Stormy still and afraid !

1 Lay on Mrs. Welch's bed. She in Mr. Oglethorpe's [cabin].<sup>1</sup> Calmer. Resolved not to please myself in eating or drinking. Thankfulness with our Resolution.

The next morning he did not rise till seven. It was Sunday morning. After his devotions he dressed for prayers, but the storm must have made the usual early service impossible; so he read Kempis to them and

<sup>1</sup> Oglethorpe's cabin was now given up entirely to Mrs. Welch, whose condition was still critical. Wesley gave the cabin, which at the beginning of

the voyage had been assigned to himself and Charles, to Oglethorpe, he for the time sleeping 'on the boards' or in any bed that chanced to be vacant.



had been in any danger. I could not have believed that so little good would have been done by the terror they were in before. But, [for the future, I will never believe them to] obey from fear who are dead to the motives of love.

conversed with Betty Hazle. But at eleven he preached and administered the Eucharist to twenty-three communicants, renewing his resolution not to please himself!

*Mon. 19.*—He resumed the sorting of books and papers, and began to write his ‘Account of the Voyage.’

Another resolution, referred to in the text, he observed with equal consistency throughout life. He was sparing in his use of fear as a motive. That he regarded the future punishment of the wicked as an article of the Christian creed there can be no question. Perhaps the strongest passage on the subject in the Standard Sermons, as it is the clearest and most concise, is the one in which he sums up the final end of all stewardship: ‘And what will remain, either to the faithful or unfaithful steward? Nothing but the execution of that sentence which has been passed by the righteous Judge, fixing thee in a state which admits of no change through everlasting ages! It remains only that thou be rewarded, to all eternity, according to thy works.’ But even in this great and solemn sermon, preached in 1768, the appeal is not really to fear, but to much more subtle and abiding motives. In the Four Volumes which form part of the doctrinal standard of the Methodist Church there is no sermon on Hell, or indeed on Heaven. The one sermon of Wesley’s on Hell, published in a volume not included in the standard, is obviously a sermon composed in pre-evangelistic days, and is full of academic quotations and allusions; and even in this outburst of youthful learning and untempered zeal, he takes refuge finally in Dr. Watts, whose writings charmed him at Oxford, and in ‘the tender mercy’ of God. Atlantic storms and their evanescent effect on himself and his godless fellow passengers cured him of any faith he may hitherto have cherished in the sovereign, saving grace of fear.

On *Tuesday* the 20th he continued his ‘Account’ of the voyage all day, doing nothing else that was not absolutely imperative. On the 21st he came to a full stop, and then began a long letter to his brother Samuel, which was not finished until the next day.

This ‘Account’ was undoubtedly the beginning of ‘Wesley’s Journal.’ The original MS. is lost or hidden away in family archives. Several copies, however, seem to have been made by Wesley himself and his friends on board the *Simmonds*. These, it is believed, were sent, one to Samuel Wesley at Tiverton, another to the Huttons at Westminster, a third to the Holy Club at Oxford, a fourth to Mrs. Wesley, then at Salisbury or Wootton; or, possibly, to Clayton at Salford for the Holy Club; to the Kirkhams, and others. As we have elsewhere explained, the one sent to Tiverton was transcribed by Ingham. It and the printed Extract are the only surviving copies of the Voyage Journal. The fact that it was written on shipboard, in the midst of the events it describes, sufficiently accounts for the graphic power of its narratives.

*Fri. 23.*—In the evening another storm began. In the morning it increased so that they were forced to let the ship drive. I could not but say to myself, 'How is it that thou hast no faith?' being still unwilling to die. About one in the afternoon, almost as soon as I had stepped out of the great cabin door, the sea did not break as usual, but came with a full, smooth tide over the side of the ship. I was vaulted over with water in a moment, and so stunned that I scarce expected to lift up my head again till the sea should give up her dead. But, thanks be to God, I received no hurt at all. About midnight the storm ceased.

*Thur. 22.*—'Intercession' was the subject on which he conversed with his friends in the five-o'clock hour, suggested probably by the Second Lesson for the morning (Matt. xx. 30–34), and the First Psalm for the morning (Ps. cvii.), or by the passage on prayer in the Sermon on the Mount. John Brownfield appears on the scene; he is frequently named afterwards. He served on the Grand Jury in the Savannah trial, and some years later was able to render an essential service to Wesley, defending him against the unscrupulous attacks of Captain Williams. (See the Green and the Colman Collections, the Richmond Interleaved Journal, and App. II. vol. vi.) Having finished his letter to Samuel, he writes also to Mr. Vernon and Mr. Hutcheson. The footnotes are interesting:

P. Fair wind. Well.  
John Brownfield convinced.  
Mrs. Welch and Mrs. Hawkins convinced.  
Katherine and Mr. Arthur open.

Katherine is mentioned first on the 20th; for the first time Arthur is named as '*Mr. Arthur.*' In his use of titles Wesley had hitherto been somewhat punctilious.

*Fri. 23.*—At 5.30 there was a service, or meeting of some kind, in the cabin, at which two members of the 'Company' were present, but to which Mrs. Hawkins would not come. Probably the intended interview was with reference to her proposed admission to Holy Communion. At six he sang a German hymn, three being present. This seems to have been in preparation for the service an hour later, which in the fairer weather was held in the great cabin. He then wrote to Sir John Thorold, whom he had succeeded in the Fellowship of Lincoln College, and who in a letter refers to the Voyage Journal which he has read (Colman Collection and App. XV. vol. vi.). In the German quarters he saw Von Reck's Journal of the voyage. He had already read some of the letters (afterwards published) in which Francis Moore gave his version of the voyage. The day closed with a storm, which he did not fear so much as on former occasions.

*Sat. 24.*—From 4.30 till 6.45 'in storm,' he prayed, read, sang, studied the Bible, ending with another hymn or psalm, and 'bread-and-cheese,' the

*Sun.* 25.—[While the calm continued I endeavoured to prepare myself for another storm.] At noon our third storm began. At four it was more violent than any we had had before. Now, indeed, we could say, 'The waves of the sea were mighty, and raged horribly. They rose up to the heavens above, and clave down to hell beneath.' The winds roared round about us, and—what I never heard before—whistled as distinctly as if it had been a human voice. The ship not only rocked to and fro with the utmost violence, but shook and jarred with so unequal, grating a motion, that one could not but with great difficulty keep one's hold of anything, nor stand a moment without it. Every ten minutes came a shock against the stern or side of the ship, which one would think

latter being a unique luxury. At seven he read prayers, with none to hear save two of 'our Company,' and ended the reading of Von Reck's Journal.

The next entry is important, because it helps to substantiate what has been said with reference to the multiplication of copies of the Journal :

- 8 e. Transcribed Account of Voyage.
- 9 e. Account.
- 10 e. Account.            We drove.
- 11 Prayed. Storm greater : afraid !
- 12 Prayed with Ingham. Sat with Charles and company.
- 1 Washed all over and under. with 3 !
- 2 Dined together. Storm rather abated.
- 3 Explained with Horton : he convinced : talked !

Readers of Wesley's Journal have never before realized under what circumstances its terse but graphic descriptions were noted, and in some cases actually written. It was at ten o'clock in the morning, whilst John Wesley was in the act of transcribing this Voyage Journal, that Captain Cornish gave orders to let the ship drive. Yet how human ! As the storm gathers fury he is smitten with fear, and in this truthful Diary acknowledges it—'Storm greater : afraid !' His work is arrested. He cleaves to his 'Company.' Together they pray, and commune one with another. But the instant the terror passes he resumes his work, and continues it to the close of this memorable day (App. XVI. vol. vi.).

*Sun.* 25.—The Diary notes, and to some extent the Account itself, were written during the storms. The handwriting of this page shakes with the shaking of the ship. The terrors of this Sunday are best illustrated by the facsimile of the Diary page, which needs no interpretation (see p. 130).

The student who traces the sequence of events will see that the storm was one of the crucial facts in the history of early Methodism. It shook the nerve of all on board, passengers and seamen—of all except the Moravians. It was their great peacefulness when the sea split the mainsail, and the joy of their singing, that brought Wesley's incipient friendship to



should dash the planks in a thousand pieces. [In the height of the storm,] a child, privately baptized before, was brought to be [publicly] received into the Church. It put me in mind of Jeremiah's buying the field when the Chaldeans were on the point of destroying Jerusalem, and seemed a pledge of the mercy God designed to show us, even in the land of the living.

We spent two or three hours after prayers [with Mr. Oglethorpe] in conversing suitably to the occasion, confirming one another in a calm submission to the wise, holy, gracious will of God. And now a storm did not appear so terrible as before. Blessed be the God of all consolation, who alone doeth wonders, and is able mightily to deliver His people!

At seven I went to the Germans. I had long before observed the great seriousness of their behaviour. Of their humility they had given a continual proof, by performing those servile offices for the other passengers which none of the English would undertake; for which they desired and would receive no pay, saying, 'it was good for their proud hearts,' and 'their loving Saviour had done more for them.' And every day had given them occasion of showing a meekness which no injury could move. If they were pushed, struck, or thrown down, they rose again and went away; but no complaint was found in their mouth. There was now an opportunity of trying whether they were delivered from the spirit of fear, as well as from that of pride, anger, and revenge. In the midst of the psalm wherewith their service began, [wherein we were mentioning the power of God,] the sea broke over, split the mainsail in pieces, covered the ship, and poured in between the decks, as if the great deep had already swallowed us up. A terrible screaming began among the English. The Germans [looked

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maturity. It may be said to have made Ingham a Moravian (App. XVI. vol. vi.), and no doubt it influenced Delamotte in the same direction. One cannot resist the conviction that when, about a year later, in Georgia, Wesley translated and reversed Rothe's great hymn, he recalled the Moravians and the storm, and the unshaken trust that enabled the exiles to sing, amidst the 'roaring of the wind' and the terrible 'screaming' of the English, their psalm on the power of God:

Though waves and storms go o'er my head.

What psalm did the Moravians sing at their evening worship on that memorable Sunday? It 'mentioned the power of God.'

up, and without intermission] calmly sang on. I asked one of them afterwards, 'Was you not afraid?' He answered, 'I thank God, no.' I asked, 'But were not your women and children afraid?' He replied mildly, 'No; our women and children are not afraid to die.'

From them I went to their crying, trembling neighbours, [and found myself enabled to speak with them in boldness and to] point out to them the difference in the hour of trial between him that feareth God and him that feareth Him not. At twelve the wind fell. This was the most glorious day which I have hitherto seen.

*Mon. 26.*—We [now] enjoyed the calmer weather. I can conceive no difference comparable to that between a smooth and a rough sea, except that which is between a mind calmed by the love of God and one torn up by the storms of earthly passions.

*Thur. 29.*—About seven in the evening we fell in with the skirts of a hurricane. The rain as well as the wind was extremely violent, [the lightning almost without intermission.] The sky was so dark in a moment, that the sailors could not so much as see the ropes, or set about furling the sails. The

*Mon. 26.*—The day begins at six. The weather is calmer. The invalid and her husband are in the next cabin. He converses for a time with them, and at seven with Ingham and Delamotte. After prayers, exhortation, and reflection, he sits awhile with Mrs. Hawkins, who also is ill, and then 'visits all,' hoping to cheer them after the storm and to impress its lessons on them. At ten he begins Nelson, or 'Nalson' as he persistently calls him, though not invariably. Probably the book read was Nelson's *Festivals and Fasts*. After further visiting and a reading in Law to them, he shaves, dines, spends another hour with Nelson, resumes afternoon prayers and exposition, visits special cases, and at eight writes thus :

8 Sat with Charles and Ingham. Charles perverse.

9 In talk with Charles. Charles perverse.

G. 7, 2, 6, 13. Κύριε βοήθει

Resolved to write at once to Charles.

The next morning he read the *Battle of the Sexes* (one of Samuel Wesley's poems, which he was correcting for the press). On Wednesday he wrote an alphabet, presumably of the Indian language, which he and Ingham were studying. The weather being calm and the wind fair, he dined with Von Reck and his friends on board the *London Merchant*.

*Thur. 29.*—The day, at four, opened with a fair wind; but in the evening, as he reads to Arthur and to Frank Brooks, a storm breaks, with lightning. He convinces Alexander of the use of public prayers, and

ship must, in all probability, have overset, had not the wind fell as suddenly as it rose. Toward the end of it we had that appearance on each of the masts which, it is thought, the ancients called Castor and Pollux,<sup>1</sup> [the modern Romanists *Corpus Sanctum*.] It was a small ball of white fire, like a star. The mariners say it seldom appears but either in a storm, and then commonly on the deck or just at the end of it; and that it is usually on the masts or sails. [Being below with the Germans, I knew nothing of the danger, God being merciful to me till we were delivered out of it.]

*Fri. 30.*—We had another storm, which did us no other harm than splitting the foresail. Our bed being wet, I laid me down on the floor and slept sound till morning. And I believe I shall not find it needful to go to bed, as it is called, any more.

*FEB. 1, Sun.*—[The *Pomeroy* from Charlestown came up with us, bound for London. We were exceeding glad of so happy an opportunity of sending to our friends in England word of our safety.

[*Mon. 2.*—About ten at night William Taverner, a lad fourteen or fifteen years old, came running to our cabin greatly affrighted with something which he said he had seen at the foot of his bed; he added that it looked at him continually unless

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commences a sermon on 'A Single Eye' (see Wesley's *Sermons*, Vol. I. xxviii., Sermon on Mount, Discourse viii.).

On Friday he resumed his account of the voyage, and on Saturday the writing of his sermon.

*FEB. 1, Sun.*—By the *Pomeroy* he probably did not send the letters to Samuel and other friends which were already written. From the Diary it seems clear that 'as the ship came up to us' he wrote a brief letter to Samuel, possibly other letters also, sufficient to assure friends at home of the safety of the party. Mrs. Hawkins, though affected by the Nelson readings, was not among the twenty-two communicants.

*Mon. 2.*—For some unexplained reason he momentarily despaired of Oglethorpe, or has trouble with him. At the foot of the page in the columns devoted to personal and company affairs, he writes, 'At noon ceased striving! O Fool!' Nevertheless, the next day, at nine, ten, twelve,

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<sup>1</sup> The Dioscuri, or twin brothers, in Greek mythology, were Castor the horse-tamer and Pollux the prince of boxers, sons of Zeus and Leda, and brothers of Helen; but better known as the tutelary gods of sailors, who identi-

fied their presence with the pale-blue flame or light seen in thundery weather at the masthead. Paul sailed in the *Castor and Pollux* from Melita to Puteoli. (Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, art. 'Dioscuri.')



when he was saying his prayers, and then he saw nothing of it. The rest of his account was very confused. He sat trembling and praying by our bedside till one in the morning, and has been utterly distracted ever since.]

*Wed. 4.*—[We had the welcome news that we were] within soundings, [having not twenty-fathom water.] About noon the trees [of Georgia] were visible from the mast, and in the afternoon from the main deck. In the Evening Lesson were these

six, and eight he is again seriously conversing with him. He loved Oglethorpe, and cared for him as for his own soul. On this day (February 3) the lad Taverner went mad.

*Wed. 4.*—This must have been, for all, a day of intense excitement, yet the orderly succession of duties continued unbroken. He spent an hour before the usual morning exposition at his German studies. At eight he corrected the sermon he had so carefully written. At 9.30, having finished the sermon, he corrected the 'Account,' and steadily worked on, revising, writing, or transcribing the Journal which, though he knew it not, was destined to be read from generation to generation the world around. Then he turned to his pastoral work, finding two new hearers, who, after a reading from Law, came and, with Oglethorpe, were 'seriously affected.' The two new names were Hughes and Sexton.<sup>1</sup>

The last note on this day's page must have been written with a throbbing heart :

I Saw Land. Read a Great Door and effectual, et cetera.

All the Lessons and Psalms for the day were remarkable. The following table for February 4, 1736, is taken from a Book of Common Prayer that might have been used by the Wesleys at Christ Church.<sup>2</sup>

*Wednesday, February 4, 1736 :*

Morning Prayer : Psalms, xix., xx., xxi. ; Lessons, Exod. xiv. ; Mark iv.

The Sunday foregoing was the Fourth Sunday after the Epiphany. We may rest assured that the Collect was read :

O God, who knowest us to be set in the midst of so many and great dangers, that by reason of the frailty of our nature we cannot always stand upright ; Grant to us such strength and protection as may support us in all dangers, and carry us through all temptations, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

<sup>1</sup> 'John Hughes, 14, and Edmund Sexton, 21.'

<sup>2</sup> It is bound in red morocco, with the Bible, and the 'Psalms Collected into English Metre.' The imprint on Prayer-book and Bible is 'Oxford : Printed by John Baskett, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majesty, and to the University, MDCCXV.' The book might have been used in Christ Church by John Wesley, as undoubtedly it was used in the same college

by the man who wrote *Alice in Wonderland*, and probably also by Dean Liddell, the father of his child-friend. The name now written above the title-page is 'Charles Lutwidge Dodgson, from L.L., 1873.' In other words, the book once belonged to 'Lewis Carroll,' and it is not difficult to interpret its history, or to guess to whom the initials L.L. belonged in 1873. In Christ Church both John and Charles Wesley were ordained.

words: 'A great door and effectual is opened.' Oh let no one shut it! ['and there are many adversaries; and as touching our brother Apollos, I greatly desired him to come unto you with the brethren, but his will was not at all to come at this time: but he will come when he shall have convenient time.']

*Thur.* 5.<sup>1</sup>—Between two and three in the afternoon God brought us all safe into the Savannah river. We cast anchor near Tybee Island, [which gave us a specimen of America.] The pines, [palms, and cedars] running [in rows] along the shore, made [an exceeding beautiful] prospect, [especially to us who did not expect to see] the bloom of spring in the depth of winter. [The clearness of the sky, the setting sun, the smoothness of the water conspired to recommend this new world and prevent our regretting the loss of our native country.]

*Fri.* 6.—About eight in the morning I first set my foot

The Epistle for the week was Rom. xiii. 1 to 8.

The Gospel for the week was Matt. viii. 23 to the end.

Evening Prayer: Psalms, xxii., xxiii.; Lessons: Exod. xv.; 1 Cor. xvi.

If we read all these Scriptures, we shall surround ourselves, to some extent, with the spiritual atmosphere of this great day in Wesley's life.

*Thur.* 5.—Shortly after six he was with the Germans, reading prayers. At seven he read prayers with his own people and expounded. At 7.30 he began to write his 'Account,' and wrote steadily until 2.30. His refreshment for the long morning was 'bread,' for he 'could not get tea.' At 2.30 he dined, and the ship anchored at 'Tibi.' He is uncertain as to the proper spelling, for on the same page he gives it as Tibi and Tiby. In the afternoon he read prayers and expounded, resuming his 'Account' until it was the hour for German worship—an hour he never willingly missed. At eight Mr. Oglethorpe talked to the people; and Wesley prayed, and slept.

Under this date, with a page all to itself, is the following resolution:

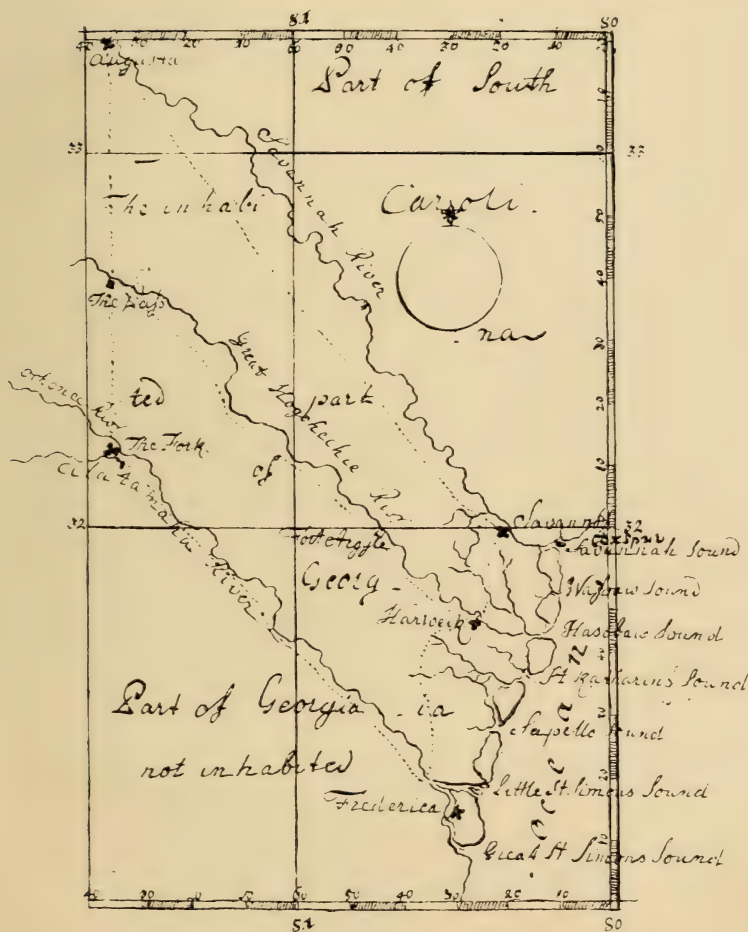
*Nos tres proponimus, Deo juvante, neq carnem neq vinum gustare, ante Diem Dominicum.*

*Fri.* 6.—The Diary entries are interesting. The early hours were given to business. At eight he went on shore with Oglethorpe, read prayers, and expounded Mark vi., which was the Second Lesson. The name of the island was 'Peeper.' They then 'made a bridge.' With Charles, John read

<sup>1</sup> Ingham's account of the close of the voyage will be found in Tyerman's *Oxford Methodists*, pp. 74, 75, where indeed the whole of his Journal is reprinted (see also App. XVI. vol. vi.). A letter written by one of the colonists who sailed with the Wesleys, or possibly by Francis Moore,

dated 'Savannah in Georgia, Feb. 14, 1735-6,' was published in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. i. 1736, p. 229. According to this writer, the expedition consisted of six very large ships. This reckoning may include the *Hawk* and ships sailing from other ports.

A Map  
 of the inhabited Part of Georgia laid down  
 to show the Latitudes & Longitudes, of <sup>the</sup> Places  
 that are proposed to be fortified in order to Judge of  
 their Communications by William & Brahm



REDUCED FACSIMILE OF MAP OF THE INHABITED PART OF GEORGIA,  
 FROM A DRAWING BY WILLIAM DE BRAHM.

[By permission of the Colonial Office.]





on American ground. It was a small uninhabited island, [but a few miles in extent,] over against Tybee,<sup>1</sup> [called by the English Peeper Island.] Mr. Oglethorpe led us [through the moorish land on the shore] to a rising ground, where we all kneeled down to give thanks [to God and beg the continuance of His fatherly protection over us.] He then took boat for Savannah. When the rest of the people were come on shore, we [chose an open place surrounded with myrtles, bays, and cedars, which sheltered us both from the sun and wind, and] called our little flock together to prayers. Several parts of the Second Lesson (Mark vi.) were wonderfully suited to the occasion; in particular, the account of the courage and sufferings of John the Baptist, our Lord's directions to the first preachers of His gospel, and their toiling at sea and deliverance—with these comfortable words: 'It is I, be not afraid'—[were all so manifestly spoken to us, that we could not but make the application. God grant that, through patience and comfort of His Holy Word, we may ever hold fast the blessed hope of our calling!]

*Sat. 7.*—[Mr. Oglethorpe having commissioned me and one the 'Account' and sang. For an hour he attended to business. At noon, returning to the ship, he conversed with Arthur, with Frazer, and afterwards with Heddon and Alexander. He dined on shore; walked with Mrs. Hawkins, who, as he conversed, was 'seriously affected.' On board 'all were μέθυσι.' The crew and such passengers as were left on board were demoralized, in fact drunk. Later he had an interview with the captains—Thomas, Cornish, and Dempsey. Captain Dempsey was commissioned by Oglethorpe to treat with the Spanish authorities (Georgia Papers, Record Office, 1735).

The First Lesson for the day was Exod. xviii.—a lesson for Oglethorpe. The Second Lesson most of all impressed Wesley. He calls it 'a glorious lesson!'

It is said that, on landing, Charles Wesley preached a sermon, which was afterwards (in 1816) included in the volume published by his widow. But of this there is no trace in the Diary, in the new version of the Journal, nor in Mr. Ingham's Journal.

*Sat. 7.*—In the early morning he 'called the people,' with whom, for an hour or two, he was 'in talk and on business.' At seven, in the personal column, as though he himself did the deed, are the following words: 'Staved rum.'

<sup>1</sup> The night-wind smoothes with drifting sand

Our track on lone Tybee.

WHITTIER, 'At Port Royal.'

The island is often referred to in the

history of the Rebellion (*Ann. Register*, 1779, pp. 30 and 208). Here Whitefield cast anchor on May 7, 1738, and preached (*Whitefield's Journal*, p. 79).

more<sup>1</sup> to take care of the passengers in his absence, I found how hard it is to serve God without distraction in the midst of secular business. Happy are they who are delivered from this heavy cross, and so are they who bear it in the spirit of their Master.

[In the afternoon as we were coming from shore a shower of rain, common in these parts, overtook us, and before we could get one hundred yards wetted us all from head to foot. I found no ill effects of it at all. What can hurt those whom it pleases God to save?

[Before Mr. Oglethorpe left Savannah, one Mrs. Stanley, an experienced midwife, came to him, and said she heard several women on board were near their time. He told her he believed not, but that he should be glad, nevertheless, if she would go down with him and examine a pretended midwife who was on board the *Simmonds*. Accordingly he returned in the evening with her and Mr. Spangenberg,<sup>2</sup> who had conducted the first company of Bohemian Brethren to Georgia. He told me

Is this the explanation of the ominous Greek word on the preceding page? Strong drink was the curse that followed in the wake of all the early English colonists, blighting the colonies and destroying the native populations.<sup>3</sup> Wesley's first deed, after landing in America, was the registering of a vow of total abstinence from flesh and wine; his second the staving of rum-casks. Mr. Spangenberg came from Savannah, bringing letters which awaited the arrival of the colonists. With him was Mr. Vanderplank. In spite of the business distraction of which he complains, Wesley reads prayers and expounds on shore; prays and sings with Brownfield; reads Norris to Delamotte, Mr. Hawkins, and Mrs. Hawkins, converses seriously with the latter in the wood, 'No. 4 of No. 1' (i.e. Delamotte) being present, and, in the company

<sup>1</sup> John Brownfield was the 'one more.' He came from Bristol, and was one of the most capable of the English emigrants. See letters and journals in the Record Office.

<sup>2</sup> Wesley at first spells 'Spa'llen'—and on the same page, 'Spallemburg.' Later he discovers the correct spelling. August Gottlieb Spangenberg was born at Klettenburg in 1704, his father being a Lutheran clergyman. At Jena, where for a while he was a professor, he lodged with Dr. Buddæus. He had studied for the law. 'He forsook his former associates, and was forsaken by

them.' Yet he did not discontinue all his studies, for in 1726 he took his M.A. degree. Dr. Byrom heard Spangenberg preach in Fetter Lane, and admired the sermon. He is said to have sought Anglican orders from the Bishop of London (Dr. Gibson), but was refused (see his autobiographical sketch, p. 152). Spangenberg, Töltschig, and Seifart went out with the first party of Moravians, sixteen in all, landing at Charles-town.

<sup>3</sup> See S. Wesley's (sen.) letter to Oglethorpe (Clarke's *Wesley Family*, vol. i. p. 334).



several particulars relating to their faith and practice and discipline, all of which were agreeable to the plan of the first ages, and seemed to show that it was their one care, without desire of pleasing or fear of displeasing any, to retain inviolate the whole deposit once delivered to the saints.

[*Sun.* 8.—I asked Mr. Spangenberg's advice with regard to myself—to my own conduct. He told me he could say nothing till he had asked me two or three questions. 'Do you know yourself? Have you the witness within yourself? Does the Spirit of God bear witness with your spirit that you are a child of God?' I was surprised, and knew not what to answer. He observed it, and asked, 'Do you know Jesus Christ?' I paused, and said, 'I know He is the Saviour of the world.' 'True,' replied he; 'but do you know He has saved you?' I answered, 'I hope He has died to save me.' He only added, 'Do you know yourself?' I said, 'I do.' But I fear they were vain words. [After my answering, he gave me several directions, which may the good God who sent him enable me to follow!]

of his friends the Germans, begins his all-important conversation with Spangenberg.

*Sun.* 8.—By eight o'clock he has arrived at the conclusion that 'Spallenberg,' as he still calls him, is an 'excellent man.' There seems to have been a private and preliminary service for 'our Company,' at which prayers were read and a sermon preached, probably by Spangenberg. Afterwards Wesley read Bishop 'Patrick to them,' at half-past eleven reading prayers publicly, preaching, and administering the Eucharist. Oglethorpe had not yet returned from Savannah, and it is reasonable to suppose that Charles Wesley, his secretary, was with him. It was after Holy Communion that Wesley had his confidential conversation with Spangenberg. The conversation lasted from one o'clock till half-past two. Immediately after, Wesley spent half an hour in 'meditation and prayer.' At six, whilst he was singing with Spangenberg, Oglethorpe arrived from Savannah. The hour is marked by a cross, as well as the first hour of the day. Later in the evening Oglethorpe had an interview with Spangenberg. Wesley also had private conversation with Oglethorpe and his secretary. The ships, the shore, and Savannah were places of anxious business for the chief, and his friend John Wesley shared the burden.

Wesley's notes on the day are :

Mr. Spallenberg a wise man

! Advised me as to myself! The cross once more.

The cross refers to something that happened in the earliest morning, when, alone with Ingham and Delamotte, he could not record in the Diary that they were 'at one'; something similar occurred when Spangenberg and

*Mon. 9.*—[Mrs. Welch was safely brought to bed by Mrs. Stanley. On this occasion I received a fresh proof how little extraordinary providences avail those who are not moved by the ordinary means He hath ordained to devote their whole souls to His service. Many burials and some deaths I have been present at, but I never yet knew a soul converted by the sight of either. This is the second time I have been witness—there being only a door between us—of one of the deepest distresses which life affords. The groans of the sick person had very short intermissions. And how were they filled up by the assistants? With strong cries to God? With counselling her that was encompassed with sorrows of death to trust in Him? With exhortations to each other to fear Him who is able to inflict sharper pains than these? No; but with laughing and jesting, at no time convenient, but at this least of all. Verily, if they hear not Moses and the Prophets, even the thunder of His power they will not understand.]

[In the afternoon, the boat not being yet come which was to carry Mr. Spangenberg and his people to Savannah, we took a walk on the shore.] I asked him many questions, both concerning himself and the church at Herrnhut. The substance of his answers was this:

[I was left without father or mother when I was ten years old. From that age to eighteen I lived without the fear of God.] I was sent to the University of Jena, where I spent some years in learning

Oglethorpe were with him. One can only surmise that the old contention regarding Mrs. Hawkins and her eligibility for admission to the Lord's Table had again arisen. The last entry is:

Resolved to follow Christ!

*Mon. 9.*—Two events occurred to-day. Spangenberg conversed with him closely, and 'Mrs. Welch was brought to bed by the midwife who came last night to Savannah.' That Oglethorpe should have had the good sense to bring Mrs. Stanley, Wesley regarded as 'an extraordinary providence,' as undoubtedly it was. The death of Mrs. Welch would have cast an ominous cloud upon the new settlements.

In this conversation between Wesley and Spangenberg we have the origin of one of the most frequently quoted Rules of a Helper. Wesley's translation of this passage in his edition of the *Christian Pattern* is free and peculiar: 'Be not familiar with any woman; but in general commend all good women to God.' What Kempis wrote, literally translated was: 'All good women avoid, and commend them to God.' Earlier in the same

languages, and the vain philosophy which I have now long been labouring to forget. Here it pleased God, by some that preached His word with power, to overturn my heart. I immediately threw aside all my learning but what tended to save my soul. I shunned all company, and retired into a solitary place, resolving to spend my life there. For three days I had much comfort here, but on the fourth it was all gone. I was amazed, and went for advice to an experienced Christian. When I came to him I could not speak. But he saw my heart, and advised me to go back to my house and follow the business Providence had called me to. I went back, but was fit for nothing. I could neither do any business nor join in any conversation. All I could say to any one was, Yes or No. Many times I could not say that, nor understand the plainest thing that was said to me. My friends and acquaintance looked upon me as dead, came no more to me, nor spoke about me.

When I grew better, I began teaching some poor children. Others joining with me, we taught more and more, till there were about thirty teachers, and above two hundred scholars.<sup>1</sup> I was now desired by several universities to accept the place of professor of Divinity or

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chapter Kempis says—we are still quoting Wesley's translation—'Converse not much with young women and strangers.' If John and Charles Wesley, and Oglethorpe, but especially John Wesley, had promptly and persistently acted upon Spangenberg's advice, how much distress and failure would have been avoided! In justice, however, it must be remembered that Wesley had a certain standard ideal of pastoral duty always shining before him, and that the perils threatening his own safety as he followed his ideal urged him forward rather than held him back. His resolution was 'to follow Christ,' who never cast out the vilest offender. The terrible charges laid against Mrs. Hawkins only made him strive the more daringly to save her soul. He simply told her what was alleged, and asked if it were true, and if so did she repent? There is no trace of any flirtation with Mrs. Hawkins or with any other passenger. He was an indefatigable and remorseless pastor, willing to suffer the loss of all things if only he might save a soul alive and hide a multitude of sins. Mrs. Hawkins and Mrs. Welch were simply the most lost sinners on board. He did for them what he judged Christ would have done.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> He was the mainspring in keeping the free schools in proper activity, and he made them subservient not only to the education of poor children, but to the training of schoolmasters. Wesley gives a full account of Spangenberg's work as a teacher of children (cf. *Journal*, Aug. 21, 1738). At Halle Spangenberg became special director of the famous Orphan

House, and by royal patent was appointed assistant theological professor in the University. Breithaupt was formerly a powerful preacher at Erfurt, and afterwards a professor at Halle along with Francke.

<sup>2</sup> See translated shorthand in Charles Wesley's *Journal*, new edition in the Finsbury Library (R. Culley).



Philosophy. But I utterly refused it, and begged of God with my whole heart that I might not be famous, but very little and unknown.

I had spent some years thus, when Professor Breithaupt, of Halle, died. Being then pressed to accept of his professorship, I believed it was the call of God, and went. I had not been long there before the Director of the University found many faults with my behaviour and preaching; and offences increased more and more, till, after half a year, a petition against me was sent to the King of Prussia, who sent an order to the commander at Halle; in pursuance whereof I was warned to leave the city within forty-eight hours.<sup>1</sup> I did so, and retired to Herrnhut to Count Zinzendorf, [whom I had known for several years.<sup>2</sup> I wrote to the Directors that I desired to know my crimes; but they never sent an answer. I could easily have cleared myself by a public defence from all the imputations they had cast upon me; but I feared it might lessen the success of their ministry, and therefore chose to be silent.

[Count Zinzendorf is about thirty-six years old. He has been full of the love of God from a child, insomuch that he has sometimes owned he has never felt the love of the world one quarter of an hour in his life.]

The village of Herrnhut contains about a thousand souls, gathered out of many nations. They hold fast the discipline, as well as the faith and practice, of the apostolical Church. I was desired by the Brotherhood last year to conduct about fifteen of them to Georgia, where two lots of ground were assigned them near the town of Savannah, and another in the country; and with them I have stayed ever since.

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*Tues. 10.*—To-day he spent some time in writing his 'Account.' He dined, conversed for some time with his brother Charles, and is once more able to write 'at one.' Here a line of some importance occurs:

3 On board Captain Thomas, in talk. On board Captain Diamond.

Was this another emigrant-ship? If so, we now have four ships in the expedition—or expeditions, for there may have been more than one. Named after their captains, they are: Captain Gascoigne (*H.M. sloop Hawk*), Cornish, Thomas, and Diamond. These were mercantile marine officers, or of the Royal Navy. A military captain, during these days and afterwards, is often named.

Wesley seems to have greatly admired Captain Hermsdorf, who, he says, was 'very zealous,' and with whom many times he sang. A mysterious

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<sup>1</sup> Yet Frederick was favourable to the Moravians, and wrote in gracious terms to Zinzendorf.

<sup>2</sup> He had already visited Herrnhut and made the acquaintance of Zinzendorf. After the short-lived appointments at

Jena and Halle, he retired to the Moravian settlement, and there and in America, for sixty years, served the Church of the Brethren with a zeal and devotion seldom equalled. In September 1792 he 'was removed to a higher life.'

I asked, Whither he was to go next? He said, 'I have some thoughts to go to Pennsylvania [where are about one hundred of my countrymen driven by persecution out of their own country, who have neither means of subsistence where they are nor money to transport them to Georgia. If it pleases God that I shall be useful to them, I shall be glad; and if not, I shall be glad.] But what God will do with me I know not. I am blind. I am a child. My Father knows; and I am ready to go wherever He calls.'<sup>1</sup>

[I asked Mr. Spangenberg of Mrs. Hawkins's case, and desired his advice how to behave towards her. He answered: 'My dear brother, I believe our friend Kempis advises well, *Omnes bonas mulieres devita, easque Deo commenda*. Not that I would advise you to give her up quite, but to converse much may be dangerous either to her or you. It may be best to speak to her seldom, and in few words, and earnestly pray God to do the rest.']

combination of signs, immediately following this statement, might be interpreted as the admission of Hermsdorf to the inner circle of 'our Company.' May we not think of Colonel Oglethorpe and Captain Hermsdorf as the first Methodist soldiers? In his footnotes for the day he repeats his praise of Hermsdorf. But for himself he writes 'Lz (Κύριε βοήθει!'), and adds:

A poor, careless, lukewarm day.

*Wed. 11.*—Twice on this day he sings with Hermsdorf. The routine of work continues, but, between shipboard and the encampment on shore, the distractions are many. 'Did nothing' and 'got no good' are symptoms. Further, he is beginning to realize the hopelessness of a self-imposed task. The judgement of his friends respecting Mrs. Hawkins and the shrewd advice of Spangenberg are both being justified. Oxford Methodism, even under the most favourable circumstances, is not in itself all-powerful for good. This is the entry:

Myself and company nothing, but God all! With Mrs. Hawkins too long, therefore did nothing.

*Thur. 12.*—A day of much singing, chiefly with Hermsdorf, who seems to have loved singing, and likely enough introduced Wesley to many hymns and tunes of the Fatherland. He also resumed the reading of his Greek Testament, spending two or three hours with it. He conversed with

<sup>1</sup> He remained in Georgia and Pennsylvania till 1739. After his return to America in 1744, he continued to labour there until 1762, with the exception of a

year and a half spent in Europe. (On Count Zinzendorf and the history of Herrnhut, see *Life of Spangenberg*, from the German of 'Ledderhose'.)

*Fri.* 13.—[We received information that Tomo-chachi and his Beloved Men were coming to see us. They sent us down a side of venison before them.] In our course of reading to-day were these words : [‘I will save you, and ye shall be a blessing. Fear not, but let your hands be strong.’] Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, It shall yet come to pass, that there shall come people, and the inhabitants of many cities ; and the inhabitants of one city shall go to another, saying, Let us go speedily to pray before the Lord, and to seek the Lord of Hosts : I will go also. Yea, many people and strong nations shall come to seek the Lord of Hosts in Jerusalem, and to pray before the Lord. [Thus saith the Lord of Hosts : In those days it shall come to pass that ten men shall take hold of the skirts of a Jew, saying, We will go with you, for we have heard that God is with you.]

*Sat.* 14.—[In our course of reading were the words : ‘By the

Captain Cornish and Mr. Tackner, they both being convinced ; but Mrs. Tackner ‘gets no good.’ He has at last discovered the right spelling of Spangenberg’s name.

*Fri.* 13.—He spends some time to-day in song, conversation, and prayer with Spangenberg and the Germans. At nine he has a confidential talk with Oglethorpe, whom he finds ‘open and friendly.’ The result is that from ten o’clock in the morning until four in the afternoon he ‘writes for Oglethorpe.’ If we may rely upon the evidence of the Diaries, and upon the testimony of Charles himself in his *Frederica Journal*, Charles Wesley, as secretary, was an utter failure. John, on the contrary, developed an aptitude for secretarial work that Oglethorpe was quick to recognize and utilize. On this day, for example, at 9.30, he is conversing seriously with Oglethorpe ; at 10.15 he begins to write for him, and continues, with the usual hourly interludes of five or six minutes for psalm or prayer, until four in the afternoon. And then, for the first time in the long day, he breaks his fast. A long spell of writing for Oglethorpe, for which there is no trace of remuneration, and frequent consultations on business that must have been delicate in the extreme—these are the common facts of the *Georgia Diaries* whenever the two men are together. Little wonder that Oglethorpe earnestly desired to retain in the colony a man so capable, so absolutely candid, so willing to work. Little wonder if, as tradition alleges, Oglethorpe, meeting Wesley many years after, fell on his knees in reverent affection. Oglethorpe never had a truer or a more unselfish friend than John Wesley. ‘Oglethorpe open and friendly,’ wrote Wesley at the close of this day ; and on every day during their intimate intercourse Oglethorpe might have returned the compliment.

*Sat.* 14.—This morning at four he was ‘sleepy’ and ‘sick.’ Little wonder ; At five he breakfasted on ‘bread and prayer.’ At six he was





1. TOMO-CHACHI (FROM PART I. OF THE  
'AUSFÜHRliche NACHRICHTEN').

2. AUGUST GOTTLIEB SPANGENBERG.

3. BENJAMIN INGHAM.

4. GENERAL OGLETHORPE.



blood of thy covenant I have sent forth thy prisoners out of the pit wherein is no water. Turn ye to the strong hold, ye prisoners of hope. Even to-day do I declare I will render double unto thee.' 'From the rising up of the sun unto the going down of the same My Name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense shall be offered unto My Name, and a pure offering' (Zech. ix. 11, 12; Mal. i. 11).

[One of the Psalms for the day was the seventy-second, a glorious prophecy of the propagation of the kingdom of Christ. The Second Lesson was Mark xiii., containing both our Lord's directions to the first publishers of His gospel, and a plain description of the treatment which all who published it were to expect from those who received it not.]

About one Tomo-chachi,<sup>1</sup> his nephew Thleeanouhee, his wife Sinauky, [and the Meiko or King of the Savannah nation], with two of their chief women, and three of their children, came on board. [Tomo-chachi, Sinauky, and Toanoh were in English dress.

singing with Spangenberg; at seven 'within with Oglethorpe.' At nine he read prayers and expounded; then gave an hour to business and two hours to the writing of his 'Account.' At one he dressed in surplice and hood, as did Charles and Ingham, took down his Greek Testament, as we shall presently see, and at 1.15 received Tomo-chachi. At a quarter-past two he was writing the account of the interview. At four he dined with Mr. Spangenberg and Captain Hermsdorf.

Compare his account of this Indian visit with Ingham's picturesque description (Tyerman's *Oxford Methodists*, p. 75, and App. XVI. vol. vi.).

This was Wesley's first contact with the Indians. He had come to America as a missionary in the service of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. His fellow voyagers and the colonists of Savannah and Frederica were only incidentally and temporarily under his pastoral care. His real parishioners were these dusky Indians. It must be remembered, however, that, as he frankly told Dr. Burton (see letter in the Colman Collection, App. XII., vol. vi.), he had not come to America simply and solely to save either Indians or colonists, but 'to save my own soul.'

<sup>1</sup> Tomo-chachi (the names are variously spelt) was chief of a small party of Creek Indians settled four miles from Savannah, and four hundred miles from the main body of the Creek tribes. In 1734 Oglethorpe took Tomo-chachi and his wife to England and presented them to George II (after whom the colony was named), and to Queen Caroline. He

sent two swans to the Trustees (Journal, C.O. 5). The chief lived nearly one hundred years, saw Oglethorpe again in 1738, was visited in his last sickness by Whitefield, died near Savannah in 1739, was buried with military honours, and enjoyed the greater honour of an Ode written by Samuel Wesley (*Genl's. Mag.* 1739, p. 22).



The other women had on calico petticoats and coarse woollen mantles. The Savannah king, whose face was stained red in several places, his hair dressed with beads, and his ear with a scarlet feather, had only a large blanket which covered him from his shoulders to his feet. Sinauky brought us a jar of milk, and another of honey, and said she hoped when we spoke to them we would feed them with milk, for they were but children, and be as sweet as honey towards them.]

As soon as we came in they all rose and shook us by the hand, [women as well as men. This was the more remarkable because the Indians allow no man to touch or speak to a woman, except her husband, not though she be ill or in danger of death. When we were all sat down,] Tomo-chachi spake by his interpreter, one Mrs. Musgrove,<sup>1</sup> to this effect :

‘I am glad you are come. When I was in England, I desired that some would speak the Great Word to me ; and my nation then desired to hear it. But since that time we have been all put into confusion. [The French have built a fort with one hundred men in it in one place, and a fort with one hundred men in it in another. And the Spaniards are preparing for war. The English traders, too, put us into confusion, and have set our people against hearing the Great Word. For they speak with a double tongue ; some say one thing of it and some another.] Yet I am glad you are come. I will go up and speak to the wise men of our nation ; and I hope they will hear. But we would not be made Christians as the Spaniards make Christians : we would be taught before we are baptized.’

[All this he spake with great earnestness, and much action both of his hands and head, and yet with the utmost gentleness and softness both of tone and manner.]

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Ingham, like Wesley, had studied shorthand. He gives a full report of the speeches. As we have already seen, he also had some knowledge of the tribal tongue, gleaned from Oglethorpe during the voyage, and had commenced an Indian Dictionary. It was afterwards arranged that Mrs. Musgrove should more fully instruct Ingham, and that he should teach Wesley. To what extent this purpose was fulfilled does not appear.

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<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Musgrove, who appears frequently in the subsequent Diary records, is described in one of the Georgia Letters

(Record Office, C.O. 5, 1734), as an Indian woman married to a white trader.

I answered, 'There is but One, He that sitteth in heaven, who is able to teach man wisdom. Though we are come so far, we know not whether He will please to teach you by us or no. If He teaches you, you will learn wisdom ; but we can do nothing.' We then [saluted them all as before, and] withdrew.

[Having a few moments to myself, before we went to the Indians, I took down my Greek Testament,<sup>1</sup> which opened on these words :

Ῥμεῖς γὰρ μιμηταὶ ἐγενήθητε, ἀδελφοί, τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν οὐσῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι ταῦτὰ ἐπάθετε καὶ ὑμεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων συμφυλετῶν, καθὼς καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, . . . καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐκδιωξάντων, καὶ Θεῷ μὴ ἀρεσκόντων, καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐναντίων, κωλύοντων ἡμᾶς τοῖς ἔθνεσι λαλῆσαι ἵνα σωθῶσιν.]

The 'few moments to myself' were between one o'clock and a quarter-past, during which, having robed, he took down his Greek Testament.

A comparison of the passage from 1 Thess. ii. 14-16 as written by Ingham in his transcription, with Mill's printed text, or indeed with any Greek text, shows inaccuracies, chiefly of omission, due probably to Ingham's

<sup>1</sup> R.V.: 'For ye, brethren, became imitators of the churches of God which are in Judaea in Christ Jesus : for ye also suffered the same things of your own countrymen, even as they did of the Jews ; . . . and drove out us, and please not God, and are contrary to all men ; forbidding us to speak to the Gentiles that they may be saved' (1 Thess. ii. 14-16).

What printed text of the Greek Testament did John Wesley use? It must be remembered that he was an Oxford man, a Greek scholar, and a lover of best things. The Greek Testament that bore the imprimatur of the Vice-Chancellor of his own University, and that the greatest scholars in England, including Bentley, recognized as the best edition of the Greek text of the New Testament, was John Mill's, published in Oxford in 1707. The volume was the product of the labour of thirty years, and its author died within a fortnight after its publication. The royal folio edition,

bound in calf, its Greek text in fair large type, with contractions that have long since gone out of fashion (but of which Wesley preserves a list in his *Short Greek Grammar, Works*, vol. xiv. p. 82), with Prolegomena and annotations in Latin, and with plates and initials of exceeding beauty, has come from Oxford bookshelves for the service of this edition of Wesley's Journal. One of many points of interest in the volume is the initial letter of the Apocalypse representing the interior of Bodley—the great library which Wesley frequented and constantly refers to in his first Oxford Diary.

Whether it was a royal folio that he took down on this memorable day may be open to question, though there can be little doubt that he had with him on board the *Simmonds* more than one ponderous folio. But it requires no stretch of imagination to believe that in Oxford his hand had often turned the fair pages of Mill's superb folio—possibly of this very copy.

*Sun. 15.*—Another party of Indians [of the Savannah nation] came; they were all tall, well-proportioned men, and had a remarkable softness in their speech and gentleness in their whole behaviour. In the afternoon they all returned home but three, [the Meiko and two others,] who stayed to go with Mr. Oglethorpe, [and hunt with him at the Alatamahaw river.]

*Mon. 16.*—[About six in the evening] Mr. Oglethorpe set out for the new settlement on the Alatamahaw river. He took

haste in copying (when he wrote this page he was on the point of leaving for Frederica), and not to Wesley's original draft, though that also was likely enough to be less than perfect, if, instead of again taking down a royal folio, he wrote from memory.

*Sun. 15.*—At the Eucharist there were thirteen communicants. Afterwards he conversed with Spangenberg and sang, at first alone with him, and then in company with his friends.

At three in the afternoon there was a formal and solemn leave-taking of the Indian visitors:

- 3 Took leave of Tomo-chachi, sung, dined,
- 4 Conversed, all open and friendly.
- 5 Patrick to them, read prayers and expounded
- 6 in great cabin. Meditated. In talk.
- 7 Prayed with them. Sung. Meditated.
- 8 Great cabin, in talk.
- 9 Conversed with Spangenberg, prayed.

P Took leave of Tomo-chachi and wife;  
We all open and friendly.

This was Wesley's first contact with the people whom he had come to save.

*Mon. 16.*—Wesley describes this as a 'Hurry-day.'<sup>1</sup> It began at four in the morning, and did not close until half-past ten at night. He read prayers twice, but did not expound. An hour with Spangenberg in the early morning and half an hour's serious conversation with Mrs. Hawkins represented the pastoral side of his work. The rest of the day, except such as was taken up in dining and business, was devoted to Oglethorpe, whom he reports as 'open and friendly and convinced.' For seven hours he wrote for Oglethorpe, snatching half an hour only for his own 'Account,' which no doubt included these last pages of the *Voyage Journal*. We can scarcely be surprised if, at twelve o'clock, after five hours of steady writing, a Greek text, quoted from memory, became slightly inaccurate.

Ingham's *Journal* (Tyerman's *Oxf. Meth.* p. 76) may be consulted for an account of the 'new settlement,' which under the name of Frederica (after Prussia's great king) figures so prominently in the *Journals* of John and Charles Wesley. As the Wesleys first saw it, it was a town of palmetto huts, on the island of St. Simon, close to the mainland, and at the mouth of the Alatamahaw river.

<sup>1</sup> Was this a Wesley phrase; have Wesley's hymn—'In a Hurry of Business?' we a reminiscence of this in Charles







with him about fifty men of our two ships, besides Mr. Ingham, Mr. Hermsdorf,<sup>1</sup> and the three Indians. [These six went with Mr. Oglethorpe in the scout-boat, the rest in a sloop hired on purpose.]

Oglethorpe returned at once from St. Simon to the mouth of the Savannah river, and, without waiting to visit the town again, conducted a second party of emigrants, in four boats, to Frederica. He arrived March 8, and the day following Charles Wesley arrived.

With the sailing of the boats at 6.30 on Monday, February 16, the version of Wesley's Journal transcribed by Ingham comes to a natural close. For some weeks we are entirely dependent on the printed Journal, the Diary, Charles Wesley's Journal (which, however, does not begin before March 9, the day of his arrival in Frederica), on the residue of Ingham's Journal, and on contemporary correspondence.

*Tues. 17.*—Distractions notwithstanding, he continued the orderly sequence of devotional exercises—'private,' 'company,' and public. The Company was now reduced to three, for Ingham and Oglethorpe had gone down the coast to Frederica, taking English colonists to prepare huts for the married families and three Indians to help with the hunting. Most, if not all, of the Moravians had gone with Spangenberg to Savannah. He visited the married people and the sailors of all the ships, though not as formerly, for it was no longer possible to indulge in readings and long conversations. Delamotte was with him, Charles coming and going, Mr. Vanderplank, Captain Dempsey, and another captain not hitherto named—Captain Deliegec (the name, probably, is spelt phonetically). Being left in charge he is often 'on business,' but finds time between nine and twelve to write his 'Account.' His notes on the day are :

P. well. G. [the hourly minutes given to God] a cross.

J. Billingham affected, and Mr. Falcon. ( Never make yourself

Mrs. Welch angry at me. ( familiar, cheap.

*Wed. 18.*—New people are named. Mr. Richards came ; he conversed with Chance and company ; and, most interesting of all, J. Billingham, F. Hird, and 'Cosi'<sup>2</sup> are with him more than an hour ; he calls them 'children,' and says that he began the 'Bible with them'—a children's Bible-class. He notes the weather as 'very cold.' He sings several times during the day, and at seven, the hour he used to spend with the Germans, he to-day spends with 'German Psalms.'

9. Lay on the ground. Slept pretty well !

<sup>1</sup> Captain Hermsdorf was military attaché to Oglethorpe. Later he served under Oglethorpe in an expedition against the Spaniards of Florida. It should be remembered that whilst the Georgia colonization project was mainly, and in the first instance exclusively, philanthropic, Protestant, and missionary, it acquired, perhaps as was inevitable, an underlying political motive. Georgia, it

was hoped, would be a defensive outpost against the Spaniards and the French. Hence, probably, the grant of £10,000 voted by the House of Commons and the commissioning of the *Hawk* both as a convoy and a survey-ship.

<sup>2</sup> F. Hird is not named in the Clarke list, but we find the following : 'John Hird, 12 ; William Chance, 10 ; Jo. Cosins, 11.'



## FIRST SAVANNAH JOURNAL

*Thur.* 19.—My brother and I took boat, and, passing by Savannah, went to pay our first visit in America to the poor Heathens. But neither Tomo-chachi nor Sinauky was at home. Coming back, we waited upon Mr. Causton, the Chief Magistrate of Savannah. From him we went with Mr. Spangenberg to the German brethren. About eleven we returned to the boat, and came to our ship about four in the morning.

*Sun.* 22.<sup>1</sup>—Mary Welch, aged eleven days, was baptized according to the custom of the first Church, and the rule of

*Thur.* 19.—At 3.30 a.m. he rises from his cold bed, and at 5.30 he sets out in the boat. A 'hard gale' compels them to row. By 10.30 they are at Savannah. His first business is with the Indians who are encamped near the Cowpen, four miles away; he waits in the boat, presumably for a guide, and then sets out, Greek Testament in hand, for the Cowpen, which he reaches at 1.30. He calls on Mrs. Musgrove, and at two o'clock proceeds with her, as interpreter, to the Indian town. But the 'King' is not there. His Greek Testament solaces him on his return journey to Savannah, where he calls on the Chief Magistrate (Mr. Causton), and has a 'good time.' Whilst they are conversing Mr. Spangenberg arrives. They walk together in the garden, where Mr. Quincy, the minister whose cure of souls Wesley is to take over, joins them. At six he has a private conversation with John Brownfield, who, with himself, had been entrusted with the care of the immigrants. Mr. Quincy rejoins them, and they have a 'good time together.' By 7.15 he is again singing with his beloved Germans. Returning to Mr. Causton's, he sleeps for three hours, and at midnight sets out in the boat, again sleeping. His comment on this, his first day in America, is curious:

Beware America, be not as England!

*Fri.* 20.—At four o'clock he was again on board the *Simmonds*; tired, he lay down till 6.30. At seven he 'read prayers, expounded, and got tea for them'—not for himself, for it was the fast-day of the Holy Club, and he did not break his fast until three, when he dined. He held his Bible-class with J. B[illinghurst] and Cosins, and in the German hour he again sang German psalms or hymns.

*Sat.* 21.—To-day he began Greek Testament with Charles and Delamotte. Otherwise, it was a day of miscellaneous pastoral conversation, upon which, especially as it concerned Mrs. Hawkins, he did not look back with satisfaction.

*Sun.* 22.—After prayers and exposition he conversed with Charles and Delamotte, sang and prayed. This morning the baby born the day after

<sup>1</sup> The Diary gives, as the date of this baptism, not Saturday 21, but Sunday, Feb. 22.

the Church of England, by immersion.<sup>1</sup> The child was ill then, but recovered from that hour.

*Tues. 24.*—Mr. Oglethorpe returned. The day following I took my leave of most of the passengers of the ship, who all appeared serious. It may be, all the seed is not fallen upon stony ground.

their arrival at Tybee was to be baptized. For half an hour before the solemn service, upon which he had thought and read much, he prayed, and at 9.30 'baptized Mary Welch by Trine Immersion!'

Wesley ordered all his church life, his administration of the Sacraments, his daily devotions, public and private, his weekly fasts, his observance of Sundays and other holy-days, according to what he believed to be the custom of the early Church. So far as these Diaries and the Journal are concerned, there is no evidence that his churchmanship was 'high' in any other sense. In his strict observance of rites and ceremonies, in his loyalty to rubrics and canon law, in his belief that the Book of Common Prayer met all the religious needs of individual and national life, John Wesley was a High Churchman of the early Church type. But to what extent he sympathized with the doctrinal interpretation placed by Anglican and Roman Catholics upon the rites he so scrupulously observed, is quite another question. The Georgia Journal and Diary suggest a devout, somewhat antiquated High-Church Protestant, whose point of view has little in common with the Oxford Tractarianism of a later time.

In the evening Charles and Delamotte went to Savannah.

*Mon. 23.*—For an hour in the early morning he read Clarendon, whose *Constitutions* he had studied at Oxford. At nine he translated German psalms; for an hour read Law to the people, of whom eleven were present; in the afternoon, on shore, he began to read Scougal<sup>2</sup> to Mrs. Hawkins. Two hours of such discipline produced a serious effect; but, as he observes in a footnote, 'immediately, in light company, all vanished.' Returning to the ship, he read prayers and expounded, spending the rest of the day mostly in writing German.

*Tues. 24.*—Colonel Bull called. (We shall meet him again, during Wesley's first visit to Charlestown.) After prayers he wrote German, read

<sup>1</sup> Trine, or Triple, Immersion was the custom of the very early Church (Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 161). The Prayer-book of Edward VI, which Wesley had prepared for examination in 1725, prescribed it. He regarded it as the law of the Church. Ancient fonts in English churches were designed for immersion.

<sup>2</sup> Scougal, the Scotch mystic, whose *Life of God in the Soul of Man* and other devotional writings played an important part in the Methodist Revival, appears

here for the first time. Charles Wesley seems to have been the first member of the Holy Club to make acquaintance with Scougal's writings. He lent the *Life of God* to George Whitefield; eventually it led to his conversion. John Wesley afterwards published an edition of the book, and included a volume of Scougal's sermons in *The Christian Library* (Butler's *Wesley and Whitefield in Scotland*, pp. 7, 67, 68; and Butler's *Henry Scougal*).

In the evening I went to Savannah again, whence Mr. Spangenberg, Bishop Nitschmann, and Andrew Döber<sup>1</sup> went up with us to Mrs. Musgrove's, to choose a spot for the little house which Mr. Oglethorpe had promised to build us. Being afterward disappointed of our boat, we were obliged to pass the night there. But wherever we are it is the same thing, if it be the will of our Father which is in heaven.

At our return the next day (Mr. Quincy<sup>2</sup> being then in the house wherein we afterwards were), Mr. Delamotte and I took

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the *Account of the Church in Herrnhut*, and at noon conversed and sang with the children. The event of the day was the safe return of Mr. Oglethorpe from Frederica.

Wed. 25.—To-day he took leave of his fellow passengers who still remained on board the *Simmonds*. The Moravians of the party had already settled in Savannah. The Saltzburghers from the *London Merchant* had gone to Ebenezer, where Wesley, much later, visited them. The English immigrants of the *London Merchant* party appear to have proceeded, with Ingham and other leaders, to Frederica, where they served as pioneers for the married people, who, with Hermsdorf and Charles Wesley, were about to join them. The distance between the Savannah river and Frederica was about one hundred miles.

The leave-taking was not a perfunctory farewell, but a last attempt, by close conversation and prayer, to influence every family. It is curious to note how, even on such an occasion, he clung to his books. He had a volume of Law with him, also Nelson, and read from them. At four in the afternoon he 'shaved.' The purpose of the shaving entry is revealed in the two letters that follow—'m, p,' which, interpreted, mean 'meditation and prayer.' No moment was lost. He strove to fulfil the injunction 'in everything by prayer' with a literalness more pathetic than amusing. The page in the Diary can be deciphered without difficulty. In the first line of the summary the figure '40' is a curious use of the old cipher, the meaning being—'spoke to each. All affected.' Then, so far as his own personal relation to God is concerned—Lz, *Κύριε βοήθει*.

He had closed the day, ruling his Diary, when, at ten o'clock, Mr. Spangenberg and Bishop Nitschmann came. With them he had a private ('intra') interview which lasted until 11.45 p.m., when he 'lay on the ground.'

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<sup>1</sup> Wesley's Andrew Döber was brother to Leonhard Döber, of Herrnhut.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Quincy, born in Massachusetts, was the first minister in Georgia. For his appointment, and its revoking 'for good and sufficient reasons,' see *Journal of Georgia Trustees*, December 1732, and October 1735.

Oglethorpe, writing to the Trustees and quoting a letter from Wesley respecting Quincy's character, says that his only fault was 'marrying a native woman to an Englishman' (Fitzwater). Tomochachi gave the bride away, and both Indians and colonists approved.



up our lodging with the Germans. We had now an opportunity, day by day, of observing their whole behaviour. For we were in one room with them from morning to night, unless for the little time I spent in walking. They were always employed, always cheerful themselves, and in good humour with one another; they had put away all anger, and strife, and wrath, and bitterness, and clamour, and evil-speaking; they walked worthy of the vocation wherewith they were called, and adorned the gospel of our Lord in all things.<sup>1</sup>

*Thur. 26.*—At four he and Spangenberg—who probably had shared his bed on the ground, Nitschmann sleeping elsewhere—prayed together. He began an ‘Account’ of what had happened since the ‘Account of the Voyage,’ by this time in multiplied copies on its way to England. The ‘Account’ now in course of writing is lost, with the exception of brief extracts in the printed Journal. In place of the usual exposition he this morning preached a sermon. It was the last of a series of ship-board sermons. Later in the morning Mrs. Hawkins came. He ‘told her of all her faults and advised her against light company. She was seriously affected, and resolved [to do as Wesley advised].’

At eleven he set out with Spangenberg, Nitschmann, and company, conversing as they sat in the boat and reading an account of the Brethren. At 1.45 in the afternoon they arrived at Savannah. He dined with the Germans, and at three set out with Spangenberg, Nitschmann, and Döber for the Cowpen, where they saw the ground allotted for the house in which Ingham afterwards lived. The house was designed as an Indian mission-house. About the ground they talked casually; but with Spangenberg and his company Wesley conversed seriously till six, and again till seven, and again, still with them, till nine, when they sang together till ten. At the unusually late hour of eleven the day, that began at four in the morning, ended—he ‘lay down.’

*Fri. 27.*—At five he prayed, sang, and conversed. At six they set out, talking and reading together as they walked, until eight o’clock, when they reached Savannah and ‘breakfasted with the Germans on Indian corn.’ Wesley sorted books and clothes; being then, as always, a neat and orderly man. At 1.30 he and Spangenberg discussed ‘mystical divinity,’ his friend acknowledging himself a ‘Mystic.’ At three they talk of the ‘ministry.’ Spangenberg ‘denies the succession.’ Thus they converse until 5.30, when Wesley falls to meditation and singing—his only recreation.

<sup>1</sup> The Moravians were regarded by the authorities in England as missionaries, and not merely as colonists. At first the Georgia Trustees objected to the original detachment with Spangenberg at their head, because they were not exiles from persecution. Nor, being un-

educated people, did they seem capable of undertaking missionary work. Oglethorpe, however, took an opposite view. He threw the whole weight of his authority into the scales in favour of the Brethren, and acquired a grant of 500 acres for Zinzendorf, and one of 50 acres

*Sat.* 28.—They met to consult concerning the affairs of their church; Mr. Spangenberg being shortly to go to Pennsylvania, and Bishop Nitschmann to return to Germany. After several hours spent in conference and prayer, they proceeded to the election and ordination of a bishop.<sup>1</sup> The great simplicity, as well as solemnity, of the whole, almost made me forget the seventeen hundred years between, and imagine myself in one of those assemblies where form and state were not, but Paul

At 6.15 he is again with Spangenberg. They talk of Mr. Gambold, then an Oxford Methodist, a Mystic, the rector of Stanton Harcourt, the kindly host of Kezia Wesley; but destined, six years later, to abandon his comfortable and leisurely living for the poverty and uncertainty of the Moravian ministry. They read 'Whitfield's case,' sang with the Germans; then, after writing his Diary, undressing, and praying, the tired man slept.

*Sat.* 28.—He and Delamotte were now living with the Germans. Spangenberg, pre-eminently a scholar; Nitschmann, originally a carpenter but now a bishop; Andrew Döber and Anton Seifart, were all present. The conversation again turned on the Mystics. At nine Wesley began the German Grammar with Spangenberg. Whilst sorting his 'things' Mr. Quincy came.

At noon he walked in the German garden, meditating and singing. Grammar, dinner, and the writing of his Diary followed. He walked awhile with Delamotte and began *The Light of the World*. In the evening he returned from Mr. Quincy's to the Germans, and saw the ordination of Bishop Anton Seifart—'a far-seeing and humble-minded man.' In his eightieth year Wesley met Seifart again at Zeist.

Probably it was Wesley's glowing description of a Moravian ordination, read to the society in Hutton's house at Westminster, that led James Hutton (writing to Wesley in September 1736) to say, 'Take care to inquire

for Spangenberg—both plots being in the neighbourhood of Savannah. Zinzendorf appointed Spangenberg first minister in Georgia. To ensure his position in the colony in relation to Anglican ministers, Spangenberg applied to the Bishop of London for ordination, Vernon introducing him. The bishop is said to have consented, but for some unknown reason the ordination did not take place. Bishop Nitschmann, who had come from Herrnhut with the first ten Brethren, handed over his pastoral charge to Spangenberg, who accompanied the little flock to Georgia. They arrived in June 1735. In the autumn of the same year Nitschmann,

with a second party of Moravians, amongst whom were the wives of some of the first settlers, sailed in the *Simmonds* with Oglethorpe himself and the four Oxford friends.

<sup>1</sup> Potter, who as Bishop of Oxford had ordained Wesley, Ingham, Gambold, and other members of the Holy Club, if he did not officially recognize, did not disallow the validity of the Moravian orders. In conversation with Zinzendorf the Archbishop said 'that he considered all the objections to the Moravian episcopal succession trivial. Only those who were ignorant of church history could doubt its validity.'

the tent-maker or Peter the fisherman presided, yet with the demonstration of the Spirit and of power.

*Sun. 29.*—Hearing Mr. Oglethorpe did not come any more to Savannah before he went to Frederica, I was obliged to go down to the ship again (Mr. Spangenberg following me thither) and receive his orders and instructions on several heads. From him we went to public prayers; after which we were refreshed by several letters from England. Upon which I could not but observe how careful our Lord is to repay whatever we give up on His account. When I left England, I was chiefly afraid of two things: one, that I should never again have so many faithful friends as I left there; the other, that the spark of love which began to kindle in their hearts would cool and die away. But who knoweth the mercy and power of God? From ten friends I am awhile secluded, and He hath opened me a door into a whole Church.<sup>1</sup> And as to the very persons I left behind, His Spirit is gone forth so much the more, teaching them not to trust in man, but 'in Him that raised the dead, and calleth the things that are not as though they were.'

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carefully and strictly concerning the mission of the Moravian bishop. I will make what inquiries I can. A great deal depends upon the validity of ordinations.'<sup>2</sup>

*Sun. 29.*—He was at Mr. Quincy's house when Hird and Davison came from the ship with news of Oglethorpe. At ten he took boat, and, reading his Greek Testament all the way, came to the ship at 1.45. Charles was there. He had a long interview with Oglethorpe, read prayers, and expounded, 'all the sailors being affected.' 'Read letters from Oxon. They zealous.'

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<sup>1</sup> The first edition of the Journal, printed by S. and F. Farley, Bristol, and sold at the New School-House in the Horse-Fair, has a different reading: 'From ten friends I am awhile secluded; and He hath opened me a door into the whole *Moravian Church*.' The name 'Moravian' is omitted in the edition of 1771 (*Works*, vol. xxvi. p. 123). Benson, in his edition of Wesley's *Works*, naturally and rightly follows the 1771 edition; and Jackson, in the edition which has been regarded as most accurately representing the original, follows Benson. There can be no doubt that the first edition in this

case reproduces what Wesley actually wrote. We must not press the number ten too far, as though it was intended to be a numerical return of the membership of the Holy Club in Oxford when Wesley left.

<sup>2</sup> Zinzendorf, who only a few weeks later came to London and took Lindsey House, near the Georgia offices, was even now feeling his way towards the official recognition of the English Moravians as a Church within the English Church. From this point of view a great deal undoubtedly did depend on the validity of ordinations.



About four, having taken leave of Mr. Spangenberg, who was the next morning to set out for Pennsylvania, I returned to Savannah.<sup>1</sup>

MARCH 1, *Mon.*—He gave Oglethorpe the whole morning, writing for him. At 3.30 'Mrs. Hawkins came, conversed; she deeply melancholy. She would not speak. In despair! got no good.' The evening devotional hour with Charles and Delamotte was spent partly in prayer for this unhappy woman. He saw her husband, and again prayed for her. At nine he spent one hour in prayer for her and in meditation on her case. 'O Jesu! βοήθει! the cross.'

Then he conversed with Hird, and from him went to talk the matter over with Oglethorpe, but 'he cannot guess.' It was nearly midnight before his reflections on this mystery of despair and hysteria ceased.

*Tues. 2.*—'Sung; prayed for Mrs. Hawkins'—this is the first line in the Diary for the day. He then gave an hour to Delamotte and the Bible, before reading prayers and expounding below. One cannot read the Second Lesson for the day—Luke xiii., which he expounded—without some understanding of the hope that this woman, whom Satan had bound, might be loosed. At this point we find an entry, abbreviated and partially cryptic:

8. Wrote conference with Mrs Hawkins.

9. Conversed with her. She deeply afflicted.

All the morning he is either conversing seriously with her, or, in company with devout friends, is praying for her. At one he interests Oglethorpe and his company in the case. After dinner he consults Spangenberg, who has come from Savannah to bid Wesley farewell: he 'hopes for her.' The last entry for the day is:

9. Conversed with Mrs Hawkins and Mrs Welch. Mrs Hawkins in a fever, mild but utterly inconsolable. Took solemn leave.

The whole day he sums up in a sentence: 'Mrs Hawkins inconsolable.'

The Diary page for the day following completes the present phase of this extraordinary unveiling of Wesley's pastoral conscience.

*Wed. 3.*—He rose at 3.30 and dressed for the day—one of the long days of his life—a day of nineteen hours, without either food or sleep; a day of intense thought and emotion. We can picture him with Delamotte in the cabin—clean and neat and well-appointed. He prayed for Mrs. Hawkins. At four 'wrote second conference.' At five he talked, sang, prayed, fasted; at six conversed with Mrs. Hawkins: 'She sad but mild. I hope for her.' At seven conversed. 'They took boat. Prayed for them. She softened.' At eight for half an hour he prayed for them; then meditated. But at nine he was once more a

<sup>1</sup> The printed Journal unintentionally conveys the impression that he returned to Savannah on the Sunday night. The

Diary shows that he slept on board, and indeed continued in attendance on Oglethorpe until 4 o'clock on Wed. Mar. 3.

man of action. He sat down to write his Journal, and for nearly five hours continued the task.

It must be remembered that he was frank to a fault. He concealed nothing, told Mrs. Hawkins all the faults he himself and others saw. He consulted every person who, conceivably, might help—her husband, Oglethorpe, Spangenberg, Nitschmann, Charles, Delamotte, even Hird and Brownfield. The whole circle of friends and acquaintances knew everything that was going on. Anxious not to deceive himself, and always conscious of his responsibility to the 'Company' in Oxford and London who confided in his leadership, he committed the case from day to day to the cold dry light of 'Account,' 'Statement,' 'Conference,' 'Journal,' 'Diary.' And half a century afterwards he deliberately left the 'open' record of this strange story, without further comment, to the judgement of posterity.

What Charles thought and suffered during this time may be gathered from his Journal (see new edition in Finsbury Library, published by R. Culley). John also suffered, but he was sustained by the exaltation of the mystic. His semi-cryptic ejaculations would lead to the suspicion that he believed himself, in some humble measure, to be knowing the fellowship of his Lord's sufferings—in the reproaches of angry friends enduring the cross, and, by the grace of God, despising the shame.

The *Simmonds* had now fulfilled her commission. The married people, in four boats, with Oglethorpe in command (though he did not actually leave until the day following) and his secretary, Charles Wesley, in one of the boats, proceeded by the coast route to Frederica, where fifty unmarried English immigrants were building palmetto huts under the direction of Captain Hermsdorf, with Benjamin Ingham as spiritual director. Spangenberg was now on his way to Pennsylvania, leaving Nitschmann in charge of the Moravian church in Savannah, with instructions to preside over the solemn ceremony of choosing and ordaining a bishop.

One cannot resist the conviction that, if the Wesleys and Ingham had held appointments as sharply defined as was the status of Nitschmann, much of the misunderstanding that subsequently arose would have been avoided. Trouble came from the mixed and provisional character of the appointments. John Wesley went to Georgia as missionary to the Indians, and found himself in charge of a pastorate—English, Spanish, French, Hebrew, German. Charles Wesley went as 'Secretary for Indian Affairs,' and found himself in charge of a nondescript parish. Ingham went as missionary to the Indians, and never really found his sphere, but was driven hither and thither by the exigencies of Frederica and Savannah, and by the restlessness of his own spirit. The people were heterogeneous—saintly Moravians and Saltzburghers, and British Adullamites from debtor-prisons, with a sprinkling of adventurous English gentlemen, Scotch Highlanders, and worthy artisans, who had nothing in common. The colonies were scattered in small groups over a wide area, without roads or other means of intercommunication, except by dangerous coasting or equally perilous river navigation. The chief men of the new colony were as incongruous as the people they strove to govern or

teach. Oglethorpe, the Wesleys, Ingham, Hermsdorf, Horton, Von Reck, Nitschmann, Anton Seifart, Causton, Christie, the planters; and men like Reed, Hird, and Brownfield, of inferior social standing but of considerable influence,—they were all imperfectly trained, and either undisciplined, or, as in the case of the Wesleys, over-disciplined. They lacked the drill, the common purpose, the *esprit de corps*, that bring men into line, and that make government by semi-democratic means both efficient and just. Little wonder that difficulties arose, and frequent misunderstandings.

But our chief concern here is with the effect produced in the development of John Wesley. Was it not in part as the result of lessons learned amidst the confusions and failures of Georgia that he became one of the most capable leaders and rulers the Church has ever known?

Both Journal and Diary now bring us to Wesley's ministry in Georgia. It was a ministry partly settled and parochial, partly itinerant and episcopal. It was a ministry of lofty purposes and great conceptions of duty; a ministry that gathered its ideals from the earliest centuries of church history; a ministry priestly and dominant, yet severely controlled by law, rule, usage, and by a remorseless pursuit of duty—always remorseless save when, in spite of himself, the priest became a man, and the pathway was traversed by affection and human weakness. Underneath the steel-bound system there throbbed a heart that craved to give and receive sympathy. The gentleness that eventually made him great became his weakness. Blinded by tears, eyes that ordinarily could read men through and through failed. He could not discern spirits. He misread the simplest facts. A shrewd observer, for a while he became the sport of fools and hypocrites. But this also was training, painful to a proud man, but salutary, for by the things he suffered was he perfected for the ministry of the future.

One other fact has to be remembered as we study the Georgia Journal. Wesley was still in one of the lower classes of the school of Christian doctrine. As yet he knew only enough to bring him into a great and holy bondage. He had still to learn the truth that makes men free. He was in Damascus, in the street that is called Straight, waiting for the coming of Ananias and the word of full release.

*Thur. 4.*—He had hitherto been a visitor in Savannah, coming and going between town and ship. Even now, so long as Mr. Quincy remained in the parsonage, he was not fully installed as minister of the parish with full control. He still lodged with the Moravians, and to some extent shared their life. There was no church in the town, though the Trustees had set apart a lot for the purpose, and held ever-increasing funds for the erection of a building. The intention was not carried out during Wesley's time. The court-house served as church—possibly also as school-house—except when the magistrates' court was in session, or when it was required for Indian conferences or other state functions. The fact that the community was small—probably never numbering, in Wesley's time, more than a thousand souls—and that offices, titles, and pomp of authority were absurdly magnified, must not be allowed to mislead the student. To the Chief Magistrate, the



MARCH 6, *Sat.*—I had a long conversation with John Reinier, the son of a gentleman, who, being driven out of France on account of his religion, settled at Vevey, in Switzerland, and

Recorder, the Grand Jurymen, and also to Wesley and his friends, it was all real. It represented the majesty of British rule and justice and order. Neither in Georgia nor in England did John Wesley ever ridicule authority. He arrayed himself in his Oxford robes when he interviewed the 'king' of a petty Indian tribe, and he never belittled the dignity and legitimate power of Oglethorpe or Causton, Christie or Horton.

The first Thursday in March was the beginning of his new parochial life. It began with a 'sharp frost.' He and Delamotte were with the Germans. They had pleasant intercourse with Bishop Nitschmann. Wesley had serious conversation with Frazer, who was 'affected.' He enlisted the prayers of the Germans on behalf of Mrs. Hawkins, whom most of them knew. He read Tauler's *Life*, and in the afternoon another *Life* that produced upon his mind an impression that lasted far on into old age—the *Life of Boehm*, chaplain to Prince George of Denmark, and secretary to Queen Anne (*Works*, vol. xii. pp. 288 and 431). It was immediately after reading this biography that he 'began to visit the parish.' In the evening he commenced a third book—Ludolf. Outside the circle of German friends he now had no comrade in the place, except Delamotte. It comforts him to know that Delamotte is again 'open and friendly.'

*Fri. 5.*—Early this morning he began a work which at first startles—'Revised Prayer-book, talked, conversed, reflected; revised Common Prayer-book. Prayed, sang. Looked over Psalm-book.' This filled the morning till noon. The revision of the Book of Common Prayer probably did not extend beyond the slight alterations incident to changes in the royal family and to the circumstances in which he found himself. They were such revisions as may now be read, in John Wesley's handwriting, in the great Prayer-book at Wroot. Also he may have marked the book according to that scheme of daily prayers which he instituted in Savannah, on the authority of the early Church, and which became one of the grounds of action against him later in the magistrates' court. The Psalm-book, we may assume, was the 'New Version' by Tate and Brady, which had been authorized for nearly forty years. This he spent three hours in looking over. One would like to know the result of his reading. It could scarcely have been flattering to the New Version; otherwise when, nine months later, he sent his first collection of psalms and hymns to the press, he would have gone to Tate and Brady rather than to Isaac Watts for the first ten metrical psalms in the new book.

The rest of the day he gave to Tauler and Ludolf, except an evening hour which he spent at Causton's with Bishop Nitschmann.

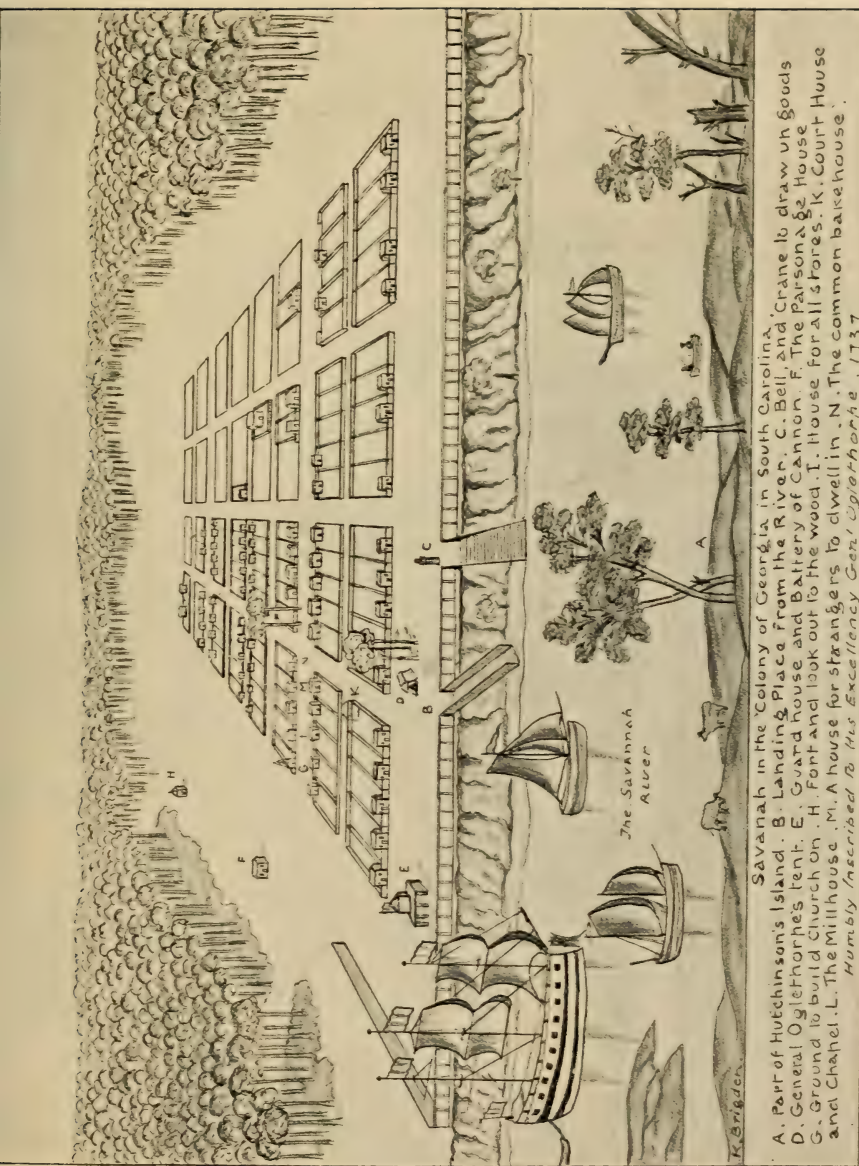
*Sat. 6.*—At 5.15 he began to teach the Germans English. He finished Ludolf, and devoted four hours and a half to the writing of his Journal.

practised physic there. His father died while he was a child. Some years after, he told his mother he was desirous to leave Switzerland, and to retire into some other country, where he might be free from the temptations which he could not avoid there. When her consent was at length obtained, he agreed with a master of a vessel, with whom he went to Holland by land, thence to England, and from England to Pennsylvania. He was provided with money, books, and drugs, intending to follow his father's profession. But no sooner was he come to Philadelphia, than the captain, who had borrowed his money before, instead of repaying it, demanded the full pay for his passage, and under that pretence seized on all his effects. He then left him in a strange country, where he could not speak to be understood, without necessaries, money, or friends. In this condition he thought it best to sell himself for a servant, which he accordingly did for seven years. When about five were expired, he fell sick of a lingering illness, which made him useless to his master; who, after it had continued half a year, would not keep him any longer, but turned him out to shift for himself. He first tried to mend shoes; but soon after joined himself to some French Protestants, and learned to make buttons. He then went and lived with an Anabaptist; but soon after, hearing an account of the Moravians in Georgia, walked from Pennsylvania thither, where he found the rest which he had so long sought in vain.

*Sun. 7.*—I entered upon my ministry at Savannah by preaching on the Epistle for the day, being the 13th of the first of Corinthians. In the Second Lesson (Luke xviii.) was our Lord's prediction of the treatment which He Himself (and

After dinner he talked or read German with Töltschig, and began to read Drake with John (probably Reinier, whose story he to-day wrote), sang with Delamotte, sang at Mr. Quincy's, buried a child, revised his Journal, and ended the day with more singing; for few things in these Georgia days are more emphasized than the singing with which he cheered his loneliness and inspired his faith.

*Sun. 7.*—It was Quinquagesima Sunday. The appointed Lessons for the morning were Gen. ix. to ver. 20, and Luke xviii.: the Epistle, from which he preached, 1 Cor. xiii.; the Gospel, Luke xviii., ver. 31 to the end. The sermon Wesley preached on this first Sunday morning in Savannah is printed in the Fifth Series, No. 139, and is entitled, 'On Love.' The date—'Preached at Savannah, Feb. 20, 1736'—is incorrect.



Savannah in the Colony of Georgia in South Carolina.  
 A. Part of Hutchinson's Island. B. Landing Place from the River. C. Bell, and Crane to draw up Goods  
 D. General Oglethorpe's tent. E. Guard house and Battery of Cannon. F. The Parsonage House  
 G. Ground to build Church on. H. Fort and look out to the wood. I. House for all stores. K. Court House  
 and Chapel. L. The Millhouse. M. A house for strangers to dwell in. N. The common bakehouse.  
 Humbly Inscribed to His Excellency Genl Oglethorpe. 1737.

SAVANNAH IN WESLEY'S DAY.

[From a print, circ. 1737]





consequently His followers) was to meet with from the world ; and His gracious promise to those who are content, *nudi nudum Christum sequi*<sup>1</sup>: 'Verily I say unto you, There is no man that hath left houses, or friends, or brethren, or wife, or children for the kingdom of God's sake, who shall not receive manifold more in this present time, and in the world to come life everlasting.'<sup>2</sup>

Yet, notwithstanding these plain declarations of our Lord, notwithstanding my own repeated experience, notwithstanding the experience of all the sincere followers of Christ whom I have ever talked with, read or heard of ; nay, and the reason of the thing evincing to a demonstration that all who love not the light must hate Him who is continually labouring to pour it in upon them ; I do here bear witness against myself, that when I saw the number of people crowding into the church, the deep attention with which they received the word, and the seriousness that afterwards sat on all their faces, I could scarce refrain from giving the lie to experience and reason and Scripture all together. I could hardly believe that the greater, the far greater part of this attentive, serious people would hereafter trample under foot that word, and say all manner of evil falsely of him that spake it. Oh, who can believe what their heart abhors ? Jesus, Master, have mercy on us ! Let us love Thy cross ; then shall we believe, 'if we suffer with Thee, we shall also reign with Thee !'<sup>3</sup>

It should be March 7. It is the sermon in which he describes a comfortable death—'a calm passage out of life, full of even, rational peace and joy,' giving as examples the death of his father at Epworth and the 'recent death of a good soldier of Jesus Christ at Savannah.' Mr. Brownfield and Von Reck heard the sermon, and were 'affected.' The Mr. Christie here named was the Recorder who afterwards figured in the trial. The Second Lesson—noted in the Diary as well as the Journal—was all the more impressive because, in part, it coincided with the Gospel for the day.

<sup>1</sup> 'Naked to follow a naked Christ.' In early editions no translation is given. 'The reference is to what may be called the motto of St. Francis of Assisi: "He (the Duke of Gandia) took for his ideal that of St. Francesco d'Assisi: 'Nudus nudum Christum sequens' '" (*Chronicles of the House of Borgia*, p. 312. See

also *antea*, p. 12.'—*W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 24).

<sup>2</sup> The text is quoted from memory, and not quite correctly. The 1st and 2nd (Benson's) edition are as above.

<sup>3</sup> This paragraph is obviously an insertion made at a later date. Such insertions are not infrequent.

This evening one of the Moravians,<sup>1</sup> who had been long ill of a consumption, found himself much worse. On my mentioning it to Bishop Nitschmann, he smiled, and said, 'He will soon be well; he is ready for the Bridegroom.'

In the afternoon Mr. Quincy read prayers and preached. Mr. Brownfield and Mr. Christie called. He visited Mr. Darn, who was sick, conversed with Mr. Causton, and wrote his Journal. 'All the church serious,' he reports.

*Mon. 8.*—This morning, at six, he read prayers 'at the church'; that is to say, in the building used as a church, and not in a private house. Four persons were present. For two hours he wrote his Journal. He saw Mr. Quincy repeatedly, visited Francke, who died the same afternoon, 'sorted things,' read Drake's *Anatomy* alone and with 'John.' At seven Francke was buried. In Savannah a burial took place on the day of death.

*Tues. 9.*—He read prayers and expounded to a congregation of twenty. After an hour with German and the Greek Testament, he set out, in company with Mr. Quincy, Delamotte, Nitschmann, and Anton [Seifart] the new bishop, to visit Mrs. Musgrove at the Cowpen, and to see the ground on which the promised house was to be built. The chief merit of the site was its nearness to Mrs. Musgrove and to the Creek Indians.

*Wed. 10.*—The first day of Lent was observed strictly. There is no indication of a meal from four in the morning until night. Twice he read prayers and preached, thirty being present on each occasion. He conversed seriously with several, spent two hours with Delamotte and the Greek Testament, and sang alone and with 'John.'<sup>2</sup>

*Thur. 11.*—Von Reck brought Appee, a notorious young Dutchman, to see Wesley (C. Wesley's Journal, new edition, p. 50). It is noted that in serious conversation 'Mr. Appee was struck!' The man really was a scoundrel, who imposed upon the Wesleys, and even upon Oglethorpe. John Wesley, writing to his mother (March 18), quotes him as a shining example for 'my brother Hooper.' 'May the good God give him the same zeal for holiness which He has given to a young gentleman of Rotterdam, who was with me

<sup>1</sup> In the first edition the name 'Moravians' is used. In this case the earlier reading is probably correct. It is the Moravian type of religion that produces so noteworthy an effect; at this date Wesley greatly admired Moravianism. Francke probably was the sick man referred to.

<sup>2</sup> Several Johns figure in this section of the story—John Brownfield (who was appointed to assist him at the landing), John Bradley, John Desbrough (with whom he had an interview after the service on Wednesday), and John Reinier, the Huguenot doctor, whose story he inserted in the Journal (p. 175). All these, except the last, are differentiated by

surnames. In connexion with Francke's illness and death Wesley read Drake's *Anatomy* with 'John.' The suggestion is that John Reinier is the John here and elsewhere named, and that Wesley was assisting his studies with a view to his rehabilitation as a doctor—possibly also with the hope that he might establish a practice in the colony. This suggestion accounts for the fact that a man sufficiently important to have his story told in the Journal is not so much as named (apparently) in the Diary. His work for Reinier and his Oxford study of Dr. Cheyne laid the foundation of *Primitive Physic* (1747).



last night.' On the occasion referred to Wesley recognized Appee as 'of our Company.' At one time it was intended to propose him to the Trustees as Charles's successor in the secretaryship.

Von Reck and Appee left. The reading of Drake's *Anatomy* with 'John' and the Bible with Nitschmann and his friends, pastoral visits, and frequent readings in the Greek Testament filled so much of the day as was not required for the paramount duty of 'close' Lenten exposition.

*Fri. 12.*—The days were lengthening. Winter storms were past. Woods and gardens were breaking into life. At sunrise the German garden<sup>1</sup> was a pleasant retreat. There, for forty minutes, he prayed and meditated and read his Greek Testament, sometimes alone and sometimes with his Moravian friends. And through all the early hours he filled the garden with song. It was a fast-day, and there is no trace of either dinner or supper; the only meal was 'bread-and-butter' at nine. At the same time it was a day of song and of high religious festivity. He robed, read prayers, expounded, and 'baptized John Bradley<sup>2</sup> by immersion.' After evening prayers he wrote to 'Boltzius<sup>3</sup> and Gronau.'

*Sat. 13.*—On this day, and not on March 12, as Whitehead and other biographers say, he first saw Miss Sophy; also Miss Fosset<sup>4</sup> (Wesley's spelling, though probably phonetic, is here preserved).

<sup>1</sup> The letter 'G' is frequently and variously used—for 'God,' 'German,' and 'garden.' Here, standing for 'garden,' it recalls Wesley's life-long love of gardening—a love that played its part both at Savannah and Frederica, as it had already done at Wroot and Stanton, and as it was destined in the near future to do at Kingswood.

<sup>2</sup> John Bradley was sufficiently well-to-do to keep men servants, i.e. farm-labourers, &c. One of these, Peter Wright, was Wesley's sick parishioner. At this time there were no negro slaves in Georgia. The Trustees refused to sanction their introduction. The Wesleys' contact with coloured slavery was during their visits to South Carolina. In Georgia, however, the Trustees could not prevent a system of apprenticeship, or voluntary self-sale, or self-hiring for a term of years; and this led to abuses only less frightful than those which prevailed on the plantations of Carolina and Florida, where negro slaves worked. Wesley's protests against the injustice and cruelty perpetrated on hired servants excited the animosity of men like Captain Williams. John Bradley was a better type of master.

<sup>3</sup> Boltzius (Rev. John Martin Bolzius, or Boltzius) and Gronau were ministers of the Saltzburghers, trained at Halle under Francke. Wesley had a profound regard for their piety and devotion; but his present bondage to ecclesiasticism compelled him to refuse the Sacrament of Holy Communion to Boltzius (cf. *Journal*, Sept. 1749).

<sup>4</sup> These ladies, young, intelligent, attractive, and inclined towards a devout life, influenced Wesley not altogether for good, nor yet altogether for evil. Miss Fosset was simply a friend and pupil—nothing more. He had a great regard for her, as he had also for two other Savannah ladies whose names will presently appear. Later he married Miss Fosset to Mr. Weston, a gentleman colonist in Frederica.

Miss Sophia Christiana Hopkey was niece to Mrs. Causton, of whom we know nothing, except what can be gleaned from this *Journal*. Her husband was a man of bad reputation both before and after his arrival in Georgia. According to *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia*, published in 1741, by a number of colonists living on the spot, and all of them unfriendly to

*Sun.* 14.—Having before given notice of my design to do so, every Sunday and holiday, according to the rules of our Church, I administered the Holy Communion to eighteen persons. Which of these will endure to the end?

It was at nine o'clock on Saturday morning he saw the ladies at Mr. Causton's. He does not seem to have been nearly so much impressed by them as he was the same morning by Von Reck's conversation about Ebenezer, the home of the heroic Saltzburghers, where Boltzius and Gronau had gone and Von Reck himself was going. His note for the day is:

P. Von Reck and Brownfield open.

He spent much time during the day in visiting, reading the Greek Testament, and writing to Count Zinzendorf and Boltzius.

Two years later, in his rooms at Lincoln College, when writing a chapter of intense autobiographical interest, he underscored March 13, 1736, as one of the momentous days of his life.

*Sun.* 14.—At four he was conversing seriously with Nitschmann, at five transcribing his letter to Zinzendorf. At eight he wrote to Varanese and Mrs. Skinner.<sup>1</sup>

It was in the garden, with Kempis in hand, that he meditated in preparation for the Sunday morning solemnity. He read prayers, Mr. Quincy preached, and together they administered the Eucharist to eighteen communicants, among whom were Miss Sophy and Miss Fosset. They were 'affected'; Miss Fosset, he notes, was 'much affected.'

Wesley' (Tyerman's *Life and Times of Wesley*, i. pp. 143-6), Causton left England in disgrace, having practised a fraud upon the public revenue. In Oct. 1738 he was turned out of all his offices in Savannah, and his certified accounts were refused by the Trustees as incorrect. Miss Sophy was not more than eighteen years of age. Her home had no protective influence, except the presence of her aunt. She was harassed by a masterful and, as the event proved, unprincipled lover. With few exceptions, the people among whom she lived, both in Savannah and Frederica, were not helpful to a young girl. For the first time she now fell under the influence of a very intense form of religion. Her minister was unmarried, thirty-three years of age, an ascetic, a gentleman, a scholar, a singularly attractive and susceptible personality. At first, and for many weeks subsequently, there was no thought on either side of love. Wesley, for the time being,

until he could become a missionary, was pastor and tutor. The Diary shows that all his friends were treated as pupils. He uses for them the letter which in his Oxford Diaries stands for pupils. His conception of duty was that, without ceasing, he must pray and care for those he taught. Obviously there was danger in the relationship. And the danger was all the greater because the tutor curate, in spite of all his striving, had not yet succeeded in destroying his human nature.

<sup>1</sup> They are both included in the list of correspondents on one of the last pages of the second Georgia Diary. The list begins with 'M M' (my mother), and includes all his sisters, his brother Samuel, Clayton, Rivington, 'Aspasia' (Mrs. Delany), 'Selima' (Anne Granville), and many others. There is abundant evidence that Wesley, in devoting himself to missionary work, did not cut himself adrift from the friendships of his former life.

*Mon.* 15.—Mr. Quincy going for Carolina, I removed into the minister's house. It is large enough for a larger family than ours, and has many conveniences, besides a good garden. I could not but reflect on the well-known epigram :

Ἀγρὸς Ἀχαιμενίδου γενόμεν ποτέ· νῦν δὲ Μενίππου.<sup>1</sup>

How short a time will it be before its present possessor is removed, perhaps to be no more seen !<sup>2</sup>

*Mon.* 15.—He parted with Mr. Quincy, but not finally. By eight o'clock, when his 'companion [Delamotte] came,' he was in possession of the wooden parsonage, with its ample space, its many 'conveniences,' and its 'good garden.' At nine he (Quincy) went. Forthwith the new tenant began to place his 'books' and to 'clean things' in the house. Everything, except reading prayers, expounding, and an hour for singing, gave place to 'cleaning, sorting, and business in the house.' Wesley's habits of scrupulous neatness were already formed.

For twelve days we are entirely dependent upon the Diary.

*Tues.* 16.—He had not found it convenient to sleep at home. Therefore he is still praying and singing with the Germans. At seven he returned 'home.' His first business was with 'John.' He then gave an hour to his Journal and interviewed James Bett[an]y of the Uchee town ; they conversed together, and James was 'seriously affected.' In the garden he read tracts. At 12.45 he dined, read German with them, sorted seeds, and was at work in the garden when Von Reck and Mr. Gronau called. He then visited Mrs. Darn, and, returning to the garden, read tracts for another hour. Business, Greek Testament, and a burial claimed him. After evening prayers and exposition he sang with the Germans, and was so engaged when his friends Döber and Töltschig came, with whom he had a quiet 'talk within.' The same night he began Echard's *Ecclesiastical History*. His first day of work, after the ordering of his house, began at four in the morning and ended at ten in the evening. But he and Delamotte seem still to have slept with the Germans, whom they were loth to leave.

<sup>1</sup> The quotation is from Lucian, Epigr. 13. In full the passage reads thus :

Ἀγρὸς Ἀχαιμενίδου γενόμεν ποτέ· νῦν δὲ Μενίππου,

Καὶ πάλιν ἐξ ἑτέρου βήσομαι εἰς ἕτερον.

Καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνος ἔχειν μέ ποτ' ᾤετο, καὶ πάλιν οὗτος

Οἴεται, εἰμι δ' ὅλως οὐδένος, ἀλλὰ Τύχης.

'I was once the estate of Achaemenides, but now am the property of Menippus ; and again from the one I shall go to the other. For he once thought he had

me, and again this one thinks so ; but in fact I belong to nobody at all, but only to Fortune.' Cf. 'Nunc mihi, nunc alii benigna.'—Hor. *Od.* iii. 29, 52. (*W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 24.)

Wesley's quotation might be engraved above the door of every 'Itinerant Methodist Preacher's' circuit-house.

<sup>2</sup> In the first edition this sentence is printed in italics, the printer assuming it to be a translation of the Greek quotation—one of many indications that Wesley did not read the proofs.



Wed. 17.—The Diary shows that Delamotte was with him at 4.30, and that at five he was with the Germans during their early morning prayers.<sup>1</sup>

An hour later he is 'at home on business.' He unpacks books and sorts them. It is the Wednesday fast.<sup>2</sup>

On this occasion he broke his fast on 'bread-and-butter' between eight and nine o'clock, and fasted absolutely for the rest of the day. So also on Friday, March 12, where the entry is even plainer:

9. Greek Testament; bread-and-butter; dressed;

followed by prayers, exposition, and a solemn baptismal service; but it is a dinnerless, supperless day.

He wrote to-day to Rivington, who a year before had published the Wesley edition of Thomas à Kempis's *De Imitatione Christi*, and was now engaged on a volume of poems by his brother Samuel. He then robed, read the chapters appointed for the day, prayed, sang a hymn, said the Creed and the Collects 1, 2, 3, 4, i.e. the Lord's Prayer, the Collect for the 1st Sunday in Lent, and the Collects for Peace and Grace.<sup>3</sup>

He wrote letters to Mr. Vernon, to 'Sister Nancy,' to Salmon (who hoped to have joined the mission), and to 'Ilif.' In the garden he read tracts, and had a long, close, and, as he hoped, satisfactory interview with Mr. Appee, partly indoors and partly in the garden. He notes him as 'in our Company'; from which we may infer that he was admitted to the fellowship of the Holy Club. This accounts for Charles Wesley's intimacy with him up to the date of their sailing for England. It was not until they were on shipboard that this unscrupulous Dutchman 'laid aside the mask.' The story may be read in Charles Wesley's Journal, August 1, 1736.

Thur. 18.—The day, which began at five and ended at ten, is a fair specimen of his everyday life at this time. He prayed with Delamotte and sang with the Germans; read prayers and expounded in the court-house,

<sup>1</sup> The letters 'pp' are variously used. Ordinarily, as Richard Green surmised (*W.H.S.* vol. i. pp. 78-82), they mean 'private prayer'; but at times they are used for 'public prayer,' or, as here seems probable, for 'prayers' in the plural. In doubtful cases the context and a variety of circumstances familiar to the translator, who has worked through volumes of notes in shorthand and cipher, determine the interpretation.

<sup>2</sup> He does not seem to have had any inflexible rule governing the manner in which the Wednesday and Friday Fasts of the Holy Club were to be observed. His practice varied. Once, as we shall presently see, he sanctioned a feast on a fast-day. Very occasionally he kept an absolute fast. More frequently than not he dined, but some hours later

than usual. Sometimes he breakfasted or dined on 'bread.'

<sup>3</sup> If the letters 'tb' mean 'tune-book,' the reference may be either to the English Psalm-book which he had revised for use in public worship, or to the German *Gesang-Buch*; if the latter, it would be introduced for the sake of Germans in the congregation. Both books had 'tunes annexed.' Other suggestions are (1) that the letters 'tb' are cipher for 'sc' (second chapter, or lesson, always selected for morning and evening exposition); the meaning of 'tb, x' would in that case be 'expounded the Second Lesson': or (2) that they mean 'Tate and Brady,' the metrical version then slowly making its way in the English Church to the exclusion of the Sternhold and Hopkins version.

walked with Miss Sophy and Miss Fosset, conversing. He breakfasted with the Germans; conversed; 'began to drink sassafras'; wrote to 'my mother,<sup>1</sup> brother Samuel, Sister Kezia, and Sister Lambert'; to Mr. Burton and Brown; read tracts, prayed, wrote Diary, dined; Bible-reading with Germans. In talk with John Brownfield; Drake's *Anatomy* with John [Reinier]; between three and six he read tracts, worked in his garden, meditated, and prayed with Delamotte. He then supped, read Echard, read prayers and expounded among his own people, went to the Germans' garden, meditated whilst they sang; again read Echard, prayed, and ended a quiet day.

*Fri.* 19.—It was a fast-day. His only meal was breakfast with the Germans. At 4.45 he married John Brownfield (to whom does not appear), and read Echard. At home, read tracts, and wrote letters to Wogan, R. Wood, Clayton; read Psalms with the Germans, saw them dissect Rusch's body and bury it, and heard them sing at the grave. Appee, who also was present, became quite serious. The singing of the Germans at the burial he twice notes. Both their psalms and psalm-tunes impressed him.

*Sat.* 20.—To-day he wrote to his old friends, Horne, Broughton, Morgan, and Sally Andrews; also to Mrs. Musgrove, who later in the day came and was 'both serious and open.' Mr. Causton seems to have given him letters from Oglethorpe. He had conversation with a Dr. Tailfer 'of episcopacy.' When he had gone, Wesley took Echard down the garden and meditated. He notes with satisfaction that Dr. Tailfer was serious, and that the boatmen were serious also.<sup>2</sup> His treatment of Echard's *Ecclesiastical History* during these days is characteristic. Whenever he obtained possession of a book that for any reason appealed to him, he read it at every available moment, introduced it to his friends and parishioners, and exhausted it. In Georgia his reading was as thorough as in Oxford.

*Sun.* 21.—He and Delamotte still slept with the Germans. Wesley shared their early devotions, and talked with them, as on this morning, even when he 'shaved.' At half-past seven he went home, and there, on this spring morning, we have a picture of him, in surplice and master's hood, walking in his garden, singing, reading his Greek Testament, meditating on the sermon he is going to preach, and praying. He preached twice, celebrated the Eucharist with fifteen communicants, catechized in the afternoon service, wrote to Oglethorpe and Charles, and ended the day with Echard, whom he read to the Germans, with frequent singing.

*Mon.* 22.—He wrote to Charles,<sup>3</sup> Mr. Sarney, also to the rector of Lincoln, and retreated to his garden and the tracts. After dinner he

<sup>1</sup> This was the well-known letter from which an extract is printed in the *Works*, vol. xii. No. XI.

<sup>2</sup> There seems to have been a more or less regular service of boats between Florida (or Fort Augustine) and Charleston, loosely organized by Indian traders, or on their behalf. These boats conveyed goods, passengers (like Dr. Tailfer),

and letters to and fro along the coast and up the rivers.

<sup>3</sup> The letter, given in Whitehead's *Life of John Wesley*, vol. ii. pp. 14-16, is typical of the correspondence between the brothers during this time when, as they knew, every letter sent by the precarious boat-service was liable to be intercepted and read: hence the odd

read the Bible with the Germans, interviewed Causton, and heard from Captain Watson 'strange things if true.' They no doubt referred to the treatment this gentleman had received from the magistrates. Wesley's insistence on justice in this case was one of the initiatory causes of the ill-feeling against him in high quarters.

At 4.30 he and Delamotte set out, talking together. In forty minutes they reached 'the plantation.' They remained fifty minutes, and, leaving at six, made the return journey in half an hour.<sup>1</sup>

At ten he ended the first volume of Echard.

*Tues.* 23.—Apparently his congregation at the six-o'clock exposition consisted only of Miss Sophy and Miss Fosset. They were 'very serious,' and came home with him; he conversed, and they were 'seriously affected.' He sorted books for two hours, and wrote to Sir John Phillips (one of the Trustees). At one he read the Bible with the Germans and talked with Töltschig; at two began Waterland on *The Importance of the Trinity*. Later he 'wrote a catalogue of the people from John Milledge.'<sup>2</sup> This occupied nearly two hours. In the garden he read Plato's *Phaedo* to Mr. Appee, conversing both casually and seriously with him, he being 'much affected.'

*Wed.* 24.—Waterland, Arndt (begun), and Echard were the books read to-day. On Waterland he was writing notes. One entry would be specially interesting if we could fully interpret its meaning:

7. Conversed, read prayers, expounded, prayed, sung, began Third Part with Germans, sung.

Probably the 'Third Part' refers to the *Gesang-Buch*, or 'psalms' or 'hymns' which, as we have seen, he was at this time studying with the Germans.

Mr. Causton and Vat came, the result being that he wrote to Von Reck, who probably was with the Saltzburghers at Ebenezer. At one he 'prayed for Mrs. Hawkins and Oglethorpe,' ended Waterland, and visited Mrs. Mellichamp, whose son, probably now in prison for some misde-

mixture of English, Latin, and Greek. Later, Byrom's shorthand was substituted. He refers to the 'promising' character of the work in Savannah, names the persons in Frederica who, he hopes, will be steadfast; in Latin refers to his sermons, a quarto Bible, a box, a 'book of discipline,' &c., in English and Greek advises Charles; adds, 'I conjure you, spare no time, no address, or pains to learn the true cause τῆς πάλαι δδύνης τῆς φίλης μου, of the former distress of my friend. Μὴ γένοιτο ἵνα οὕτω πάλιν ἀμαρτάνῃ, &c., God forbid that she should again in like manner miss the mark. Watch over her, keep her, as much as possible. Write to me how to write to her.' He

hints at the possibility of sending Ingham back so that he may visit Frederica, adding in Greek, *I stand in jeopardy every hour.*

<sup>1</sup> The Trustees made grants of land to certain communities and persons. The plantation visited by Wesley and Delamotte was doubtless the land (or 'lot') granted to the English Church. There is no evidence that any grant was made to Wesley personally (such, for instance, as was made to the Moravian bishop), his office as curate-in-charge being only temporary.

<sup>2</sup> For the population of Savannah and other Georgian settlements at this date, see Tyerman's *Wesley*, vol. i. p. 127.



*Sun.* 28.—A servant of Mr. Bradley's sent to desire to speak with me. Going to him, I found a young man ill, but perfectly sensible. He desired the rest to go out, and then said, 'On Thursday night, about eleven, being in bed, but broad awake, I heard one calling aloud, "Peter! Peter Wright!" and, looking up, the room was as light as day, and I saw a man in very bright clothes stand by the bed, who said, "Prepare yourself, for your end is nigh"; and then immediately all was dark as before.' I told him, 'The advice was good, whencesoever it came.' In a few days he recovered from his illness; his whole temper was changed as well as his life, and so continued to be till, after three or four weeks, he relapsed and died in peace.

meanour, wished to marry Miss Sophy. He also visited Mr. Darn, his sick parishioner, and later in the day Mrs. Darn, who was 'very serious.' As it was the vigil of the 'Annunciation of our Lady,' he fasted until three in the afternoon.

*Thur.* 25.—This being a holy-day, he preached a sermon and administered Holy Communion, but before doing so read with Delamotte the 'Office of our Blessed Saviour,' with the 'Invitatory' and 'Antiphon' for the Annunciation, in Hickes's *Reformed Devotions*. At intervals he 'wrote of the Moravians.' Visiting Mr. Dean, another sick parishioner, he prayed with him before reading the service for the Visitation of the Sick in the Book of Common Prayer.

*Fri.* 26.—He 'wrote for the Germans, sowed Seaward beans,' and 'transcribed in German.'

*Sat.* 27.—He resumed the reading of Greek with Delamotte and catechized the children. The strain of incessant work, with frequent and severe fastings, and without recreation, told upon him. In the evening he was 'quite faint.' Nevertheless he read prayers, expounded, and discussed lay baptism with the Germans.

*Sun.* 28.—Twice with Delamotte and once alone he read Hickes's *Devotions*. In the 'Office for Matins' this morning is a hymn of which more than one Wesley hymn is reminiscent.

Behold, we come, dear Lord, to Thee,  
And bow before Thy throne.

The phrases 'Whate'er we have, whate'er we are,' 'us in mercy spare,' and 'the mighty debt we owe,' are familiar. It was at the close of the afternoon catechizing and sermon that he 'began to visit Peter Wright.' He seized the opportunity to converse also with 'his companions.' 'He was affected: they serious.'<sup>1</sup>

*Mon.* 29.—He again visited Peter Wright, saw Causton, sealed letters, wrote to Mr. Hawkins, read Arndt, ending the book. After dinner he read

<sup>1</sup> Peter and his companions were the servants of John Bradley, whom Wesley baptized by immersion.

*Tues. 30.*—Mr. Ingham, coming from Frederica, brought me letters, pressing me to go thither. The next day Mr. Delamotte and I began to try whether life might not as well be sustained by one sort as by a variety of food.<sup>1</sup> We chose to make the experiment with bread; and were never more vigorous and

the Bible with the Germans, translating for them. Mr. Campbell came; 'he open and friendly.' To Mr. E. Philips he wrote on business. Singing with the Germans, and at nine praying, he closed the day—perhaps the last peaceful day he was destined to spend in Georgia. That night a terrific storm swept through the country. At three the next morning he writes:

Uninterrupted thunder and lightning.

*Tues. 30.*—At 7.30 Ingham arrived from Frederica. First they talked of Savannah, and then of Frederica, where the gravest disasters threatened the colony, its founder personally, and its pastor. On the news brought by Ingham, Wesley consulted Causton, and, later in the day, Töltschig and Seifart. In the midst of the tumult Mr. Vernon<sup>2</sup> came.

That Wesley fully appreciated the gravity of the situation<sup>3</sup> is apparent. The note at the foot of the page reads thus:

P Mr Ingham came.

Talk of! O God!

meditation: the cross.

<sup>1</sup> Once Oglethorpe, asking him to dine with him, said: 'Mr. Wesley, there are some here who have a wrong idea of your abstemiousness. They think you hold the eating of animal food and drinking wine to be unlawful. I beg that you will convince them of the contrary.' Henry Moore, who had the story from Wesley himself, adds, 'He resolved to do so. At table he took a little of both, but a fever was the consequence, which confined him for five days' (Moore's *Wesley*, vol. i. p. 311). In the first Oxford Diary the influence of Dr. Cheyne's theories on abstinence is seen, and this remained throughout life.

<sup>2</sup> This must evidently have been Mr. Vernon's son, who had been commended by his father to Wesley's special oversight. He seems to have sailed as midshipman or junior officer on H.M. *Hawk*, but it is quite likely that he went as an intending colonist with Ingham, or Charles, or Oglethorpe himself to Frederica, and had now returned to Wesley either with letters from Oglethorpe or because he was

dissatisfied with the prospects at Frederica.

<sup>3</sup> Charles Wesley wrote in his Journal (March 27): 'A thought came into my mind of sending Mr. Ingham for my brother. He was most reluctant to leave me in my trials, but was at last persuaded to go.' These 'trials' seriously affected the course of events and the ultimate destiny of the two brothers. The story was not fully known until, in 1862, Dr. Elijah Hoole partially deciphered the shorthand notes in Charles Wesley's Journal. The existence of these notes was known to Thomas Jackson when he published Charles's Journal; but to him, and probably to every one else who then had access to them, they were unintelligible, being written in Byrom's out-of-date shorthand. They revealed a conspiracy, accounting for a situation hitherto obscure. The veil was not intended as a protection for the Wesleys or for any member of the missionary party. They had nothing to fear from the fullest investigation, except pain for their chief and injury to a great national project. Charles wrote a *Voyage Journal*, as did

healthy than while we tasted nothing else. 'Blessed are the pure in heart'; who, whether they eat or drink, or whatever they do, have no end therein but to please God! To them all things are pure. Every creature is good to them, and nothing to be rejected. But let them who know and feel that they are not thus pure use every help, and remove every hindrance; always remembering, 'He that despiseth little things shall fall by little and little.'<sup>1</sup>

Ingham, and destroyed it, leaving only a condensed manuscript journal of what occurred after his landing at St. Simon's Island, whilst so much of the story as related to the gross attacks made upon Oglethorpe and the lies concerning himself he committed to the secrecy of shorthand. John Wesley knew all the details; but in his Journal he says next to nothing, and in his Diary surprisingly little. Attacks made upon himself by tongue or hand or gun he describes, but the underlying cause of all the tumult and peril he leaves unrecorded. In Frederica the brothers discussed the matter in lonely places beyond the overhearing of informers, and in Latin; if they afterwards had to write to one another about it, they employed the veil of Greek or shorthand. Surrounded as they were by 'spies and ruffians,' they were compelled to be cautious. It was only by the exercise of the greatest wisdom and courage that John saved his brother's life and cleared his reputation. In the process his own life was more than once attempted.

The scandal, in brief, was this. Two married women of some relative position in Frederica—they are called 'ladies' in Hoole's account—conspired to set Oglethorpe and the Wesleys at enmity. Their purpose was to destroy the disciplinary rule which prevented unbridled licence. The moral and religious influence of Benjamin Ingham and Charles Wesley (John was in Savannah, and had not as yet set foot in Frederica) accounted, they believed, for Oglethorpe's puritanic sternness. Mrs. Hawkins, in particular,

hated Charles Wesley. On the *Simmonds* he had seen through her hypocrisy, and had quarrelled with his brother for so persistently believing in the genuineness of her repentance, and because, in the teeth of warning and protest, he had admitted her to Holy Communion. A clever, strong-willed woman, she made Mrs. Welch—they were mutually jealous, each being in love with Oglethorpe—her tool. Together they thought to defy all authority, and turn Frederica into a paradise of lawlessness. The plot was simple. These women confessed to Charles Wesley that they had themselves committed adultery with Oglethorpe. Charles was simple enough to believe them. He thought their tale accounted for Oglethorpe's kindness to both during the voyage. They then went to Oglethorpe and informed him that Charles Wesley was circulating this preposterous story in Frederica—that Charles was slandering him and charging them with adultery. Strange to say, Oglethorpe also was simple enough to believe their slander against Charles. The result was that Charles, who at the time was hovering between life and death, was left to live the life or die the death of a dog, until John, summoned by Ingham, appeared upon the scene, and in six days cleared his brother from blame. Had he remained longer he must have learned more, and cleared Oglethorpe also, at all events of the vilest crimes alleged against him. See C. Wesley's Journal (new edition).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wisdom xii. 2, 10; also xi. 16.



*Wed. 31.*—From this day onward we are frequently reminded of the bread diet upon which the three companions had agreed to live. At four he prayed with Ingham and Delamotte, and at five they breakfasted on bread. He was conversing with Ingham when Causton called, and later Mrs. Mellichamp. The mother, no doubt, desired his good offices on behalf of her son. He wrote to John Martin Boltzius and Von Reck, both of whom by this time were in Ebenezer with the Saltzburghers. In the garden he read the Greek Testament and prayed for Charles. The news from Frederica and the preparations for departure dislocated the routine of the day. Morning prayer was postponed till ten; after the exposition he had a conversation with Miss Sophy and Miss Fosset. For more than two hours he wrote his Journal. At three he prayed with Ingham and dined on bread.<sup>1</sup> In the garden he ended Arndt, sang, prayed, wrote *Κύριε βοήθει*, spent the five-o'clock hour in singing, prayer, and meditation. At six he offered the fast-day prayer with Ingham and Delamotte, and walked with Ingham, conversing. A quiet time in the garden with his Greek Testament was his preparation for evening prayer and exposition. He ended the day with the Germans.

P. Wind against. Could not go.

*APRIL 1, Thur.*—Throughout the day the wind continued 'against us.' At any moment it might change. He was extremely anxious to commence this momentous journey. His brother, sick, lonely, and surrounded by enemies, was sleeping on the bare ground in a corner of Reed's hut, being refused, by name, so much as a board to lie upon. He might even now be dying. But hour after hour the wind remained in the same quarter. Yet, in the midst of deep anxiety, he continued his work—read Greek with Delamotte, expounded twice, revised his brother Samuel's Poems, the proofs of which had been sent by Rivington the publisher, wrote a German *Catalogue*, in the garden with Ingham read his Journal, and visited Miss Bovey. In the midst of his literary work for Samuel he prayed for Oglethorpe and Mrs. Hawkins, and an hour later for Mrs. Hawkins and Oglethorpe. In great trouble he walked, sang, and meditated, and wrote *Κύριε βοήθει*!

<sup>1</sup> This obviously was the beginning of a great fast, undertaken not capriciously or by way of mere experiment, but for some special purpose. The three members of 'our Company' shared it. Its special feature was not abstinence from food and drink for prolonged periods, but the living exclusively on one kind of food, and that the simplest—dry bread. It began in, but not with, Lent, and does not seem to have had more than an accidental connexion with the great church fast which was being religiously kept when this inner and quite extra-

ordinary fast commenced. A probable suggestion is that this fast, in its beginning, was connected with the trouble in Frederica—a veritable case, Wesley might well believe, of devil possession. Only by prayer and fasting could they hope to cast out these devils that threatened to destroy Charles, Oglethorpe, and a number of persons upon whom they had bestowed so much pastoral care on board the *Simmonds*. 'Mrs. Welch, that poor blockhead, joined with Mrs. Hawkins and the devil in their slanders' (Charles Wesley's Journal, new edition).

## FIRST FREDERICA JOURNAL

APRIL 4, *Sun.*—About four in the afternoon I set out for Frederica in a periagua—a sort of flat-bottomed barge. The next evening we anchored near Skidoway Island, where the water, at flood, was twelve or fourteen feet deep. I wrapped myself up from head to foot in a large cloak, to keep off the sand-flies, and lay down on the quarter-deck. Between one and two I waked under water, being so fast asleep that I did not find where I was till my mouth was full of it. Having left my cloak, I know not how, upon deck, I swam round to the other side of the periagua, where a boat was tied, and climbed up

*Fri. 2.*—The following entries for this day are of interest :

- 4 Prayed with them,  $\frac{1}{2}$  prayed for Oglethorpe and Mrs Hawkins.
- 5 Meditated, prayed for myself, Mr Oglethorpe, and Mrs Hawkins.
- 6 At home : garden, began *Solid Virtue*.
- 7 *Solid Virtue*. Wind fair.
- 8 Bread, conversed  $\frac{1}{2}$ , *Solid Virtue*. Yet they will not go.

The day passed in similar exercises. He dined late on bread. At noon, when the 'Company' met for prayer, they all 'prayed for Oglethorpe and Mrs. Hawkins.' *Solid Virtue* and Echard, which he ended, filled the unoccupied hours of the day.

*Sat. 3.*—This also was a day of irritating waiting. It was spent like the preceding day, except that, visiting Mr. Darn, he made his will, and 'at that hour the sick man began to mend.'

*Sun. 4.*—He was sleeping still with the Germans.

- 5 Meditated, sung with Germans, meditated.
- 6 Garden, Greek Testament, meditated.
- 7 Bread, conversed, dressed, on business.
- 8 Kempis 10, read prayers. Boat not ready.
- 11 Preached, Eucharist. 12, bread, prayed for Oglethorpe and Mrs Hawkins.
- 1 At the Bluff ; boat not ready, resting in the periauga [periagua].
- 3 Began *Light of the World*.
- 4 Set out with Delamotte and Mr Mackay. Thunder and lightning, flies !
- 5 Conversed, good time 6 ; bread, conversing, read prayers ; 8 to bed : hard rain.

*Mon. 5.*—At four he was 'praying for Mrs. Hawkins and Oglethorpe, and later, 'singing and reading *The Light of the World*,' until they came to Mr. Lacy's (at Thunderbolt), who walked with them. Here they would have had a pleasant time but for the flies ; 'all were civil to me.' He bathed, dined, had 'a good time' with a Mr. Delegal, conversed with two Swiss ; at four set out ; at five reached Skidoway, where, in the shallows, they anchored. Wesley slept on deck, and in the dead of the night fell overboard, but 'swum unhurt !'

The daily record of this prolonged and perilous voyage, nearly a hundred miles down the coast, in a clumsy-decked, flat-bottomed barge, is brief but

by the rope without any hurt more than wetting my clothes. Thou art the God of whom cometh salvation: Thou art the Lord by whom we escape death.

The winds were so contrary, that on *Saturday*, 10, we could but just get over against Doboy Island, twenty miles from Frederica, but could not possibly make the creek, having a strong tide also against us. Here we lay beating off till past one, when the lightning and rain, which we had long seen at a distance, drove down full upon us; till, after a quarter of an hour, the clouds parted, some passing on the right, and some on the left, leaving us a clear sky, and so strong a wind right after us as in two hours brought us to Frederica.

A little before we landed, I opened my Testament on these words: 'If God be for us, who can be against us?' Coming on shore, I found my brother exceeding weak, having been for

picturesque. He took with him his Greek Testament, Thomas à Kempis, *The Light of the World*, Psalm-books, Prayer-books, and a Bible. The wind was often contrary. Sometimes he lay on deck, tormented by flies, and sometimes on shore, with the ground for a bed and sky or trees for covering. Once he notes a storm. Anxious hours he whiled away by singing alternate verses with Delamotte. Once he read Parnell to Mackay, who 'fell asleep.' His prayers filled every interval. Their burden was 'for Oglethorpe and Mrs. Hawkins,' whom with scrupulous impartiality he names alternately. Once he prays for Ingham, left in charge at Savannah; and once for Savannah and Frederica. Charles he does not pray for—probably because he feared that he might already have escaped the sorrow and pain of life.

*Sat.* 10.—On this day, at half-past five in the afternoon, he arrived at Frederica. The day's events, though trifling and monotonous, are not without significance. The mere handwriting is eloquent of a boat or of the untoward conditions on land under which the entries had to be made. It is a rough, hasty, and non-departmental series of Diary jottings:

5. Private prayer, prayer [i.e. with Delamotte and others]; bread, conversed: 5.30. Greek Testament, sung: 7. conversed with Nowell [one of the passengers or crew]: 7.45. Greek Testament; conversed with them; Greek Testament, sung: 10 o'clock shaved: 10.15. Greek Testament, sung; dined, conversed: 12.30. in talk: 1. storm; conversed with Delamotte and company: 2. wind for us; dressed [it is characteristic that he 'shaved' and dressed for the landing]: 3.15. diary, on business: 4. meditated and prayed; conversed with soldier and company [either going to strengthen the small garrison at the fort Captain Hermsdorf was about to build, or as a military escort without which travel was not safe]: 5. opened Bible and Kempis [for texts as signs]; prayed for Oglethorpe, Mrs Hawkins and company: 5.30. at Frederica.

All this may be compared with the Journal. It helps us to realize vividly Wesley's condition of mind when he stepped on shore. What follows, also compared with the Journal, brings us at once face to face with the situation:



some time ill of a flux ; but he mended from the hour he saw me. This also hath God wrought !

*Sun. 11.*—I preached at the new store-house on the first verse of the Gospel for the day : ‘ Which of you convinceth Me of sin ? And if I say the truth, why do ye not believe Me ? ’ There was a large congregation, whom I endeavoured to convince of unbelief, by simply proposing the conditions of salvation as they are laid down in Scripture, and appealing to their own hearts whether they believed they could be saved on no other terms.

In every one of the six following days I had some fresh proofs of the absolute necessity of following that wise advice of the

5.30. Mr Oglethorpe came on board and received us with the utmost love : saluted Mrs Hawkins ; conversed with Charles of Frederica : 7. read prayers and expounded ; Mrs Hawkins there : 7.30. conversed with her ; she quite cold and reserved : 8.30. with Oglethorpe ; he quite open and friendly : 11. Horton came, friendly : 11.30. store-house, prayed. [At first he wrote ‘ guard-house ’ but erased ‘ guard ’ and substituted ‘ store. ’]

This was his sleeping-place for at least four of the six nights spent in Frederica.<sup>1</sup>

*Sun. 11.*—By five o’clock he was with Charles, who was waiting for him. After prayer he began to read Charles’s Diary. The people were ‘ all civil. ’ At eight he read prayers and expounded. Afterwards he had some talk with Mrs. Welch, and with Charles about her ; they were of one mind ; she was open. He returned to Reed’s hut, which was Charles’s home, and wrote his own Diary. At eleven Charles read prayers, and John preached the sermon on the Gospel for the 5th Sunday in Lent, to which he refers in the Journal. He administered Holy Communion and sang with Charles and Delamotte. ‘ Wrote conference with Mrs. Hawkins. ’ The rest of the day he spent with Charles and the Diary, and ‘ in talk with Horton, Mrs. Hawkins, and Oglethorpe. ’ With him also he sang. Between ten and eleven he retired with Delamotte to his sleeping-quarters in the ‘ guard-house, ’ as he calls it. His special notes for the day are :

P. Heard Charles’ diary ! ! ! !      Something like faith.  
All civil. How long ?  
Mrs Welch serious, open.

*Mon. 12.*—Omitting the usual devotional lines, private and public, those which relate to the scandal may be given :

- 8 Walked with Mrs Welch and talked of Mrs Hawkins ; she quite open.
- 10 Mr Oglethorpe called me into Mrs Hawkins’ tent ; talked ; he read private letters.
- 11 Wrote diary ; wrote conference with Mrs Welch ; Mrs Hawkins beat her boy.
- 3 Whilst Charles and Horton were together talking, Oglethorpe came from Mrs Hawkins ; very angry.
- 4 Walked with Mrs Welch, conversed, she quite open ! ! ! !

<sup>1</sup> It was as yet a small township of palmetto huts and tents. The store-house, guarded probably by constables or soldiers—for loose characters, wander-

ing Indians, and Spanish spies prowled around—was the church, and indeed the only place of meeting until Wesley himself, some months later, built a house.

apostle: 'Judge nothing before the time; until the Lord come, who will both bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts.'

The summary for the day illustrates Wesley's optimism:

P. Mrs Welch open! resolved to change.

Oglethorpe friendly, soft.

Horton soft, friendly, serious.

Oglethorpe came out of the house, very angry with her!

*Tues. 13.*—Charles is still reading his Diary, which must have been very much longer than his published Journal unless we are to suppose that it included the Voyage Diary now destroyed. John had some talk with Mr. Hawkins, who 'was very angry at Charles.' It was midnight before he lay down in the store-house. Except when writing 'Accounts' or praying, he spent the long day in vain attempts to unravel a tangle of lies and animosities, and in striving to make peace. It is evident that a trial was in prospect, but by whom threatened does not appear.

P. Mrs Hawkins civil;

Mrs Hawkins at prayers. She open and mild.

Mr Welch soft, open and affected.

Oglethorpe soft, open. O God, in Thy light let us see light!

Mrs Welch soft, open and affected.

Oglethorpe at prayers.

*Wed. 14.*—He wrote another account of a conference with Mrs. Hawkins. To this Charles refers in his Journal: 'APRIL 14, *Wed.*—By a relation my brother gave me of the late conference he had with her, I was, in spite of all I had seen and heard, half persuaded into a good opinion of Mrs. Hawkins. For the lasting honour of our sagacity be it written!' John, however, was beginning to waver in his belief as to Mrs. Welch's sincerity. The words 'dark' and 'dissembling' occur in connexion with her name.

P. Mrs Hawkins came to me at Mrs Welch's.

God will reveal all.

In the midst of these personal anxieties, public affairs became more and more gloomy. The Spaniards were threatening the colony. On the Monday night Charles had taken leave of Mr. Horton, Mr. Hermsdorf, and Major Richards, who were going, with thirty men, to build a fort over against the Spanish look-out, twelve leagues from Augustine.

*Thur. 15.*—He wrote an account of another conference, breakfasted at the lots, continued writing his account, paid a number of pastoral visits, had further futile interviews, and found no rest day or night for the sand-flies which were the plague of the island.

*Fri. 16.*<sup>1</sup>—The alternations of personal and public temperature are best illustrated by the summary:

P. Mrs Robinson and Phoebe Hird affected. News of the Spaniards coming.

Mrs Welch and Mrs Hawkins came to me in the field.

Oglethorpe seemed quite open, and in an excitable temper.

Mrs Hawkins and Oglethorpe seem innocent! Amen!

She quite angry.

Mrs Welch in a swoon. Open my eyes!

<sup>1</sup> Under this date Charles Wesley brought me off a resolution, which honour writes in his Journal: 'My brother and indignation had formed, of starving

*Sat. 17.*—We set out for Savannah, and reached it on Tuesday evening. Oh blessed place, where, having but one end in view, dissembling and fraud are not ; but each of us can pour out his heart without fear into his brother's bosom !

*Sat. 17.*—The night before he lay down in Reed's hut, where his brother slept. The brothers were living a life of daily peril. The next day John was to leave Frederica. He might never see his brother again. After early morning prayer with Charles, he writes, in the column which records moods, emotions, &c., 'Afraid.' At seven he was 'with Oglethorpe, writing for him,' 'Not afraid.' Eight, nine, ten o'clock he was still writing for his chief. 'Mrs. Hawkins came ; Oglethorpe there ; she very angry and sad.' After prayers he conversed with Charles, and at twelve with Mrs. Welch. He then returned home and wrote an account of his conference with Oglethorpe. The rest of the day passed in interviews, the one topic apparently being uppermost. That night the three friends slept together—John, Charles, and Delamotte.

*Sun. 18.*—He called on Oglethorpe and found him busy. He saw Mrs. Perkins, Mr. Hawkins, and Mrs. Hawkins ; 'she very angry.' At eight he prayed, expounded, administered the Eucharist. After a parting exhortation he again went to Oglethorpe, but in the presence of company there could be no private conversation. He still lingered, waiting for Oglethorpe's letters, which he was to take to Savannah. At 10.30, in Mr. Houstoun's boat, which Charles says was 'open,' he set out. It rained hard. In the afternoon they landed at Sapalo Island, and tried to light a fire. With some difficulty they at last succeeded, and supped. At seven they re-embarked. He slept, and thought, and slept till twelve, when the boat grounded, and they supped on bread-and-cheese. This was on *Monday*, the 19th. In fair weather, at seven in the morning, they 'got off.' Wesley spent the hours in writing an account of his conferences with Oglethorpe, Mrs. Hawkins, and Mrs. Welch. At three they overtook Dorman, and found 'Indian traders there.' By eight it was so 'very dark' that they lost themselves. Tormented by flies, they did not reach Hussebaw before eleven. There they made a fire. Sick and weary, at midnight they lay down on the ground.

rather than ask for necessities. Accordingly I went to Mr. Oglethorpe in his tent, to ask for some little things I wanted. He sent for me back again, and said, "Pray, sir, sit down. I have something to say to you. I hear you have spread several reports about." It is at this point that the story passes into the shorthand deciphered in part, and as a rule accurately, by Dr. Hoole. The story, in which Mrs. Hawkins, Mrs. Welch, Mr. Oglethorpe, and the Wesleys

figure has been told in fragments. So far as the Wesleys are concerned, and probably Oglethorpe also, there is no reason why all the facts, so far as they have been preserved in authentic form, should not now be placed before students of a great biography. They are not interesting in themselves, but they played an important part in the life-history of the Wesleys. See new edition of Charles Wesley's *Journal* (Finsbury Library, published by R. Culley).



*Tues. 20.*—At half-past four they set out, and at six again overtook Dorman.<sup>1</sup>

At 10.30 he notes a meal on 'oysters,' after which they again set out in 'hard rain.' In three hours they reached Thunderbolt. Mr. Lacy was not at home, but his pastor was hospitably entertained on 'eggs.' In the evening he walked over to Savannah with Delamotte and Mr. Houstoun. On his arrival he found Mr. Quincy, who had returned from Carolina, and was revisiting Savannah prior to his return to England. As though nothing had happened, he took up the interrupted course of his ordered life, and at 7.45 read prayers and expounded. At 8.30 he was with the Germans, but in that peaceful atmosphere the tired pastor could only sleep. He had come through perils on the deep, and perils by his own countrymen, and, worst of all, perils by his own countrywomen. But out of all the Lord had brought him. The kindly Moravians let him sleep; but at 9.15 he went home to conversation and prayer and singing with Ingham and Delamotte. It was during this year, and may not improbably have been about this time, that he transcribed and altered for his first hymn-book George Herbert's 'Discipline':

Though I fail, I weep :  
 Though I halt in pace,  
                     Yet I creep  
 To the throne of grace.  
  
 Then let wrath remove :  
 Love will do the deed :  
                     For with love  
 Stonie hearts will bleed.  
  
 Throw away Thy rod ;  
 Though man frailties hath,  
                     Thou art God :  
 Throw away Thy wrath.

Cf. Charlestown Hymn-book, 1737, pp. 45, 46.

At this point in the story it is necessary to emphasize two notes.

(1) The daily and hourly record of Wesley's life at this time is, for the most part, a wearisome reiteration, as the record of every life subjected to rigid rule must often be. But the very monotony, the printed details of which irritate, is of the essence of the story. We cannot fully understand what has already happened, still less shall we be in a position to appraise at its true value all that is going to happen, unless a vivid consciousness of Wesley's bondage during many years to the monotony of life-by-method impresses us. Nor can we hope to realize what it actually was, or the effect

<sup>1</sup> His boat was engaged by Indian traders who carried on a lucrative traffic among the islands and creeks that studded the coast, and up the rivers towards the foothills of the Alleghanies. It was a swifter craft than Houstoun's 'open boat,' in which Wesley and Delamotte sailed. But in the pursuit of trade it sailed in and

out, frequently anchoring within hail of Indian encampments or settlers' plantations. One such halt gave Wesley the opportunity he never wilfully missed, of serious converse with men who, in virtue of their wandering life and their continual intercourse with Indians and colonists, were pioneers either for God or the devil.

## SECOND SAVANNAH JOURNAL

NOT finding, as yet, any door open for the pursuing our main design,<sup>1</sup> we considered in what manner we might be most useful to the little flock at Savannah. And we agreed (1) to

it had upon him and upon his people, except we read it upon the printed page in reiterated sequences.

(2) All the Wesleys were more or less critical, independent in opinion, self-willed. They differed not only from friends and foes outside their own family circle, but among themselves. Samuel and Susanna Wesley quarrelled politically and in ecclesiastical matters. The correspondence of the brothers Samuel and John is a battle royal, in which wit and logic fly to and fro like live shells. John and Charles, as we have seen, and shall see again, differed seriously. At the same time the Wesleys were clannish. They stood by one another loyally—in financial difficulties with scant regard to consequences or personal risk. They were warmly attached, loving one another with an affection which ‘lovers’ quarrels’ could not quench. And whenever emergencies arose or practical service could be asked or given, differences vanished. John is absolutely loyal to Samuel, as head of the family, even when he is in the act of quarrelling with him; and Samuel, desiring that a scholar should read the proofs of his latest book of poems, sends them to John in Savannah, and, probably by the same mail, posts a letter that sparkles with satire. Charles in trouble—sick, slandered, deserted, and left to die in misery by his chief—turns to the brother with whom he is at variance. John flies to his help, and not only clears his character but does his work both as pastor and secretary. It was characteristic of the Wesleys that they should strongly differ and greatly love.

*Wed. 21.*—His first business was to revise the papers he had written in Frederica and those he had received from Charles. Walking, and therefore securing the privacy unattainable in small wooden houses, he ‘read to Ingham the papers as to Frederica.’ At noon he wrote to Charles, Mr. Hawkins, and Oglethorpe. The letter to Hawkins has not been discovered. Extracts from the other two we have in the *Works* (vol. xii. p. 41, ‘To Mr. Oglethorpe, Savannah, April 20,<sup>2</sup> 1736’; and p. 103, ‘To his Brother Charles,’ same date). The first he describes in the Diary as ‘a letter on business.’ The editor, in printing the letter, has omitted the ‘business’—probably the only part of much historical interest, and has preserved the pious sentiment which adds little to our information. The letter to Charles is a mere fragment. There is good reason to believe that the original, in form and substance, more nearly resembled the letter dated March 22, 1736, which Henry Moore gives fully (Moore’s *Life of Wesley*, vol. i. p. 293). It may even have been the intercepted letter, the Greek of

<sup>1</sup> The ‘main design’ was the mission to the Indians.

<sup>2</sup> The date in the *Works*—April 20—is an error. *Tuesday 20* is the last day of his journey from Frederica, and is

otherwise fully accounted for. On Wednesday 21, the letter to Charles occupied three-quarters of an hour, the letter to Hawkins an hour, and the one ‘on business’ to Oglethorpe an hour.

advise the more serious among them to form themselves into a sort of little society,<sup>1</sup> and to meet once or twice a week, in order

which kindled all Frederica into a flame of angry passion. (See p. 260 and Charles Wesley's Journal, new edition.)

He dined, as he had breakfasted, on bread. In the afternoon he had a long talk 'with Mrs. Causton of Miss Sophy,' and afterwards with Miss Sophy herself. Later he saw Mr. Causton. He again slept with the Germans. The following is the summary for the day :

P. Mr and Mrs Causton open. I dead ! O Jesus !  
Miss Sophy open and much affected.

*Thur. 22.*—He transcribed Charles's Journal, and gave much time in the course of the day to his own Journal, and to pastoral work.

P. Much easier. J. Brownfield serious, open and affected.  
Peter Wright relapsed. Miss Fosset quite open and affected.  
Mr Darn in good temper.

*Good Friday.*—He is evidently out of health. Ingham reads prayers and preaches in the morning, and expounds in the afternoon. Wesley spent the day chiefly with Kempis and his Journal, except that he seems to have given the Sacrament to Mr. Darn.

*Easter Eve.*—He was still busy with his Journal. Twice in the morning public prayers were read, at eleven by Wesley with exposition, and again at twelve by Ingham. They had two meals, one at six in the morning and the other at four. Bread was the only food throughout Passion Week. He again began the reading of *Fleury*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wesley distinguishes the origin of Methodism into three distinct periods. 'The first rise of Methodism was in Nov. 1729, when four of us met together at Oxford ; the second was in Savannah, in April 1736, when twenty or thirty persons met at my house ; the last was in London on this day, May 1, [1738] when forty or fifty of us agreed to meet together every Wednesday evening, in order to free conversation, begun and ended with singing and prayer' (Wesley's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. iv. p. 175). The description of the society and its organization and meetings is remarkable. The society, as a whole, was to meet once or twice a week, i.e. on one or both of the fast-days of the Holy Club ; an inner circle was to meet on Sunday afternoon. We have here the actual institution of the Society-meeting—using the term in the old class-meeting sense—and of the Select Bands. In the second edition (1809) Benson has a footnote on

this : 'Here we see the origin of classes and bands, which have been instrumental of so much good in the Methodist Societies.' The extreme probability is that this new plan was propounded broadly on Easter Sunday, April 25, and that the details were worked out in consultation with Töltschig and Anton on Sunday, May 2, when they 'talked of the parish,' and when again, after Communion, Wesley 'wrote names.' The conversation was 'close,' and it 'convinced' Wesley. The plan was a Moravian graft upon the 'Oxford Methodist' stock. The Diary clearly points to a hitherto unsuspected fact, namely, that the membership of this little society was largely German. This explains Wesley's almost ecstatic words concerning Savannah—'Oh blessed place,' &c.

<sup>2</sup> In the Colman Collection of Wesley MSS., in one of the calf-bound notebooks which Wesley used for diaries, journals, accounts, treatises, extracted







to reprove, instruct, and exhort one another. (2) To select out of these a smaller number for a more intimate union with each

*Easter, 1736.*—At midnight he awoke and sang, using the Office for Easter Day in Hickeys's *Devotions* :

The Invitatory, 'The Lamb of God that was slain,' &c.

The Antiphon, 'Worthy is the Lamb that was slain,' &c.

V. O Death, where is thy Sting? Alleluja.

R. O Grave, where is thy Victory? Alleluja.

The prayer, 'O God, whose gracious Providence restores to Thy Church the Face and Voice of holy Exultation, by the triumphant Festival of our Saviour's Resurrection! Grant, we humbly beseech Thee, that the Joy that shines in our Looks may flame in our Hearts,' &c.

Can we not picture him in the first hour of this Easter Day, as he reads, and as he sings the appointed hymn—

Behold, we come, dear Lord, to Thee,

to an accompaniment of 'thunder and lightning'?<sup>1</sup>

At one he slept; but at five he was singing and praying, and singing

poems, transcribed letters, and, at a later period, for lists of members in the Methodist Societies, there is a carefully written *Abridgement of Fleury's Manners of the Christians*. If we may judge from the handwriting, and from certain Diary indications, the *Abridgement* was made not later than the year 1736. The only question is whether it may not belong to an earlier, i.e. to a late Oxford, period. A more minute examination of the voluminous Oxford Diaries may throw further light upon this and other bibliographical questions. The chief interest, however, of this discovery lies in the fact that the heading of the manuscript page has been altered by Wesley himself. At a later date, when revising his books and papers, he saw that the *Abridgement* he had carefully and laboriously made in days of comparative leisure would find a fitting place in his series of cheap reprints from great books. From the facsimile (p. 199) it will be seen that he wrote a note in the top corner of the first page: 'It will make about 30 pages.' Then he altered the title. Originally it had been:

An Abridgement of

Fleury's Manners of ye Xtians.

For printing as a tract-pamphlet, it reads,

The Manners of the Ancient Xtians

Extracted from a French Author. By

J. W. &c.

On the page opposite is a Table of 'Lessons,' which shows what was the scope of the larger work from which Wesley's extract was made. This he or the copyist has run his pen through, as also through some other pages in the book (Wesley's *Works*, vol. xiv. p. 235), where the second title is exactly copied, with the usual addition: 'By John Wesley, A.M., Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. 12mo., pp. 24. 1749.' The note in Green's *Bibliography* is:

123. The Manners, &c. [as above] Bristol: Printed by Felix Farley, and sold at the School-Room in the Horse-Fair; also by T. Trye, near Grays-Inn-Gate, Holborn; and at the Foundry near Upper-Moor-Fields, London, 1749. 12mo, pp. 24. [Price Two-pence.]

Six editions were published, the last in 1798. It was included in the collected *Works*, 1771, No. 276. Mr. Green goes on to say:

Contains a brief description of the character of Christ, the condition of the Church at Jerusalem, and the state of the heathen before their conversion; then of the habits of the Christians, particularly their prayers, reading of the Scriptures, and fasting, their general demeanour, their marriages, public assemblies, care for the poor and sick, and their hospitality. A very useful tract.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. footnote, p. 198, for the Methodist interest of this Easter Day.



other, which might be forwarded, partly by our conversing singly with each, and partly by inviting them all together to

again, with Delamotte. He seems on this Easter Day to have been greatly cheered. Ingham was 'zealous.' His friend John Brownfield was 'very serious.' At the Eucharist there were thirty-five communicants. He wrote down their names. Twice he preached; read Hickes repeatedly, and further refreshed his spirit with Fleury, whose writings he so greatly admired. Eight times he sang with 'the Face and Voice of holy Exultation.'

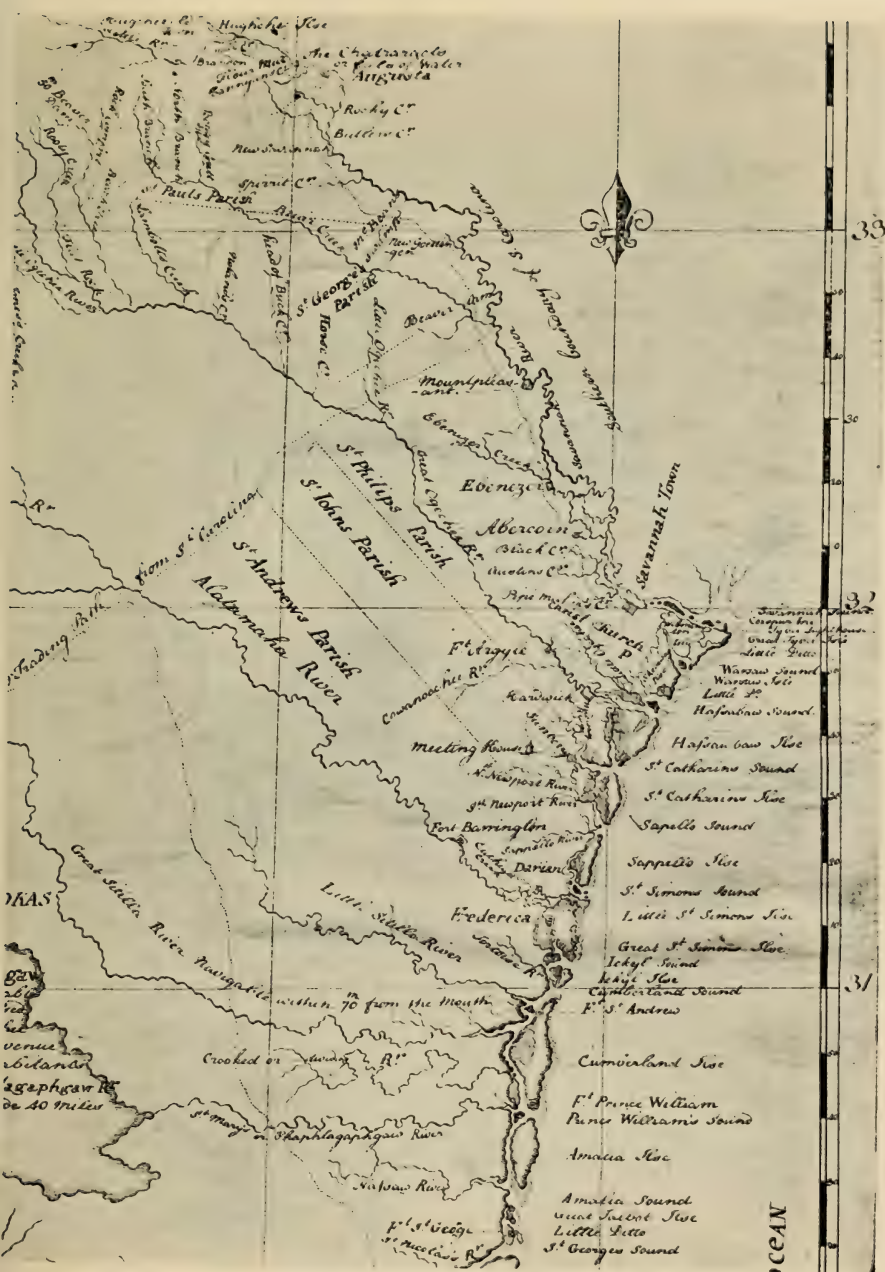
*Mon. 26.*—This was a day of business. He had occasion to visit Mrs. Musgrove and her brother at the Cowpen. Returning home, he heard that Mr. Lacy was very ill. So he set out again for Thunderbolt. In the morning Ingham read prayers; but in the evening, having refreshed himself with the unusual luxury of supper, he read prayers himself, noting with satisfaction that 'many were not at the ball.' An hour later he was expounding with the Germans.

*Tues. 27.*—After writing his Journal he set out for Thunderbolt, dressed, for he hoped to hold a service, and was not disappointed. He took Fleury to read as he walked. Mr. Lacy he found better. All the servants came in, and he read prayers and expounded. Again we catch a glimpse of one of the vivid pictures which a few Diary words sometimes reveal. It is still early morning, in the beautiful Georgian spring. Wesley, robed and reading Fleury, loses himself. Fearing lest he should be late for prayers and exposition in Savannah, he runs, reaching home at eleven. The people are not disappointed of their exposition. His Journal, 'Mr. Hall's case,' Parker and Causton—apparently in some dispute or difficulty—claim his attention.

*Wed. 28.*—An account of Mr. Hall's case, Fleury's Catechism, Mr. Lacy (who was better) and his servants, eleven of whom came to hear him expound, and an interview with Causton on Mr. Hall's case, are the principal features of the day.

*Thur. 29.*—He is still working at Fleury and Mr. Hall's case, and visiting Mr. Lacy. For some unexplained reason he makes another journey into the country, this time in company with Miss Fosset and Ingham. They meet Mrs. Musgrove. Probably an arrangement was made for an interview, on the day following, with Tomo-chachi, in which both Mrs. Musgrove and Miss Fosset took part. By this time the house in which Ingham was to live near the Cowpen and the Indian settlement was probably finished. The account of Hall continues, and is discussed with a Mr. Butler, who is 'much afraid.' He visits Joseph Stringer, who is 'seriously affected.' Mr. Causton comes to the parsonage; he and Butler and Brown sup together, Wesley after supper reading prayers. He ends a busy day with prayers and exposition with the Germans.

*Fri. 30.*—Beginning at five, it is nine before he finishes the writing of Hall's 'Account.' This is one of the lost documents, and, judging from the time Wesley bestowed upon it and the interest the case seems to have aroused in Savannah, it was of value. At nine he read Ingham's Journal. (This also is apparently lost, for it can scarcely have been the Voyage Journal sent to Mrs. Ingham some months earlier. Doubtless it was



MAP OF WESLEY'S PARISH IN GEORGIA.

[Reproduced by permission of the Colonial Office.]





our house ; and this, accordingly, we determined to do every Sunday in the afternoon.

Ingham's Journal of his visit to Frederica with the pioneer colonists, and of all that happened up to the time when he left Charles Wesley among the 'wild beasts' and came to summon John to the rescue.) He then spent an hour in reading over his own Journal. After an interview with Causton, he and Ingham set out by boat<sup>1</sup> with 'a strong tide against' them, Wesley reading Hall's case. Arrived at their destination, they learn that 'Mrs. Musgrove and Miss Fosset are in the woods'; there they found them. With Mrs. Musgrove as interpreter and Miss Fosset as an interested listener, he had a conversation with Tomo-chachi, and afterwards with Miss Fosset, who, as usual, was 'seriously affected.' Wesley then returned home. No further mention is made of Ingham, who probably remained. The immediate purpose, it has been suggested, was that Ingham might study the Indian language. He was then to teach Wesley.

This ends Wesley's first volume of the Georgia Diary.

MAY, 1736, *Sat. 1 (Old Style)*.—This begins a new volume of the Georgia Diary.<sup>2</sup> He wrote a long letter to Oglethorpe, and after dinner

<sup>1</sup> The coast of Georgia and South Carolina is studded with islands and pierced with inlets and rivers. Of the latter the principal are the Alatahahaw to the south, with St. Simon's and a number of smaller islands guarding its estuary; the Ogeechee, its mouth opposite Skidaway and other islands; the Savannah, with a wide estuary of twenty or thirty miles guarded by Tybee, Peeper, and other islands, and running far up the country. On the south bank of the estuary, a little inland, lay Thunderbolt, consisting at this time mainly of Mr. Lacy's plantation; farther inland, Hampstead and Highgate; four or five miles to the north-east, near a bluff overlooking the estuary, Savannah Town; about half a mile beyond, Yamucraw, the Indian village; and about four miles farther north, still following the broad river, Cowpen, Mrs. Musgrove's place. New Ebenezer, where the Saltzburghers were settled, was about fifteen miles, as the crow flies, north by west of Cowpen, near the river. From this it will be seen that when Wesley made a morning journey to Thunderbolt, and an afternoon journey to Cowpen, he travelled, whether by land or water, in

opposite directions. There were no roads, only precarious paths through the woods. Therefore an unwary pedestrian absorbed in a book or in conversation, as Wesley usually was, might easily lose himself. Ordinarily, both journeys were made on foot. Even when returning by boat from Frederica, Wesley walked overland from Thunderbolt. His reason for taking boat to the Cowpen, we may surmise, was connected with Ingham's approaching settlement in his new house. It would be the most convenient method of conveying stores. Possibly Mrs. Musgrove and Miss Fosset were preparing the mission-house for Ingham's occupancy.

<sup>2</sup> The 'Hendrix' Georgia Diary is described by the late Richard Green (*W.H.S.* 1898, vol. i. p. 78). It belonged originally to the series of small 12mo volumes now forming part of the Colman Collection. Its place in the series of Diaries is Georgia, No. II. Mr. Green's description would apply to others of the set: 'Stoutly bound in leather, and containing 186 pages of good note-paper. One hundred and seventy-five of these pages are numbered, and all are filled

a letter *for* him. Business of the colony increasingly occupied his attention. Disputes arose: questions relating to Indian traders and their licences; judicial cases in which persons thought themselves aggrieved; the inevitable difficulties of settlers who discovered that a new country was not free from the ills of the land from which they had fled. Increasingly Wesley's advice was sought, and not infrequently his co-operation, especially by Oglethorpe, who must often have regretted that the elder brother, instead of the younger, had not been appointed secretary. Whenever Oglethorpe and John Wesley are in the same place, the latter is requisitioned for secretarial work, even though Charles is at hand and at liberty for the service. On this first day in May he writes for his absent chief. It is one of the Church's holy-days. Therefore he preaches and administers the Eucharist <sup>1</sup>—to twelve communicants; also catechizes the children, in which

with Wesley's neat and clear writing. Each of the numbered pages is devoted to the doings of a single day, and each line to the work of a single hour.' The dates are from Saturday, May 1, 1736 (O.S.), to Feb. 11, 1737. The facsimile of a page—Thursday, Sept. 9, 1736—is given opposite, with an explanation of 'some of the curious contractions.' Many of Mr. Green's interpretations are now known to be correct.

A pamphlet published by a New Orleans newspaper in 1901, professing to print this Diary, reprints part of the published Journal and, in facsimile, two pages of the Diary; one being a poem in the handwriting of John Wesley, and the other the entry for July 4, 1736, and Dec. 23. The pamphlet also gives the following information:

'On the fly-leaf of the Diary is the inscription: "Pray without ceasing," and beneath, "John Wesley's Journal, from Oct. 14, 1735, to Feb. 1, 1737."'

We may add that in one or two instances these small volumes, originally intended for one purpose, for some unexplained reason have eventually been used for another. The Book-Room manuscript Georgia Journal, for instance, has on its fly-leaf 'Notes on the New Testament.' Apparently Wesley at first intended this 'Hendrix' volume for his manuscript Journal. Later he determined to utilize it for his Diary. One fact is clear. It is not, as some suppose, Wesley's pocket Diary, complete from the day when

he boarded the *Simmonds* to the day when he left America, but only the Diary of nine months and eleven days, from May 1, 1736, to Feb. 11, 1737. Wesley, as we now know, wrote three (probably four) Diaries in, or on the way to, Georgia. This is one of the three. The other two are in the Colman Collection. The reason why this volume is not in its proper place with the rest is explained by a memorandum on the second page of the fly-leaf:

'Memorandum: Book of the late John Wesley. From the Rev. Henry Moore to Elizabeth Taylor of Carnathen [*sic*], 1817.' 'The Rev. John Gould Avery: From his much obliged and ever affectionate friend, Elizabeth Thomas, late Elizabeth Taylor, 1847.'

The New Orleans pamphlet further states that the letter from Mr. Moore to Elizabeth Taylor in reference to the Diary is also in Bishop Hendrix's possession. The subsequent history of the book is well known. From Mr. Avery's daughter it passed to Mr. R. Thursfield Smith, who sold it to Bishop Hendrix, who, for the purpose of this edition of the Journal, placed it for a time at the disposal of the Editor.

<sup>1</sup> The use of the cursive capital D illustrates one of the curious features of Wesley's cryptic writing. The letter is used for two purposes, and in two ways: (1) as the initial of Delamotte; and (2) as a cryptic sign for Holy Communion. In (1) it is written plainly; in (2) it has

Sept. 9. Th.

NS

4<sup>3</sup> pp<sup>7</sup> m<sup>7</sup> p<sup>7</sup> n<sup>7</sup> z. r<sup>7</sup> 6<sup>7</sup>  
 6 br-b. f. 6  
 7 n<sup>7</sup> to b. f. b. 5  
 8 b<sup>7</sup> 5  
 9 g<sup>7</sup> m<sup>7</sup> v<sup>7</sup> on R<sup>7</sup> 5 m<sup>7</sup> Choc<sup>2</sup>  
 10 n<sup>7</sup> m<sup>7</sup> t<sup>7</sup> a<sup>7</sup> h<sup>7</sup> 5 n<sup>7</sup> b<sup>7</sup>  
 11 n<sup>7</sup> b<sup>7</sup> p<sup>7</sup> p<sup>7</sup> i<sup>7</sup> a<sup>7</sup> n<sup>7</sup> 5  
 12 c<sup>7</sup> e<sup>7</sup> a<sup>7</sup> t<sup>7</sup> i<sup>7</sup> d<sup>7</sup>. 5  
 1 n<sup>7</sup> t<sup>7</sup> m<sup>7</sup>  $\frac{1}{4}$  d<sup>7</sup> 6  
 2 n<sup>7</sup> i<sup>7</sup> 6  
 3 n<sup>7</sup> t<sup>7</sup>  $\frac{3}{4}$  m<sup>7</sup> b<sup>7</sup> f<sup>7</sup> r<sup>7</sup> 5  
 4 n<sup>7</sup> t<sup>7</sup> p<sup>7</sup>  $\frac{3}{4}$  b<sup>7</sup> r<sup>7</sup> D<sup>7</sup> o<sup>7</sup> m<sup>7</sup> b<sup>7</sup> o<sup>7</sup> n<sup>7</sup> D<sup>7</sup> e<sup>7</sup> a<sup>7</sup>  
 5 D<sup>7</sup> o<sup>7</sup> i<sup>7</sup> n<sup>7</sup> f<sup>7</sup> r<sup>7</sup> 5  
 6 n<sup>7</sup> t<sup>7</sup>  $\frac{1}{4}$  a<sup>7</sup> t<sup>7</sup> h<sup>7</sup> n<sup>7</sup> v<sup>7</sup> R<sup>7</sup> e<sup>7</sup> c<sup>7</sup> k<sup>7</sup> 5 n<sup>7</sup> t<sup>7</sup> f<sup>7</sup>  
 7 r<sup>7</sup> p<sup>7</sup> i<sup>7</sup>  $\frac{3}{4}$  b<sup>7</sup> e<sup>7</sup> r<sup>7</sup> s<sup>7</sup> u<sup>7</sup> t<sup>7</sup> 5 3 5 y<sup>7</sup>  
 8 s<sup>7</sup> u<sup>7</sup> t<sup>7</sup>  $\frac{1}{2}$  n<sup>7</sup> v<sup>7</sup> R<sup>7</sup> e<sup>7</sup> c<sup>7</sup> k<sup>7</sup> 6 f<sup>7</sup>  
 9 n<sup>7</sup> t<sup>7</sup> r<sup>7</sup>  $\frac{1}{2}$  p<sup>7</sup> 5  
 f<sup>7</sup> r<sup>7</sup> 15 5, 11, 6, 6  
 3  $\frac{1}{2}$  c<sup>7</sup> a<sup>7</sup> y<sup>7</sup> s<sup>7</sup> l<sup>7</sup> p<sup>7</sup> p<sup>7</sup>  
 6 p<sup>7</sup> p<sup>7</sup> o<sup>7</sup> n<sup>7</sup> s<sup>7</sup> h<sup>7</sup> o<sup>7</sup> r<sup>7</sup> e<sup>7</sup> p<sup>7</sup> a<sup>7</sup> t<sup>7</sup> r<sup>7</sup> 5 c<sup>7</sup> a<sup>7</sup> l<sup>7</sup> o<sup>7</sup> n<sup>7</sup>  
 7 c<sup>7</sup> o<sup>7</sup> a<sup>7</sup> l<sup>7</sup> R<sup>7</sup> o<sup>7</sup> g<sup>7</sup> s<sup>7</sup> o<sup>7</sup> n<sup>7</sup> v<sup>7</sup> 3 9 6 a<sup>7</sup> t<sup>7</sup> i<sup>7</sup> c<sup>7</sup> l<sup>7</sup> e<sup>7</sup> v<sup>7</sup>  
 8 R<sup>7</sup> o<sup>7</sup> g<sup>7</sup> s<sup>7</sup> p<sup>7</sup> a<sup>7</sup> t<sup>7</sup> r<sup>7</sup> 6 n<sup>7</sup> o<sup>7</sup> n<sup>7</sup> s<sup>7</sup>  
 9 R<sup>7</sup> o<sup>7</sup> i<sup>7</sup> 5 n<sup>7</sup> o<sup>7</sup> n<sup>7</sup> s<sup>7</sup>  
 10 R<sup>7</sup> o<sup>7</sup> g<sup>7</sup>  $\frac{3}{4}$  n<sup>7</sup> d<sup>7</sup> 5 n<sup>7</sup> o<sup>7</sup> n<sup>7</sup> s<sup>7</sup>  
 11 n<sup>7</sup> o<sup>7</sup> n<sup>7</sup> d<sup>7</sup> R<sup>7</sup> o<sup>7</sup> g<sup>7</sup> s<sup>7</sup> p<sup>7</sup> a<sup>7</sup> t<sup>7</sup> r<sup>7</sup> 6  
 12 p<sup>7</sup> a<sup>7</sup> t<sup>7</sup> r<sup>7</sup> 6



1736  
 12 sun. Hick 1 sl. > 5K-Lightn. 1  
 5 sun. p. n. D. sun >  
 6. F. F. 6 9 2 1  
 7 dr 6  
 8 sun. 9. B. 20. 9. 5 sun > he u. s. + 2 1  
 9 Hick n. y. 40 sun >  
 10 sp >  
 11 p. n. p. 6  
 12 D. 1/2 dr. 6 35 Com 1  
 1. n. r. n. a. m. e. s. d. 1/2 9. 5  
 2. 9. 5 sun 1/2 sp. 6  
 3. sp. p. n. 7  
 4. p. n. 1/4 n. F. 6  
 5. n. w. m. r. D. a. m. 6 n. D. 1/2 F. 6  
 6. sun. F. 1/2 n. F. 6  
 7. F. 1/2 a. m. F. 6 n. 9. 3 m  
 8. n. Germ 1/2 9. 5 6  
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 1. 9. B. 4. 5 +

FACSIMILE EASTER DAY DIARY, 1736 (see PAGE 210).

one may trace the influence of Fleury. Of course he read the appointed Lessons—Eccles. vii. and John i. 43.

*Sun. 2.*—He began writing for Oglethorpe<sup>1</sup> before five in the morning, and continued to do so at intervals until six o'clock, when he read over the letter.

His writing to Oglethorpe was interrupted by a 'close conversation with Töltschig and Anton [the Moravian bishop], on the Parish,' which from every point of view, whether Moravian or English, was much more extensive than Savannah Town. After Holy Communion he had an impressive conversation with Miss Sophy alone, her friend being with Mrs. Musgrove. Ingham, who is not named, was probably still at the Cowpen.

*Mon. 3.*—This morning Töltschig, who seems to have been now the most influential person in the Moravian community (he is named before the bishop), came to the English morning prayers, and Wesley notes the fact as important.<sup>2</sup>

After breakfasting with Causton, he went to the Moravians, and began a more 'systematic and scholarly study of German, using as text-book *The General Grounds of Grammar*. Most of the day was spent with the Germans. He also began a course of Greek Testament study with Ingham and Delamotte. Two other notes mark this as a day of more than usual importance. From four to five in the afternoon he sang and read Thomas à Kempis alternately. He then transcribed the book he had been studying, i.e. as he would have said in his early Oxford days, he 'collected' it.

P. Telchig at Prayers With God, 7, 1. 6, 8. 5, 8.

Made Resolution, prayed. Company.

This is in cipher. It might read—and this is perhaps the more probable reading—'New resolution.' What happened seems to have been that 'our Company' resolved on some new exercise or method of devotion. It will be noted that in the printed Journal the days following his return from Frederica are astir with signs of a new beginning, and that, in point of fact,

over it a small mark, 7. In Wesley's cipher alphabet, which for secret and especially for sacred purposes he still used, the letter D stands between C (for Communion) and E (for Eucharist). Readers of the Journal and of the Wesley hymns will be familiar with the brothers' use of both words. The Lord's Supper was at once a Communion (κοινωνία) and a sacramental Thanksgiving (εὐχαριστία). Probably Wesley had no special preference. The terms were scriptural, and, in signification, Protestant. By using both he avoided tautology.

<sup>1</sup> The Oglethorpe correspondence in the handwriting of John Wesley must have been voluminous and important. The

whole of it was not only more or less official, but historical. It may still be in existence. The archives of the Georgia Trustees, of the Colonial Office, of the Admiralty, of the Board of Trade, of the States of Georgia and S. Carolina, and of the S.P.G. may possess these documents. The handwriting would be unmistakable.

<sup>2</sup> It seems probable that at this time the plan, favoured by Zinzendorf, Spangenberg, and others, and not discountenanced by Archbishop Potter, of bringing about a co-operative agreement between Anglicans and Moravians, at least on colonial and missionary stations, commended itself to Wesley, as undoubtedly it did to James Hutton.

MAY 5, *Wed.*—I was asked to baptize a child of Mr. Parker's, second Bailiff of Savannah;<sup>1</sup> but Mrs. Parker told me, 'Neither Mr. Parker nor I will consent to its being dipped.' I answered,

many years after, he deliberately underscored this as one of the three 'beginnings of Methodism.'

Neither the Journal nor the Diary marks the precise day in April when this 'second beginning' took place, unless, indeed, we may infer that the two words 'wrote names' in the Easter-Day Diary page fix the date :

12 Communion [or Eucharist];  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; dined. 35 Communicants.

1 Wrote names, Company [in cipher];  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Greek Testament.

2 Greek Testament, sung;  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; read prayers.

3 Read prayers, preached,

4 preached : meditated, conversed.

If we may further assume that in the afternoon of this Easter Day he followed his usual custom and selected his subject of discourse from the Second Lesson, he could scarcely avoid saying something about the great word which so exactly defines the Methodist—whether Oxford, Georgian, or London—ideal of fellowship : Acts ii. 42—'And they continued steadfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers.'

*Tues. 4.*—At five in the morning twenty-five came to hear him expound. He then began vigorously to write German. At eleven he ceased, and went to the 'Trustees' garden,' taking with him an ecclesiastical history, a Hebrew psalm, and Fleury's *History of the Church*. In the afternoon he returned to his German, saw Mrs. Musgrove and Miss Fosset, and at seven read Greek Testament with Ingham and Delamotte.

*Wed. 5.*—Being ill with one of his old complaints, he sorted papers. Ingham helped him by reading prayers. At noon he 'conversed with Mr. Parker of baptizing his child, and got no good.' Dinner, as he notes

<sup>1</sup> A sawyer, intemperate and uneducated. He afterwards figured in the trial of Wesley before the Savannah magistrates. In the First Edw. VI Prayer-book the rubric directed 'the priest to dip the child in the water thrice. . . . And if the child be weak, it shall suffice to pour water upon it, saying,' &c. This was modified in the Second Edw. VI, the thrice dipping being omitted. Thus the rubric continued, through successive revisions, until the time of Charles II (1662), when it was altered to its present form :

Then the priest shall take the child into his hands, . . . &c.

But if they certify that the child is weak, it shall suffice to pour water upon it, saying, &c.

This is the law of the Church of

England now. John Wesley and his brother Charles were governed by the rubric of the Edw. VI Prayer-book, because they believed it to be more in harmony with the usage of the early Church than any other, as undoubtedly it is. The question involved may seem trifling, especially in view of the fact that the effusion of water, originally supplementary to immersion, became a not infrequent substitute for it, and has gradually come, in spite of the old custom and the literal direction of the rubric, to prevail almost universally (Bishop Barry on *The Book of Common Prayer*). It must be remembered, however, that the controversy raised by Wesley throws light on the very interesting question of his position at this time



'If you "certify that" your "child is weak, it will suffice" (the rubric says)<sup>1</sup> "to pour water upon it."' She replied, 'Nay, the child is not weak; but I am resolved it shall not be dipped.' This argument I could not confute. So I went home, and the child was baptized by another person.

in amazement, cured him of his colic. Then he began to write German, and at three 'transcribed a German psalm.' The abbreviated word might mean 'translated.' He does not always mark the distinction between the two words. There can, however, be no doubt that he was now entering upon another new departure—the selection, translation, and reversification of German psalms and hymns. Nor did he confine his attention to German psalmody. The divine hand, equipping and leading him in so many other respects, was gradually bringing him to fountains of living water, the streams whereof were, within a few years, and for all future time, to make glad the city of God.<sup>2</sup>

*Thur. 6.*—Five-o'clock morning prayers and exposition now became the rule. The service, however, was very brief, Wesley recognizing the importance of letting the people go to the woods and gardens with as little delay as possible. In his letter to Oglethorpe (April 20), expostulating with him for his neglect of public worship, he says: 'All the prayers usually read morning and evening, at Frederica and here, put together, do not last seven minutes. These cannot be termed long prayers: no Christian assembly ever used shorter: neither have they any repetitions in them at all.'

Conversation with Mr. Lacy, who now was sufficiently recovered to visit at the parsonage and to attend morning prayers; also with Delamotte and Von Reck junior; two hours with Töltschig, an hour with Fleury, an hour

in relation to ecclesiastical law generally. He belonged to that school in the Anglican Church which respected the Book of Common Prayer just so far as it reflected the law and usage of the early Church.

<sup>1</sup> The First Edw. VI rubric directs the priest to make a cross upon the child's forehead and breast, to exorcise the unclean spirit. . . . 'Therefore, thou cursed spirit, remember thy sentence. . . . And presume not hereafter to exercise any tyranny towards these infants, whom Christ hath bought with His precious blood, and by this holy Baptism calleth to be of His flock'; to lead the child by the hand into the church toward the font, saying, 'The Lord vouchsafe to receive you into His holy household'; and, naming the child, 'shall dip it in the water thrice. First dipping the right

side: Second, the left side: The third time dipping the face toward the font: so it be discreetly and warily done, saying,' &c. 'And if the child be weak, it shall suffice to pour water upon it,' &c.

<sup>2</sup> The important facts to be now noted are:

(1) The providential overruling of untoward events which drove him nearer to the Moravians, who, for him, held the key to the best German psalmody (both hymns and tunes).

(2) The scholarly training that compelled him to seek a more intimate and accurate knowledge of German.

(3) The supremely significant fact (it will reappear at later dates) is that the impulse towards a nobler service of common praise in the English Church was coincident with a revival of spiritual life and of early Christian fellowship.

*Sun. 9.*—I began dividing the public prayers, according to the original appointment of the Church<sup>1</sup> (still observed in a few

sorting letters, and four hours with German translation or transcription—these were the occupations of the day. In the evening he read prayers and expounded with his own people, and at eight with the Germans. His life, it will be noted, is double—Anglican and English; German and Moravian.

*Fri. 7.*—This was one of the momentous days in Wesley's life and in the history of English hymnology. At five he set out, whether on foot or by boat does not appear, to visit the Lacys at Thunderbolt. On the way he translated hymns from the German (see p. 215).

6 translated.

7 Mrs. Lacy's: he not present: verses: Conversing with her [Mrs. Lacy].

In the service which followed he expounded at unusual length. From 9.20 to 9.40 he was reciting or singing the verses already written. On his return journey he was translating all the way, until, at 11.20, he reached home and forthwith 'wrote verses, shaved, sung, dined, conversed, and wrote' in his Diary the story of one of the most joyous mornings in his life—the morning on which a new element was introduced into English church worship.

His care of Delamotte, who was quite young, and for whose well-being in all respects he was responsible, is pathetic. He treats him as a pupil—a son in the gospel. His first duty every morning is to 'pray with Delamotte,' and few days pass without special conversation or instruction. On this day a Mrs. Smith speaks to him 'of Delamotte.' No explanation is given, but he writes his solemn cry, in cipher, *Κύριε βοήθει*. It is satisfactory to learn that Mrs. Smith was rewarded by a prolonged course of the usual pastoral remedies for sick souls. He wrote a long letter to Oglethorpe, and visited the sick.

*Sat. 8.*—He had frequent visits from Von Reck, who to-day brought his younger brother. Von Reck wrote a journal, which from time to time was submitted to Wesley. It was afterwards published. Mr. Appee, who had been with Charles in Frederica, reappeared. The morning and most of the afternoon were devoted to Fleury, whose writings, condensed by Wesley, played their part in after years among the children and young people of early Methodism. At 1.30 he baptized Stephen Lander.

*Sun. 9.*—He began to read prayers in the court-house at 8 a.m., and not to-day at five, as stated in the Journal. At the early service thirty-three

<sup>1</sup> The First Prayer-book of Edw. VI divided the public prayers into (1) Matins, which included the Lord's Prayer, the versicles, the Venite, the appointed Psalms and Lessons, with the Te Deum (or in Lent the Benedicite) and the Benedictus; the Kyrie, Creed, Lord's Prayer, versicles, and the three Collects—for the day, for peace, for grace. Here Matins ended. Evensong was similar. (2) 'At the Communion' (to be administered every Sunday and Feast-day): 'The

Introit, Collects, Epistles, and Gospels to be used at the celebration of the Lord's Supper and Holy Communion, through the year: with proper Psalms and Lessons for divers Feasts and Days.' Following this came 'The Supper of the Lord, and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass'—an office not differing greatly, except in order, from that which now obtains in the Anglican and Methodist Churches. The Ten Commandments were inserted in 1552.

places in England). The morning service began at five; the Communion Office (with the sermon), at eleven; the evening service, about three; and this day I began reading prayers in the court-house<sup>1</sup>—a large and convenient place.

*Mon. 10.*—I began visiting my parishioners in order, from

were present; at eleven the congregation numbered 90; at two 120. There were eighteen communicants.

*Mon. 10.*—He cleaves to Töltschig and German studies, vigorously visits his people, especially the sick, and writes a letter to Oglethorpe, which is sufficiently important to be 'transcribed.' The names of parishioners visited are given.

5 Visited Mrs Moore xtend h sick chi.

The interpretation may be: 'At five visited Mrs. Moore: extended [the visit to] her sick child.' He notes a letter from Charles, the main fact in which he records in the Diary—'Oglethorpe innocent!'<sup>2</sup> The shorthand account in Charles Wesley's Journal leaves no doubt as to the absolute innocence of Oglethorpe.

<sup>1</sup> Savannah had no consecrated building in Wesley's day. Oglethorpe, on behalf of the Trustees, gave a site, upon which, at a later date, Christ Church was built. The paten and chalice used in this church were given by or through Samuel Wesley (Journal of Trustees, Record Office). The church was afterwards destroyed by fire. Wesley does not seem to have made any serious attempt to build a church in Georgia (*Digest of S.P.G. Records*). The house he built in Frederica was a society-room rather than a church. On an old map of Savannah (1737) a site for a church is shown, but not the building. Next to, and indeed part of, the court-house is a building called a 'chappel.' This seems to have been the preaching-house which Wesley first occupied. On Sunday, May 9, he removed to the court-house itself. Some weeks later we shall find the court-house temporarily required for other purposes. The minister's house, it is said, stood by itself on the east side of the town. Causton's house stood in the Great Square. Neither now nor later was Wesley greatly stirred by church-building ambition. It was the spiritual building that most of all interested him. Here in Savannah, a house, hut, store, court-house contented him for preaching

and for all the rites and sacraments of the Church. What he most earnestly desired was spiritual awakening, to see persons 'open,' 'seriously affected,' 'convinced,' 'zealous' concerning 'inward and outward holiness.' Beyond this he desired the orderly observance of worship, the continuous nurture of Christian life, and the practice of religion according to the example of the ancient Church and the rubrics of the Edw. VI Book of Common Prayer (1549). Forty-eight years later he wrote: 'As soon as I set foot in Georgia I began preaching at five in the morning; and every communicant, that is, every serious person in the town, constantly attended throughout the year: I mean, came every morning, winter and summer, unless in the case of sickness. They did so till I left the province.' On the same page he records his deliberate opinion as to the relative value of material and spiritual building. 'We are labouring to secure the preaching-houses to the next generation. In the name of God, let us, if possible, secure the present generation from drawing back to perdition!'

<sup>2</sup> It is unfortunate that we do not possess the complete Oglethorpe and Wesley (John and Charles) correspondence, particularly the letter and its reply named on this Diary page. Until now John believed



house to house; for which I set apart the time when they cannot work, because of the heat, viz. from twelve till three in the afternoon.<sup>1</sup>

*Tues. 11.*—'John' reappears. He attends the five-o'clock service. At night he comes, apparently as guest,<sup>2</sup> to the parsonage.

He wrote letters to Charles, and at great length to Oglethorpe. He began a meeting—devotional apparently—with Delamotte and Ingham, and spent three hours and a half with the Germans, the last being devoted to translation. The usual pastoral notes are continued.

*Wed. 12.*—At five in the morning he set out for Thunderbolt, as on a former occasion translating German as he walked, and on and after the return journey writing verses. At Thunderbolt he found Mr. Lacy better, and met John Chapman, with whom he had 'convincing' conversation. On the return journey Chapman overtook him. The letter written to Oglethorpe must have been important, or he would not have given two hours and a half out of a busy day to its transcription. Among the day's visits was one to Mrs. Mellichamp.

*Thur. 13.*—There is further evidence of the importance he attached to the letter written to Oglethorpe. After morning prayers he spent half an hour in re-reading it. This letter cannot now be found in any English collection of MSS. Mr. Quincy called. With his friends Wesley began the reading of Archbishop Sharpe's sermons, sang with Delamotte, rearranged

that his friend and chief had been, to some extent, compromised by Mrs. Hawkins or Mrs. Welch, or both. Charles he had cleared of the charge of slandering Oglethorpe. But now, though less and less inclined to credit the testimony of these wretched women against themselves and Oglethorpe, he had misgivings. We know from the Voyage Diary that he had heard his chief, in moments of deep religious emotion, speak confidentially about himself. What passed on these occasions was never revealed; it was never even committed to the safe keeping of a cipher diary. Henry Moore's statements and hints must be read with the reserve proper to the second-hand evidence of a man writing from memory. The details were given to him by an old man, and were not committed to print until after some years had passed. Moore's story of Wesley in Georgia is confused. The broad facts seem to have been these: At first Charles believed the women's story. Gradually he came to see that it was a monstrous lie, and,

having no other evidence, he declared to John his belief in Oglethorpe's innocence. John, on his part, firmly believed that the two women, however sinful in the past, were now sincere penitents. When Charles told him that they had both accused themselves of sin with Oglethorpe, he remembered all he had seen and heard during the voyage, and he feared the worst. Even after he had proved Mrs. Welch to be a liar and had seen Mrs. Hawkins's demoniacal rages, he still had misgivings. Charles, however, was convinced of their friend's innocence. Twice on the same page John thankfully records the fact—'Letter from Charles. Oglethorpe innocent.'

<sup>1</sup> On the heat in Georgia, see *Works*, vol. xi. p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> The parsonage in Savannah, unlike any other house in the town, except Causton's, was built large enough to accommodate a considerable family. In Wesley's time it served as a guest-house. He speaks of 'eight persons' living there.

Fr. Ma 7

- 4  $\frac{1}{4}$  pp dr. p n d 7  
 5 so. tr dym n s p 6 Ger  
 6 b a n l a k d. 6  
 7. Mr Lac. ke o. p r s D e n s e r H z w h e r  
 8 F r g  $\frac{1}{2}$  p x 6  
 9 x 20. U s 40. 50. 5 h d  
 10 h d 5  
 11 h d 20. a l h n r l s 5 h a u d  
 12 u d i. A. d 6  
 1. Mr Dea. n r 6 h e v a 1..  
 2 n r t o 6  
 3  $\frac{1}{4}$  u s i n t h e D e e b n t. W o r d ! n 3  
 4 n r. u s i n t h e D e e b n t. W o r d ! n 3  
 5. s u n. p p. 7  
 6 F l e u r s u p d i t 5  
 7  $\frac{1}{4}$  p 6  
 8 x  $\frac{1}{2}$  n G e r 6 l z ..  
 9  $\frac{1}{4}$  n s i l e. d  $\frac{3}{4}$  n 6 D  
 10. M r V e e k s a d D. 7, 2 6, u. 5 5  
 11. M r s p o k e t o m d D. L z ..

FACSIMILE PAGE: HYMNS TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN (see PAGE 212).

To Thee with Heart & Mouth I sing,  
 To all y<sup>e</sup> Earth make known,  
 Whom the Heavens adore, my God & King,  
 What Thou to me hast vouch'd.  
 That Thou y<sup>e</sup> Everlasting Source  
 Of Mercy art, I know  
 From whom the never  
 ceasing Blessings flow.  
 What are we, Lord? of all we have  
 What hath our Eyes survey'd,  
 But in Thy Bounty, Father, gave,  
 But in Thy Hand hath made?  
 Who hath you Brethren, many Years  
 Led by his powerful Voice?  
 Who is so soft & so timely, quick  
 To bid our glad <sup>hearts</sup> Fidelity rejoice?  
 Who challenges our Love, & face before  
 Who makes your <sup>hearts</sup> cheerful, & true?  
 Who owns us in our deepest need,  
 And gladdens our Hearts in the wild?  
 Who, when we have no gift or hope,  
 Shows an all-dispensing Hand  
 Who, when we are weary, & long to sleep,  
 Keeps our hearts from our land?

FACSIMILE OF HYMN, 'TO THEE WITH HEART AND MOUTH I SING'  
 (see PAGE 299).



*Sun. 16.*—We were surprised in the evening by my brother, just come from Frederica.<sup>1</sup> After some conversation, we consulted how the poor people there might be taken care of during

papers, and considered the 'scheme of our Savannah life.' After supper he read *The Art of Surgery*.

*Fri. 14.*—Several peaceful hours he spent with German and Archbishop Sharpe's sermons. Armed with Gother's *Sinner's Complaint to God*—the book which during the voyage had produced so good an effect on Oglethorpe—he set out on his afternoon round of pastoral visitation. His first adventure was 'a quarrel between Mrs. Dean and her son.' In an interview with Mr. Dean he 'got a little good.' He also conversed with Eleanor Dean, and 'got a little good.' This curious expression, at this time frequently recurring in the account of his pastoral experiences, may be taken as typical. Just as his projected mission to the Indians was undertaken in the first instance 'to save his own soul,' so his attempts to save colonist parishioners has for its ultimate motive the good he can get to his own soul. At a later period his chief concern was to *do* all the good he could: his present concern is to *get* all the good he can.

*Sat. 15.*—Miss Sophy, who is 'open,' comes in the early morning. His occupations are German, Sharpe's sermons, Gother, Francke, and Greek Testament. His hour with Delamotte, spent in prayer and in reading the Greek Testament, causes some concern. Hence his prayer—*Κύριε βοήθει*.

P. St Anthony's Fire.

Smarted much.

*Sun. 16.*—He is in pain. 'John' comes, and he is easier. This strengthens the theory that 'John' is 'John Reinier,' the French surgeon whom he had befriended. At the first service Ingham read prayers. At

<sup>1</sup> No hint is given in the Journal of the reason for this unexpected visit or of John's sickness. In Charles's Journal we have a full account of his reconciliation to Oglethorpe, and of the external perils threatening the colony; of Oglethorpe's safe return from his expedition against the Spaniards; of various 'alarums and excursions' incident to the uncertainty prevailing along the frontier between the English and Spanish territory; of Charles's recovered health and the resumption of morning exposition; of Appee's request for baptism and of his intended marriage to Miss Bovey. On Tuesday, May 12, near midnight, Oglethorpe, in the scout-boat, followed in the wake of the other boats under Captain Hermsdorf's command. They were going to St. George's to treat with the

Spaniards, and to bring away Major Richards and Mr. Horton, who had been arrested contrary to the law of nations, and were, it was feared, in some peril. Charles writes: 'At four the next day I set out for Savannah, whither the Indian traders were coming down to meet me and take out their licences. I was overjoyed at my deliverance out of this furnace, and not a little ashamed of myself for being so.' *Sun. 16.*—We landed at Skidoway, and dined at Mrs. Mouse's. I then went round, and asked the few people there were upon the island to come to prayers: which accordingly I read, and preached to about ten in the guard-room; and promised so to contrive, if possible, that they should be supplied once a month. At four we returned to our boat, and by six reached

his absence: and it was at last agreed that Mr. Ingham and I should take our turns in assisting them; and the first was allotted me. Accordingly, on *Tuesday*, 18th, I walked to Thunderbolt; whence the next afternoon we set out in a small boat. In the evening we touched at Skidoway, and had a small but attentive congregation to join with us in evening prayer.

ten 'John' came again. Wesley read Hickee to them, Ingram reading the Collects, singing, and preaching. The communicants numbered twenty-one. The Sunday passed as usual, until at nine in the evening Charles came and they talked together 'of Frederica.' At ten he took 'physick.'

*Mon. 17.*—At five 'John [Reinier]' came. Notwithstanding his pain Wesley read prayers and expounded. In the garden, with Charles and Ingham, he conversed of Frederica until eight; he then worked at German and Sharpe's sermons until noon, when he ended the second volume of the latter. He sang with them, dined, conversed, and visited; but 'all' on whom he called 'were out.' Later in the afternoon he was more successful. Among others whom he then saw was Miss Bovey. Whilst at Miss Bovey's house James Brownfield called, and close conversation became impossible. The loss of such an opportunity must afterwards have been deeply regretted, for already the younger of the two sisters—the one to whom Appee was engaged to be married—was marked for death. The Germans, with whom he read prayers and expounded that evening, prayed for him. They knew that he was suffering, and understood to some extent his anxiety. Before the day closed 'John' came again, probably to dress the boil, into which the inflammatory swelling (St. Anthony's fire) had developed. This is the explanation of the words 'on business' which immediately follow.

*Tues. 18.*—'John' came again soon after four to attend to the 'business.' Ill as he was, and in 'pain,' he read prayers. At six Mrs. Causton and Miss Sophy came, and at eight Percy; half an hour later he set out, Ingham, Charles, and Delamotte walking with him. By eleven they reached Mr. Lacy's. They read prayers and expounded; conversed with Chapman and 'got no good.' In the afternoon Ingham and Charles left, John and Delamotte walking with them part of the way. He read prayers again in the evening, after a close conversation with Mr. Lacy.

*Wed. 19.*—At 4.15 he was abroad, walking and translating German. At seven he returned home and drank coffee with the Lacys, and transcribed verses and 'necessary papers.' Soon after ten he walked with Mrs. Lacy. In the afternoon Charles came over from Savannah, bringing Delamotte with him. They were evidently anxious, and not without cause. At three

Thunderbolt; whence I walked the five remaining miles to Savannah. Mr. Ingham, Mr. Delamotte, and my brother were surprised at my unexpected visit;

but it being late, we each retired to his respective corner of the room, where, without the help of a bed, we slept soundly till the morning.'

## SECOND FREDERICA JOURNAL

MAY 22, *Sat.*—About four in the afternoon we entered upon Doboy Sound. The wind, which was right ahead, was so high when we were in the middle of it, and the sea so rough, being driven in at the inlet, that the boat was on the point of sinking every moment. But it pleased God to bring us safe to the other

he was 'sick and vomited,' and again at four. But by five he was 'better.' The 'pettiawga' came. At six he set out in the 'open boat.' By seven he was singing. With difficulty they made Skidoway, where he was hospitably entertained, as Charles had been only a few days before, by Mrs. Mouse. He read prayers and expounded to a congregation of nine. At nightfall they set out, the rain having ceased, and by ten he slept.

*Thur. 20.*—The Diary notes on this voyage are sufficiently interesting to warrant transcription. The handwriting shakes, at times, with the motion of the boat :

- 3½ Rowed; conversed. 4 Rowed; conversed.  
 5 Rowed; prayer, conversed, ½, at all-hon [? the name of an island]; talked.  
 6 Great trouble, Mr. Delamotte drest me. 7 Set out; translated German.  
 8 Translated German. 9 Began de Renty; 10 de Renty.  
 11 Washed feet. Verses. Lay by. 12 Dined; very hot; conversed.  
 1 Set out; read Renty; wind rose. 2 Renty; very rough!  
 3½ On Millikin's Island; on business.  
 4½ Greek Testament. Supper; conversed with two; no water.  
 5 Conversed. Set out; verses; water; rough! afraid!  
 6 Water? [bad writing] S. Katherine's Sound. Rough!  
 7 On the sand; conversed; exceedingly afraid!  
 8 Conversed; 9½ on S. Katherine; could not find water!  
 10 Boat at 10.30 found water. Lay on shore.

*Fri. 21.*

- 5 On Business; talked; my boil better.  
 6 Walked with Delamotte, ½, would rest [shorthand] me.  
 7 Meditation, prayer, 8; Greek Testament.  
 9 Greek Testament. Read prayers, expounded, meditation.  
 10 Set out, diary, transcribed German.  
 11 Translated German, 12 dined. 5s½ at one, 2  
 1 Slept ½, rowed. Sea rough, wind high! 4½ Delamotte's Island; made fire.  
 5 Talked, conversed, conversed and prayed, sung.  
 6 Read prayers, expounded 20, conversed. 7½ Set out; rough.  
 9 Lay by near the Sound. Could not go on!

*Sat. 22.*

- 4 Rowed; private prayer; sung.  
 5 Private prayer, ½, Sapalo; on business, talked, conversed, diary, 7½ prayer.  
 8 Slept, 9½, Set out; on ground. Transcribed verses.  
 12½ Dined, 1 diary, read Renty. 3 Transcribed German ½, Wind rose.  
 4 Doboy Sound, very rough, high sea, prayer! 5 In the Creek. Sung.  
 6 Sung, ½, great trouble, anchor in St Simon's Road; supped.  
 10 Slept.



side in half an hour, and to Frederica the next morning. We had public prayers at nine, at which nineteen persons were present, and (I think) nine communicants.

The only certain evidence we have as to the hymns Wesley at this time translated from the German and sang is found in this second volume of the Georgia Diary, where, on the last pages, he has transcribed (or more probably written for the first time) four hymns from the German which he published a few months later in the *Charlestown Collection of Psalms and Hymns*. But it is clear, from the many records in the Diary, that these four hymns represent but slightly his industry in this special department of literature.

Now that we can picture Wesley's daily life, we can enter understandingly into the allusions of familiar hymns, the innermost meaning of which has hitherto been hidden. No sympathetic reader, remembering the circumstances of this time as now revealed—the traveller's sickness, the severing of friendships, the anxieties and moral perils through which all the 'Company' were passing—can follow the story of this voyage without recalling some of the finest verses John Wesley ever translated—verses which may have been composed, some or all of them, then, and which certainly, whenever written, breathed reminiscences of this stormy voyage, of a safe anchorage, and of spiritual experiences in which the 'everlasting love' was the one sure hope :

Now I have found the ground wherein  
Sure my soul's anchor may remain.<sup>1</sup>

And again :

Though waves and storms go o'er my head,  
Though strength, and health, and friends be gone,  
Though joys be withered all and dead,  
Though every comfort be withdrawn,  
On this my steadfast soul relies,—  
Father, Thy mercy never dies !

All this was exactly true of Wesley at this time. Nor may we forget that the 'sinners' in Frederica he was still hoping to save may have been present in his thoughts when he wrote :

Father, Thine everlasting grace  
Our scanty thought surpasses far ;  
Thy heart still melts with tenderness,  
Thy arms of love still open are,  
Returning sinners to receive,  
That mercy they may taste, and live.

<sup>1</sup> A free translation of Johann Andreas Rothe's hymn—*Ich habe nun den Grund gefunden*, first published in 1727, later in *Herrnhut Gesang-Buch*, 1735 ; and by John Wesley in *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, 1740. Wesley submitted a copy of the translation to P. H. Molther, one of the German Moravians in London. Molther,

on Jan. 25, 1740, returned the translation with a suggested alteration in one verse—'O Love, thou bottomless abyss.' Wesley adopted the alteration, and the hymn passed into the English Moravian book. The hymn bears the stamp of its Moravian origin, particularly in verse 1, line 3, and in verse 3.

*Sun. 23.*—At six in the morning he arrived in Frederica. Oglethorpe sent for him at once. ‘Talked of the Spaniards. All well.’

They talked of Miss Fosset, Savannah, and Miss Sophy. He called on Mrs. Welch, who was ‘much afraid.’ At prayers three only were present, at first; eventually the congregation increased to nineteen. He had a serious conversation with Horton, who with Major Richards had been captured by the Spaniards under a flag of truce and had only been rescued without bloodshed by Oglethorpe’s resourcefulness and courage. He also saw Dison, chaplain of the Independent Company, of whose morals Charles had formed a low estimate. He preached, administered Holy Communion, dined with Oglethorpe, conversed with Mrs. Hird, Reed, and Appee. Germans came, and they sang together. Mrs. Welch sent for him. Mr. Hawkins, Oglethorpe, and Mr. Mackay talked together; and when all had gone, at midnight he read his Journal to Oglethorpe, he being ‘quite open.’

At 1 a.m. they ‘talked of Mrs. Welch and Mrs. Hawkins; he [Oglethorpe] open and friendly.’ At two they ‘talked of Savannah and Frederica; he convinced.’ At three they ‘talked of his life and company; he affected.’ And so the long day came to an end; it began on board the anchored boat in St. Simon’s Road at half-past five on the Sunday morning, and included no moments of rest or cessation from profoundly anxious pastoral duty. At four he slept, and at 5.15 rose for private prayer and the usual round of conversation, visitation, exposition, until 9.30, when he ‘lay down without a bolster.’ The next morning he was ill, but sickness does not seem to have shortened the day or lessened his labours for the people.

*Wed. 26.*—In the early morning he read Gother and prayed for Frederica. At six Oglethorpe sent for him to converse of Mrs. Lawley. Mrs. Welch came, and Mr. Appee. It was a fast, and he kept it rigidly, visiting or receiving members of his flock, hour after hour, his only recreation ‘singing,’ and the only other variant employment two services of prayer and exposition. The last entry but one in the day’s record is—‘Q? Is she in love?’ The final entry is laconic, and suggestive of the utter discomfort in which his nights were spent: ‘Fleas: no sleep. 12 slept.’

*Thur. 27.*—He began the day as early as usual, but he was compelled to take physic. Talking over the case of Mrs. Hawkins with Delamotte, he notes the one word ‘clear,’ referring, we may assume, to the conclusion which dawned upon him the night before. Mr. Horton came in great trouble. Within and without there were the gravest causes for anxiety. The Spaniards disputed Oglethorpe’s right to establish an English colony on St. Simon’s Island, claiming it as a possession of the Spanish Crown, and Horton knew that the colony was a rope of sand. Wesley was reading his Greek Testament, sleeping and singing,

<sup>1</sup> In his printed Journal Wesley says not a word of the exciting public events agitating Frederica. Even the Diary, though preserving an hourly record of

personal and pastoral life during this visit, adds little to our knowledge of affairs. Charles Wesley is much more communicative.

*Fri. 28.*—I read the Commendatory Prayer<sup>1</sup> by Mr. Germain, who lay at the point of death. He had lost his speech and his senses. His eyes were set, neither had he any discernible motion but the heaving of his breast. While we stood round him, he stretched out his arms, rubbed his head, recovered his

when Mrs. Welch came, saying that Mrs. Hawkins wanted to see him. He ignored her request, and read *Canones Critici* until interrupted by Mr. Reed and Lawley. The rest of the day passed without incident, except that he visited Mr. Lassel, read Kempis to him and Hird, and 'buried a man.'

*Fri. 28.*—The books used in his work during these days were the Greek Testament, Kempis, and Gother's *Sinner's Complaint to God*. The two former he read in preparing for the daily expositions; the Greek Testament he read every day with Delamotte; Kempis he sometimes read to the sick and to such spiritually-minded persons as the

<sup>1</sup> Germain seems to have been one of the soldiers of the little colony. It was his child whom Charles Wesley wished to baptize by immersion, and his arrest for shooting on Sunday morning (March 21) was the beginning of trouble in Frederica (C. W.'s Journal, vol. i.). The 'Commendatory Prayer' was one of three prayers inserted, in 1662, at the close of the Office for the Visitation of the Sick. These prayers were intended for special cases,—for 'a sick person, when there appeareth small hope of recovery'; 'A Commendatory Prayer for a sick person at the point of departure'; 'A Prayer for persons troubled in mind or conscience.' The addition took the place of the Prayer and Psalm of anointing in the First Edw. VI Prayer-book, just as *they* took the place of the Sacrament of Extreme Unction in the Roman Catholic Missal. In the Diary Wesley calls it 'the last Prayer'; in the Journal 'the Commendatory Prayer.' This removes all doubt as to which of the three prayers was used. A little more than a year before, on April 25, 1735, John Wesley had used this same prayer in the death-chamber of the rectory at Epworth:

O Almighty God, with whom do live the spirits of just men made perfect, after they are delivered from their earthly prisons; we

humbly commend the soul of this Thy servant, our dear brother, into Thy hands, as into the hands of a faithful Creator and most merciful Saviour; most humbly beseeching Thee that it may be precious in Thy sight. Wash it, we pray Thee, in the blood of that immaculate Lamb that was slain to take away the sins of the world; that whatsoever defilements it may have contracted in the midst of this miserable and naughty world, through the lusts of the flesh, or the wiles of Satan, being purged and done away, it may be presented pure and without spot before Thee. And teach us who survive, in this and other like daily spectacles of mortality, to see how frail and uncertain our own condition is, and so to number our days, that we may seriously apply our hearts to that holy and heavenly wisdom, whilst we live here, which may in the end bring us to life everlasting, through the merits of Jesus Christ, Thy only Son our Lord. *Amen.*

We know, from the sermon preached in Savannah not many weeks before, how his father's death lived in his memory. As he recited this prayer in the dying soldier's palmetto hut at Frederica, he must have recalled his father's last words, 'Now you have done all,' and his brother Charles's description of the closing scene: 'This was about half an hour after six; from which time till sunset he made signs of offering up himself, till my brother having again used the prayer, the very moment it was finished he expired.'



sight, speech, and understanding ; and immediately sending for the bailiffs, settled the affairs of his family ; and then lay down, and died.

At the first service on *Sunday*, May 30, were only five ; at the second, twenty-five. The next day I made Mr. Lassel's will ; who, notwithstanding his great weakness, was quite revived when any mention was made of death or of eternity.

Hirds. Gother's book he kept for the disciplining of Mrs. Hawkins and other sinners. The entries are curious :

- 4 Private prayer. 5 Kempis, sung, prayed with Delamotte.
- 6 Greek Testament, private prayer again, sent for Mrs Hawkins : Greek with Delamotte.
- 7 Gother for her. German.
- 8 Talked, conversed,  $\frac{1}{2}$ , read the last prayer by Mr Germain. She not come.
- 9 He recovered. Visited sick.

In the afternoon :

- 2 Gother. 3 Sent for Mrs Hawkins. She would not come.

The interpretation is obvious. He had serious misgivings about this notable convert. She wanted to talk with him. He silently declined to obey her summons, and discussed the whole case with Delamotte as the only available member of 'our Company.' He again made it a matter of prolonged prayer—prayer alone and with Delamotte. As the result he armed himself with a drastic pastoral remedy—Gother's *Sinner's Complaint to God*. Twice in this one day he thus armed himself, and sent for her. The result on each occasion was the same : 'She would not come.'

*Sat.* 29.—In the top corner of the page are the words :

*Salute solam  
cogitem.*

May 29, Sa. 1736.

The words in the corner opposite—probably a continuation of the quotation—are illegible, all the pages being more or less stained by water.

It was the festival of the restoration of the Royal Family, which, however, did not appeal to the people of Frederica. Five only were present to hear Wesley read the appointed prayers and psalms ; in the evening one only attended. Three hours he gave to his Journal ; in the evening he buried Mr. Germain.

*Sun.* 30.—The chief points of interest are the growing friendliness of the surgeon and his wife, a visit to the Fort, and the reading of 'Mr. and Mrs. Hawkins's case to Delamotte.' Passing the surgeon's door, Mrs. Hawkins invited him in, her husband regaling him on peas in place of the bread which constituted his present diet. They were 'very civil.'

*Mon.* 31.—'Mr. and Mrs. Hawkins very civil and serious and open.' He wrote his Journal, and in the afternoon made Mr. Lassel's will.

JUNE 1, *Tues.*—After praying with him, I was surprised to find one of the most controverted questions in divinity, disinterested love, decided at once by a poor old man, without education or learning, or any instructor but the Spirit of God. I asked him what he thought of paradise (to which he had said he was going); he said, 'To be sure, it is a fine place. But I don't mind that; I don't care what place I am in. Let God put me where He will, or do with me what He will, so I may but set forth His honour and glory.'

*Thur.* 3.—Being Ascension Day, we had the Holy Communion; but only Mr. Hird's family<sup>1</sup> joined with us in it. One reason why there were no more was, because a few words which a woman had inadvertently spoken had set almost all the town in a flame.<sup>2</sup> Alas! how shall a city stand that is thus divided

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JUNE 1, *Tues.*—He ended the section of the Journal on which for some days he had been engaged. An attempted explanation and reconciliation between offending neighbours seems to have been in progress, with the result that in the morning Mrs. Hawkins was very serious, and in the afternoon, at a small foregathering, she was 'much affected and open': at evening prayer nine were present, including Mrs. Hawkins. That night Wesley 'slept sound.'

*Wed.* 2.—At five he was 'in the water.' He was an expert swimmer. At eight, with a party of friends, he went to inspect the Acre Lot. Before nightfall there were signs of a returning storm in the small community.

*Holy Thursday,* 3.—It was Ascension Day. Some hours he spent in meditation on a sermon which he does not seem to have preached, the people being in no mood for sermons. Five only attended at Holy Communion. A reflection on 'Mr. Meyer's [or Meier's] Christianity,' made by some unnamed person in the presence of 'much company,' ruined the great Festival. In the afternoon he went to see 'the house,' and 'talked with the workmen,' wrote his Diary, walked, meditated.

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<sup>1</sup> The Hirds were the Quaker family baptized by Wesley on board the *Simmonds* (Nov. 16, 1735). They were true friends to the Wesleys. Charles persuaded Mr. Hird to use his influence with the people to lay aside all thought of leaving the colony (Charles Wesley's Journal, p. 10). Hird and Davison were appointed constables in Frederica. The latter also was a loyal friend—Charles Wesley's 'Good Samaritan.'

<sup>2</sup> Much as we wish to do so, it is impossible to study the Diary, and escape

from the all-pervading presence of the surgeon's wife. Wesley still clung to the belief that this unhappy woman was sincere during those lucid moments when she professed to be 'seriously affected.' Others believed her to be a clever hypocrite. An account of the case, with the exception of a fragment rudely torn from its place, has perished.

In so small a community the doctor and his wife filled a large place. They ranked with Oglethorpe, Horton, the naval and military officers of the station,

against itself; where there is no brotherly love, no meekness, no forbearing or forgiving one another; but envy, malice, revenge, suspicion, anger, clamour, bitterness, evil speaking, without end? Abundant proof that there can be no true love of man, unless it be built on the love of God.

*Sun. 6.*—Calling on Mr. Lassel, and asking how he did, 'My departure,' said he, 'I hope is at hand.' I asked, 'Are you troubled at that?' He replied, 'Oh no; to depart, and to be with Christ, is far better. I desire no more of this bad world. My hope and my joy and my love is there.' The next time I saw him he said, 'I desire nothing more than for God to forgive

*Fri. 4.*—By five o'clock he was at 'the house.' Six times on this page the 'house' is named. He began a new section of his Journal. In the evening he went to see Mr. and Mrs. Hawkins. 'She was out of humour.'

*Sat. 5.*—By half-past four he was at the garden, where he 'sowed,' had a good talk with Mr. Hawkins, met Mr. Lawley and Hird, and at six 'fished.' The 'house' is central in his thoughts, so much so that he begins himself to 'work' upon it. Twice on this page he names his work on the house. Full of enthusiasm about some new project, he does not neglect pastoral visitation nor his special work in trying to save the worst 'case' in Frederica. He converses 'close.' Finding her 'reserved,' he 'walked with her to the Acre Lot,' where her husband was.

*Sun. 6.*—He notes the attendances—13 at morning prayers; 25 for the sermon; 9 communicants; and 26 at afternoon exposition. He sang repeatedly throughout the day.

and the Wesleys. When Oglethorpe and the officers were away on duty, the gossip of the town gathered round the surgery and the parsonage. The furious outbreaks of the doctor's wife, who had nearly murdered a constable, and the extraordinary efforts made by the scholarly parson to convert both the woman and her husband, could not fail to excite interest. What wonder that this woman—gay, clever, passionate, sentimentally religious, half demented, playing a double, if not a treble, part—became a centre of mischief and a source of daily anxiety to the pastor, and indeed to all who were responsible for the peace of the little community? She swung from one extreme to another; was now in floods of repentance, and now in fires of demoniacal passion. It was at once the

most difficult and the most dangerous case in Frederica. For those reasons it appealed to Wesley. There can be little doubt that, had he succeeded in securing Surgeon Hawkins and his wife as consistent communicants, he would have created a moral force in the colony that would have gone far to make Frederica a strong outpost of the English Church, and indeed of the British Crown. He failed, partly because he did not perceive, until it was too late, that the sheep were, after all, but wolves in sheep's clothing. The story, as it slowly unrolls in the Diary, may be tedious, but it must always be remembered that it was experience, discipline, and one among many causes driving both the Wesleys towards their true place and vocation.



my many and great sins. I would be humble. I would be the humblest creature living. My heart is humble and broken for my sins. Tell me, teach me, what shall I do to please God? I would fain do whatever is His will.' I said, 'It is His will you should suffer.' He answered, 'Then I *will* suffer. I will gladly suffer whatever pleases Him.'

*Mon. 7.*—Finding him weaker, I asked, 'Do you still desire to die?' He said, 'Yes; but I dare not pray for it, for fear I should displease my heavenly Father. His will be done. Let Him work His will, in my life or in my death.'

*Thur. 10.*—We began to execute at Frederica what we had before agreed to do at Savannah. Our design<sup>1</sup> was, on Sundays

*Mon. 7.*—At 4.45 he is surprised to find 'no men at the house.' He 'sought them.' Throughout the day 'the house' occupied his attention. Von Reck and his brother, and Ausberg, called. He wrote to Charles, and had, as usual, a busy day 'with the people.' At night he 'could not sleep for flies and company.'

*Tues. 8.*—'All went to the house.' He reports Mrs. Hawkins 'in a passion and utterly unreasonable.' He administers the Communion to Mr. Lassel, and has a conversation with Mr. Dison, chaplain to the Independent Company.

*Wed. 9.*—After dinner he worked for an hour and a half on the house, visited, and wrote his Journal. He talked with Dison, Von Reck, and Horton, and wrote to Charles and Oglethorpe.

*Thur. 10.*—Twice 'the house' is named. At midday he worked for more than two hours, apparently finishing the new room. After evening prayers Mark Hird remained, and they 'began to sing' and 'converse.'

<sup>1</sup> THE HOUSE in which the society met. —No explanation is given as to its size or purpose. Was it a temporary church, a school-room, a parsonage, a parish-room, or something of all four? The largest congregation assembling in Frederica at one time was forty-four. At first, and possibly to the close of the Wesley period, the public services were held in the store-house, or guard-room. It is probable that at the very beginning one building served the triple purpose of store, guard-room, and church. In Charles Wesley's time there was no parsonage; he occupied a corner in Mr. Reed's house or hut. At his first visit John lay in the guard-room; that is to say, in the temporary church. On the oc-

casión of his second visit he at first lodged probably with Reed, Davison, or Hird. The house he himself helped to build may afterwards have become his home. If so, the case is exactly parallel to that of Savannah, where undoubtedly the parsonage was used as a meeting-place for the society. To a man who never 'went to bed, as it is called,' who lay down on the floor, in a corner of a hut, on the ground, or on the deck of a boat, who lived almost exclusively on bread, and who had disciplined himself to despise the luxuries and even the common comforts of life, it was a matter of indifference where he made his home. A house was useful for study, writing, for the storage of books and papers, for

June 10. Sk.

39.

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 - 7, 2, 6, 13, 5, 3. 57





in the afternoon, and every evening, after public service, to spend some time with the most serious of the communicants in singing, reading, and conversation. This evening we had only Mark Hird.

conversation with friends, for shelter in rain and sickness, for meetings; it might even be an essential for the conservation of work and the instruction of converts. For these reasons he built a house in Frederica. For similar reasons he fenced his garden and built therein an arbour. The house may have been used as a dwelling; that its original design was the provision of a suitable place in which the society might meet, there can be no doubt.

THE SOCIETY.—Wesley does not so call it. 'Company' was still his favourite word. It described all gatherings of earnest Christians for mutual edification. Savannah and Frederica were places that sorely needed cultured and closely associated Christian life. Such life might now, as in early Christian days, fulfil in part the purpose of an ordained pastorate. He could not himself hope to remain long in either place. His mission was to the Indians. Ingham, in preparation for missionary work, was learning the Indian language, and had gone to live near one of the tribes. Charles had utterly broken down. Neither Oglethorpe nor the S.P.G. had succeeded in finding additional help. When John returned to Savannah, would either Charles or Ingham take his place in Frederica? Even if they did, was there much hope of success, apart from the creation of a Christian social force—a living church, united, spiritual, zealous for God? This was the 'design' which issued in the first societies formed in America—the creation of an organized Christian fellowship—companies—societies. Like their prototype, the Oxford Society, they were in all essential points *Methodist* societies.

THE HYMNS they sang.—Singing was a prominent feature in the gatherings of these little companies. It will be noted that he puts 'singing' first—'in singing, reading, and conversation.' With this

the Diary is in agreement. Suitable hymns, however, were scarce. It has been said, on high authority, that before 1736 the Church of England had no hymn-book. It had two metrical versions of the Psalms—Sternhold and Hopkins, and the New Version by Tate and Brady. It had books like George Herbert's *Temple* and Jeremy Taylor's *Golden Grove*. It had devotional books in which hymns were inserted. But of hymn-books proper there were none. Wesley, in his daily visits to the Moravians, on shipboard and at Savannah, heard hymn-singing of an entirely new order. The printed Journal gives no glimpse even of the revolution in church psalmody which was finding voice in this insignificant and scattered colonial parish. But Wesley's Diary lifts the veil, and we see the gentle, spring-like forces gathering strength—forces which in a little while were destined to bring colours, fragrances, and melody to all the Churches. The beginnings were obscure, fitful, and without visible promise. A would-be missionary, cut adrift from his old life, driven, against his will, into strange and not very congenial work; little groups of men, women, and young people, needing song for the uplifting of their religious life, passionate words of faith and hope and love sung to stately choral music; a master in language-learning, with an hereditary and highly trained gift for picturesque expression and musical rhythm,—these were the elementary and providential preparations. The result was seen, first, in early-morning devotions, when two or three met together to read and pray and sing; then in sick-chambers where men and women, dying friendless and forlorn in a strange land, opened wide their eyes at the sound of a musical voice singing a new song; then in Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday meetings of 'our little companies'; and

But on Sunday Mr. Hird and two more desired to be admitted. After a psalm and a little conversation I read Mr. Law's *Christian Perfection*, and concluded with another psalm.

*Fri. 11.*—In the early morning he resumed German, sang, transcribed German, read Gother, and continued German until eleven, when he read prayers and expounded.

last of all, in the daily public prayers, and at the weekly celebration of that holy Mystery which Wesley, borrowing his Lord's word and following the example of the ancient Church, called the 'Eucharistic Feast.' For these purposes he transcribed German psalms and hymns, translated them, recast them into noble English verse, and taught his people to sing them. He added to his manuscript collection some of Watts's choicest metrical renderings of the Psalms, a Spanish psalm, a French hymn, quaint examples from George Herbert, and a few of Austin's hymns culled from Hicke's *Reformed Devotions*. As yet he had no thought of printing, or of any wider use for his slowly accumulating store of psalms and hymns. He was only a voice singing in the wilderness. Charles had not yet found his inspiration. The old father, now gone to the Church Triumphant, and 'my brother Samuel,' whose poems he had just revised, were the only members of the Wesley family represented in the collection. Of his own original work there was nothing, except a single verse the history of which is characteristic. It was added to three verses borrowed from Hicke for use in meetings of a select society in Frederica.

Wesley's first thought for the 'company' of communicants was that they should meet every day after evening prayers and every Sunday afternoon. This he quickly modified. The society-meeting was to be held on Wednesdays and Fridays—the fast-days of the Holy Club and of the early Church; also on Sunday afternoons. The *Charlestown Collection of Psalms and Hymns*, published a few months later, was divided into three sections: 'Psalms and Hymns

for Sunday'; 'Psalms and Hymns for Wednesday or Friday'; and 'Psalms and Hymns for Saturday.' The second section consists of confessional and penitential hymns—such as

'O Thou that hear'st when sinners cry.'

'Behold the Saviour of mankind.'

'With joy we meditate the grace.'

'How sad our state by nature is!'

No. xviii. is entitled *Inconstancy*. Three of its verses are borrowed from Hicke's *Devotions*. They reflect the spiritual condition of those, including Wesley himself, who, in the new 'house' at Frederica, sang the hymn on Wednesday or Friday:

Lord Jesus, when, when shall it be,  
That I no more shall break with Thee?  
When will this war of passions cease,  
And my free soul enjoy Thy peace?

Here I repent and sin again;  
Now I revive, and now am slain;  
Slain with the same unhappy dart  
Which, O! too often wounds my heart.

In Hicke nine verses follow, which Wesley declined to transcribe, and could not sing. They begin thus:

'Tis not, alas, on this low earth  
That such pure flowers can find a birth:  
Only they spring above the skies,  
Where none can live till here he dies.

Even now, in his pre-conversion days, he cannot accept such teaching. So he composes (or borrows from some untraced source) a new verse:

Guide Thou, my Lord, guide Thou my course,  
And draw me on with Thy sweet force.  
Still make me walk, still make me tend,  
By Thee my Way, to Thee my End;

And he leaves the hymn unfinished, with a semicolon that points, finger-like, to a coming time when he shall have learned more, seeing no longer darkly, but face to face.

*Sat. 12.*—Being with one who was very desirous to converse with me, but not upon religion, I spoke to this effect: ‘Suppose you was going to a country where every one spoke Latin, and understood no other language, neither would converse with any that did not understand it; suppose one was sent to stay here a short time, on purpose to teach it you; suppose that person, pleased with your company, should spend his time in trifling with you, and teach you nothing of what he came for: would that be well done? Yet this is our case. You are going to a country where every one speaks the love of God. The citizens of heaven understand no other language. They converse with none who do not understand it. Indeed, none such are admitted there. I am sent from God to teach you this. A few days are allotted us for that purpose. Would it then be well done in me, because I was pleased with your company, to spend this short time in trifling, and teach you nothing of what I came for? God forbid! I will rather not converse with you at all. Of the two extremes, this is the best.’

12 Began dinner: sent for to the Fort together with Mr Hawkins and company.

1 With Mrs Hawkins, she angry, Mr Hawkins would not come.

2 Dined with her, conversing, she milder.

3 Mr Hawkins came, she very angry. They quarrelled.

4 He went; talked, she a little milder.

5 He came, she very angry, quarrelled, alas!

6 Great truth (?) which she could not bear. Got no good.

*Sat. 12.*—All the duties of this day, including exposition, sick-visiting, and prayer, were faithfully performed, but with constant interruptions by the surgeon and his wife. The harassed pastor’s consolation was Law’s *Christian Perfection*, singing, and the Greek Testament. Mr. Hawkins did not leave him till eleven o’clock at night.

*Whit Sunday, 13.*—This, according to his own estimate, was one of the notable days in his life—the day on which he succeeded in executing what he and his Moravian friends (see p. 197) had ‘before agreed to do at Savannah.’ The ‘design’ really was begun three days earlier, on Thursday, June 10, the day on which he put the finishing-touch to ‘the house.’ On that day after evening prayers and exposition he began a meeting—a society-meeting like the one already commenced in Savannah, and similar to those held in Oxford by the Holy Club, and those in Bristol and London two years later. For the first meeting of the society, only one person came from the outside—Mark Hird, the first Methodist in Frederica. John Wesley, Charles Delamotte, and Mark Hird, in the first Methodist society-room built for the purpose, met for half an hour, from 8.45. ‘Began singing and conversed until 9.15,’ is the only description in the Diary. He then walked with Delamotte, conversing for an hour. The next evening



*Wed. 16.*—Another little company of us met; Mr. Reed, Davison, Walker, Delamotte, and myself. We sang, read a little of Mr. Law, and then conversed. Wednesdays and Fridays were the days we fixed for constant meeting.

the only person who came was Mrs. Patterson, with whom he conversed closely for half an hour. On Saturday night, at the same hour, he sang with Delamotte and company, and on this Whit Sunday held the first full meeting of the new society. At four in the afternoon Mrs. Mackay, Phoebe Hird, and Betty Hazle came.<sup>1</sup> First they talked, probably as to the design in holding these meetings; they then conversed seriously, sang, began Law's *Christian Perfection*, and at 5.45 closed the meeting with another hymn. Remembering how small a place Frederica was, and how godless, the congregations at the public services were some proof of the influence the minister was winning among the people—at 8 o'clock exposition, 15; at eleven sermon 30, including Mr. Moore, lieutenant of the *Hawk*; at Holy Communion, 12; at afternoon exposition, 37. He visited two families, wrote for Lassel, who was dying, and ended the day by rousing the anger of Mrs. Hawkins because he persisted in treating her to religious conversation, his final comment being 'Got no good.'

*Mon. 14.*—This morning he had a conversation with Mr. Patterson, who was minister to the Scotch in their settlement at Darien. He was sent for by his first *Simmonds* convert, Mr. Tackner; with him he conversed and prayed in German, afterwards translating Law's *Christian Perfection* (i.e. a reading in) into German. Among the other parishioners on whom he called was Mrs. Walker, the sick woman whom he visited on board the *London Merchant* (p. 114). In the afternoon he 'nailed pales' round his garden. Mrs. Hird and her friends attended the society-meeting; they sang. Mrs. Hawkins came to supper, and was 'in a good humour.'

*Tues. 15.*—This morning he 'worked' in his garden. The entries recall the first Diary and the garden at Wroot:

9 Made an arbour. 4 Worked; Gother. 6 Garden; conversing; gathered flowers.

The same evening, after a close conversation, Mrs. Hawkins 'utterly renounced my friendship. Be it so.'

*Wed. 16.*—The night before he had acquiesced in Mrs. Hawkins's renunciation of his friendship; but this morning, as he prayed, he thought of her again, resolved to write a letter, and spent nearly four hours in its composition. Its prodigious length probably helped to defeat its purpose. He held two society-meetings: one for men, referred to in the text, at two in the afternoon; and one for women and girls after evening prayers. Mr. Reed was the principal member of the first, and Phoebe Hird of the second. Singing was a prominent feature in both.

<sup>1</sup> The Diary gives the names clearly, and in this order. 'Mr. Hird,' of the printed Journal, is an error for 'Phoebe Hird.'

The 'other two' were 'Mrs. M[ac]k[ay] and Betty Hazle,' the latter a daughter of Mrs. Tackner.

*Thur. 17.*—An officer of a man-of-war, walking just behind us, with two or three of his acquaintances, cursed and swore exceedingly ; but upon my reproving him, seemed much moved, and gave me many thanks.

*Sat. 19.*—Mr. Oglethorpe returned from the south, and gave orders on Sunday, the 20th, that none should profane the day (as was usual before) by fishing or fowling upon it. In the afternoon I summed up what I had seen or heard at Frederica inconsistent with Christianity, and, consequently,

*Thur. 17.*—He visited much, sang frequently, and reproved once. Between five and six o'clock he was singing as he walked, when the occasion for reproof referred to in the Journal occurred. He does not give the naval officer's name. Having reproved his blasphemies, he resumed his song, and continued singing and meditating for an hour. After evening prayers Mark Hird and company came, and Wesley again sang.

*Fri. 18.*—The fast excluded dinner and supper ; but it did not to-day exclude a meal of bread at 6 a.m., nor the chocolate that Mr. Horton gave him between eight and nine, and that he religiously entered in his Diary. The special morning exercise was the transcription of German—probably another German hymn, either for his sick friend Tackner or for use in his society-meeting. Again there is distinct evidence of two society-meetings. The first began at two o'clock and ended at seven, members coming to the house in groups or singly. The second consisted of Phoebe Hird and her company, with whom he sang, as he had done with her brother the night before. The prolonged meeting held earlier in the day he thus chronicles :

2 Mr Davison, Walker, Mark Hird. Prayed, Law, conversed, sung. . . .

3 Mrs Colville came, talked, conversed.

4 Conversed till 4.15, walked, conversed with Mr Hird, meditated.

5 Law, sung. 6 Delamotte came, conversed. 7 At home, within, dressed.

8 Read prayers, expounded, Mrs Hawkins there. Phoebe Hird and company, sung.

We may infer, with some certainty, that the successive meetings of the society were held in 'the house,' and that the house was built in the 'Acre Lot,' a part of which Wesley had fenced in as a garden. After two hours indoors, on a hot day in June, talking, singing, and reading, Wesley was glad to adjourn to the garden, where he walked with Mr. Hird, reading Law and singing. Davison and Hird, being constables, could not both attend at the same hour. They evidently relieved one another, each coming to the meeting when off duty. Delamotte, who probably had been teaching the children, came last of all. At seven Wesley returned home, robing for evening service.

*Sat. 19.*—By 4.15 he was at the Bluff to take boat. Mr. Oglethorpe came. Interview with him and Mr. Horton (who had acted as magistrate during the chief's absence). He had a private talk with Burk, one of his *Simmonds* converts, who, it will be remembered, rowed him one day to Cowes. Burk brought news of Savannah that distressed him, news apparently that was afterwards discussed with Horton. These new colonies

with the prosperity of the place. The event was as it ought : some of the hearers were profited, and the rest deeply offended.

This day, at half an hour past ten, God heard the prayer of His servant ; and Mr. Lassel, according to his desire, was 'dissolved that he might be with Christ.'

*Tues. 22.*—Observing much coldness in Mr. Horton's behaviour, I asked him the reason of it. He answered, 'I like nothing you do. All your sermons are satires upon particular persons, therefore I will never hear you more ; and all the people are of my mind, for we won't hear ourselves abused.'

'Besides, they say they are Protestants. But as for you, they cannot tell what religion you are of. They never heard of such religion before. They do not know what to make of it. And then your private behaviour—all the quarrels that have been here since you came have been 'long of you. Indeed, there is neither man nor woman in the town who minds a word you say. And so you may preach long enough ; but nobody will come to hear you.'

He was too warm for hearing an answer. So I had nothing to do but to thank him for his openness, and walk away.

prospered in proportion as they enjoyed firm, just, and wise government. Causton's rule was the reverse. At two Mark Hird came. Wesley sang and read Law with him for an hour. He dined with Oglethorpe. After evening prayer he visited with Oglethorpe for more than an hour. At the service he notes the presence of Oglethorpe and Mrs. Hawkins, and quotes 'Job xxxi.' It was the previous day's Morning Lesson. At ten o'clock Oglethorpe talked to the bailiffs for an hour.

*Sun. 20.*—The people seem to have been stirred up by the arrival of Oglethorpe, and perhaps also by the visitation of the night before. The attendances at public worship suddenly rose to 13 at eight, 40 at eleven, and 44 at three, when Oglethorpe himself was present.

*Mon. 21.*—For the first time, in Frederica, we find trace of a parsonage :

7 With Oglethorpe and F. Moore, in talk. Mr and Mrs Hawkins at my house.

8 With Oglethorpe and Mr Ha[ydon] and Horton.

He buried Lassel in the evening. After prayers Mark Hird and his friends came ; Wesley sang and conversed : Oglethorpe was there also.

*Tues. 22.*—He began to pack, for he was about to leave Frederica, Savannah—a much more important place—requiring his presence. Mr. Horton was the unnamed person whose description, reported by Wesley himself, has been so often quoted. The note in the Diary is simply this :

6 Packed : in talk with Horton ; he very angry.

He saw many people in the course of the day, but apparently to little purpose. Twice he enters the now familiar formula, 'Got no good.' The only gleam of sunshine is, 'Mark Hird came, sung.'



*Wed. 23.*—I had a long conversation with Mr. M—— upon the nature of true religion. I then asked him why he did not endeavour to recommend it to all with whom he conversed. He said, 'I did so once, and for some time I thought I had done much good by it. But I afterwards found they were never the better, and I myself was the worse. Therefore now, though I always strive to be inoffensive in my conversation, I do not strive to make people religious, unless those that have a desire to be so, and are consequently willing to hear me. But I have not yet (I speak not of you or your brother) found one such person in America.'

'He that hath ears to hear, let him hear!' Mark the tendency of this accursed principle!<sup>1</sup> If you will speak only to those who are *willing to hear*, see how many you will turn from the error of their ways! If, therefore, striving to do good, you have done hurt, what then? So did St. Paul. So did the Lord of life. Even HIS word was 'the savour of death' as well as 'the savour of life.' But shall you therefore strive no more? God forbid! Strive more humbly, more calmly, more cautiously. Do not strive as you did before—but strive while the breath of God is in your nostrils.

Being to leave Frederica in the evening, I took the more notice of these words in the Lesson for the day: 'Whereunto<sup>2</sup> shall I liken the men of this generation? They are like unto children sitting in the market-place, and saying, We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced; we have mourned to you, and ye have not wept. For John the Baptist came neither eating bread nor drinking wine; and ye say, He hath a devil.

*Wed. 23.*—He wrote his Journal, talked with Oglethorpe 'of Savannah, also of himself.' In the afternoon he 'wrote for Oglethorpe on business.' He finished his packing, visited, sat by Mrs. Hawkins, who had fallen ill and was 'very angry.' In the evening Mark Hird came and found him ill.

8 Read prayers, expounded. Mr Hird and company, sung, conversed.

9 Conversed at Mr Colwell's about Mrs Hawkins. She very sad. Prayed for her.

10 Mrs Patterson's, and Mrs Colwell's, about [her], faint. Mr Hawkins. She very sad. Oglethorpe there; conversed with Mr Hawkins of her. Took leave. She very soft. Prayed.

11 In the pettiawga, prayed, slept, set out.

<sup>1</sup> This principle was adopted by many Moravians, and apparently by Zinzendorf himself.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of the first settlers in Georgia, see Franklin as quoted in Lady Huntingdon's *Life*, vol. ii. p. 275, note.

The Son of Man is come eating and drinking; and ye say, Behold a gluttonous man, and a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners!' (Luke vii. 31-4).

About eleven at night we took boat; and on *Saturday*, 26th, about one in the afternoon, came to Savannah. Oh, what do we want here, either for life or godliness! If suffering, God will send it in His time.

### THIRD SAVANNAH JOURNAL

JUNE 27, *Sun.*—About twenty joined with us in morning prayer. An hour or two after, a large party of Creek Indians came, the expectation of whom deprived us of our place of public worship,<sup>1</sup> in which they were to have their audience.

*Thur.* 24.—The voyage<sup>2</sup> was eventless. With a fair wind, among islands which at midsummer must have been surpassingly beautiful, the *periagua* made its way. Wesley was depressed. His mind was full of the past. His thoughts found expression in letters, written on the swiftly gliding boat, to Mrs. Hawkins, Mr. Colwell, and Mrs. Colwell. On the second day (Friday, 25th) Fitzwater's boat joined them. Colliton, Reeves, and Yoakly were on board—Indian traders, probably, on their way to Savannah, where they expected to meet Mr. Oglethorpe and his secretary. They drank chocolate together. At Dog Island it was 'very hot.' Early on Saturday morning he called the sleeping crew and gave them chocolate. The two boats 'set out together' at 5.15, and by ten o'clock reached Thunderbolt. He had a serious conversation with Colliton and Reeves, both of whom, he notes, were 'convinced.' Overland, with Fitzwater and Delamotte as comrades, he walked, preaching to Fitzwater all the way, he being 'seriously affected.' By noon he was once more at home with Charles, hearing the news and reading a letter from Spangenberg. Later in the day Oglethorpe arrived, travelling, probably, by the scout-boat which, with H.M. sloop *Hawk*, was at the service of the Governor. At eight he read prayers and expounded, afterwards calling on his friends the Germans. At midnight he 'lay down.'

*Sun.* 27.—The Diary page for this day is the first on which Byrom's shorthand appears. The few words, however, in the fifth column of the

<sup>1</sup> In Savannah, as we have seen, Wesley read prayers every day at five or six or eight o'clock in the morning. In view of the expected visit of Indians, the court-house, in which ordinarily public worship would be held, was requisitioned for conferences. Neither the Journal nor the Diary in its original form explains where the early service on

this particular day was held. The inserted shorthand supplies the missing information. The Germans lent their house of meeting.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Wesley in his Journal, under the same date, simply notes the fact—'Mr. Oglethorpe and my brother returned from Frederica.' But Charles's Journal as printed was greatly abbreviated.

ruled page seem to be insertions written on December 20, when Wesley, turning back, utilized the vacant spaces in his Diary for notes of a later date.

From eight o'clock he began to read his Frederica Journal to Charles and Ingham, continuing till ten. On this exercise he writes in shorthand the word 'religions.'

10. Greek Testament; conversed. Oglethorpe forbids prayers because Indians coming.
11. With him spoke not; conversed with Ingham.

Wesley was displeased. In shorthand he inserted the word 'reluctant.' At one o'clock, and again at three and four, the Indians are named. At this point, in shorthand, is inserted the significant word 'Scheme,' indicating, probably, the fact that on this Sunday afternoon Wesley discussed with the Indians a scheme of missionary work. At five he read prayers and Charles preached, Oglethorpe and fifty others being present. After the service he walked with Oglethorpe, conversing and meditating. He supped and sang with the Germans, and at 9.30 lay down for the night in the garden. The parsonage, like the court-house, was in the possession of the Indians.

*Mon. 28.*—At five he read prayers and expounded, removing immediately after the service to the German quarters, thus making room for the Indian delegates, who arrived at 7.30 a.m. Their presence in Savannah was regarded as an event of political and commercial importance. For Wesley the visit had still greater value. It might open the way to the missionary work for which he and Ingham had come to America. The Indians and Ingham talked together of the alphabet which Ingham had been studying for some time. At nine Wesley was 'in talk with Ingham and John [Reinier]; they were all agreed.' The remaining entries for this day illustrate Wesley's power of detachment and concentration. It was amidst the excitement of embarkation at Gravesend that he began his study of German, and now, on a day when the whole town must have been in a turmoil because of the Indian visitors, he began the study of Spanish. For two hours he forgot the worry of life in the joy of a new language. At noon he dined, and sang with the Germans, resuming Spanish at two. A thunderstorm broke in the afternoon, during which he meditated and slept. He was 'quite dispirited.' But John Brownfield came, and heard him read his Journal, and at night he was cheered to find Ingham and Delamotte 'very zealous.'

*Tues. 29.*—After a bath in the river he again read his Journal to John Brownfield. Oglethorpe and Captain Watson are named. The latter, as we learn subsequently, was under charges. There are negotiations, probably in relation to Indians and traders. Wesley, evidently dissatisfied with the proceedings, and with the secrecy observed, writes in the Diary, 'I know nothing.' Charles, who was still acting as secretary, and who, as he tells us, took down all the conversations with Indians and others in shorthand, significantly leaves these days blank in his Journal. John Wesley did not approve the policy at this time influencing Oglethorpe and others. He certainly disapproved the high-handed injustice meted out to Captain Watson. Oglethorpe knew this; hence his reticence. Hence also Wesley's despondent tone. It was as a messenger of peace and righteousness to the Indians he had forsaken all and come to



*Wed. 30.*—I hoped a door was opened for going up immediately to the Choctaws,<sup>1</sup> the least polished, that is, the least corrupted, of all the Indian nations. But upon my informing Mr. Oglethorpe of our design, he objected, not only the danger of being intercepted, or killed by the French there; but much more, the inexpediency of leaving Savannah destitute of a minister.<sup>2</sup> These objections I related to our

Georgia. He could be no party to an attempt to overreach them. With Oglethorpe he was always unreserved, and he had a right to expect similar 'openness' from him. If policies in relation to lands and trading and hunting rights were studiously concealed from him, he could scarcely help suspecting that they were not such as he could approve.

It was St. Peter's Day. The Lessons read at the eleven-o'clock service were Ecclus. xv. and Acts iii. We may imagine his thoughts as Charles read the words in the presence of the congregation :

He hath not commanded any man to be ungodly ;  
And He hath not given any man licence to sin.

And again, in the Second Lesson, probably with the Indians present :

Ye are the sons of the prophets, and of the covenant which God made with your fathers, saying unto Abraham, And in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed.

In the afternoon John Brownfield came, and cheered him, for the Diary note is 'Courage.' But when the conversation turned on Savannah, the note changed—'God help!' Then came Tomo-chachi and his company of Indians, also Causton; and, in the evening, Von Reck. The Saltzburghers at New Ebenezer were concerned in these negotiations.

*Wed. 30.*—The strain of these days affected his health. For two successive days he was compelled to take 'physick.' In the garden he sings, and reads Sharpe's *Sermons*, and consults 'John,' who usually appears on the scene when Wesley is ill. He 'thought of going to the Choctaws.' He

<sup>1</sup> For Wesley's account of the Choctaw Indians, see p. 407.

<sup>2</sup> Oglethorpe's attitude towards Wesley is inexplicable, unless we remember (1) that Wesley's conviction of a call to missionary work among the Indians never wavered during his residence in the colony; and (2) that whatever may have been Oglethorpe's antecedent convictions with reference to the desirability of such a mission, his present conviction was clear and decisive, namely, that Wesley had a peculiar fitness for work among the colonists. The colony was everything to Oglethorpe. He had staked his reputation on the success of

the great enterprise. Savannah and Frederica, with their allied plantations and settlements, were outliers of the empire. They were not the paltry villages and hamlets that some writers have imagined, but the beginnings of a great state, and at the same time an experiment in national and philanthropic colonization upon which the Government and the British nation were fastening their eyes. If the enterprise failed, Oglethorpe, the Trustees, and the S.P.G. would be disgraced. In John Wesley Oglethorpe had discovered, providentially as he believed, a man of extraordinary capacity and aptitude for affairs. The

brethren<sup>1</sup> in the evening, who were all of opinion we ought not to go yet.

JULY 1, *Thur.*—The Indians had an audience; and another on Saturday, when Chicali,<sup>2</sup> their head man, dined with Mr. Oglethorpe. After dinner, I asked the grey-headed old man what he thought he was made for. He said, 'He that is above knows what He made us for. We know nothing. We are in the dark. But white men know much. And yet white men build great houses, as if they were to live for ever. But white men cannot live for ever. In a little time white men will be dust as well as I.'<sup>3</sup> I told him, 'If red men will learn the good book, they may know as much as white men. But neither we nor you can understand that book, unless we are taught by Him that is above; and He will not teach, unless you avoid what you already know is not good.' He answered, 'I believe that. He will not teach us while our hearts are not white. And our men do what they know is not good: they kill their own children. And our women do what they know is not good: they kill the child before it is born. Therefore He that is above does not send us the good book.'

Hearing the younger of the Miss Boveys was not well,

saw others besides Oglethorpe—Miss Sophy at Causton's, Colonel Blake (who probably represented South Carolina), with whom he dined, Ingham, Delamotte, and Appee. With Ingham and Delamotte he held a second conversation, which elicited the caustic remark, 'Got no good with Ingham.' After the evening exposition he again talked over the Indian mission scheme with his friends the Germans. At ten he wrote the fateful words, 'Clear, not go yet.'

JULY 1, *Thur.*—After the early-morning exposition he met Oglethorpe, but 'could not speak.' He retreated into his Spanish studies for two hours, when Mr. Parker, the chief bailiff, calling, he walked with him to his lot, returning at noon for dinner, sleep, and visitation of the sick. In the afternoon there was a prolonged 'Indian talk.' He is ill, distressed at the thwarting of his cherished Indian missionary project, dissatisfied with Oglethorpe and with affairs generally. Twice during the day he sleeps, and, greatest wonder of all, only reads prayers and expounds once.

Indian mission might be important, even from a political point of view, but not in comparison with the new colony. Hence Oglethorpe's decision.

<sup>1</sup> The Moravian Brethren, whom Wesley always consulted in emergencies, in

relation to this matter shared Oglethorpe's opinion.

<sup>2</sup> Journal, Oct. 20, 1739.

<sup>3</sup> Wesley referred to this when he visited the Duke of Gordon's new house, May 1784.

I called upon them this evening. I found she had only the prickly heat, a sort of rash, very common here in summer. We soon fell into serious conversation, after I had asked if they did not think they were too young to trouble themselves with religion yet, and whether they might not defer it ten or a dozen years. To which one of them replied, 'If it will be reasonable ten years hence to be religious, it is so now: I am not for deferring one moment.'

*Fri. 2.*—The page for this day has a special interest. It introduces a new hymn to the worship of the Christian Church:<sup>1</sup>

4 Private prayer; sleep.

5 Private prayer; Germans; Gother; sung.

6 Translated verses; sung; Spanish; Κύπελ βοήθει.

7 Verses; sung; Spanish.

8 Verses; sung; Spanish.

9 Sung Spanish verses.

<sup>1</sup> Among the verses here referred to as translated (or transcribed) from the Spanish and repeatedly sung on this day, must have been the hymn, 'O God, my God, my all Thou art.' In its original form it will be found in the *Poetical Works of J. and C. Wesley*, edited by G. Osborn, D.D. It is there entitled, 'God our Portion,' and is described as 'From the Spanish.' In a footnote the editor says: 'This noble version of Ps. lxiii. was inserted in the book of 1738, and therefore probably translated in America. The Spanish author is unknown.'

With some degree of certainty we now know that Wesley translated the hymn whilst residing, temporarily, with the Moravians in Savannah; that it was the firstfruits of his study of Spanish—a study now undertaken that he might read Spanish devotional literature and be able to minister, in their own tongue, to such Spanish-speaking Indians or colonists as he might find in the wilds of Georgia. We know the day and hour when he made a first rough draft of the translation. That Wesley did not insert the hymn in his first edition of *Psalms and Hymns*, published in Charlestown (1736-7), was probably due to the fact that he already had a sufficient number

of psalms for his purpose. He may also have felt some hesitation in so quickly publishing a version which was still in its crude form. On June 28, 1736, he first began Spanish; on July 2 he translated the verses. Of course he was a Latin and French scholar, and doubtless already had some familiarity with colloquial Spanish and Italian. He could scarcely have lived for so many months next door, so to speak, to Spaniards without learning something of their language. In his *Journal* (April 1737) he says, 'Began to learn Spanish, in order to converse with my Jewish parishioners.' This, however, does not militate against an earlier acquaintance with literary or even colloquial Spanish. It is not improbable that the arrival of Indians, accompanied possibly by a Spanish interpreter, incited him to attempt the reading of Spanish. The Oglethorpe official correspondence, in which he so frequently assisted, brought him and his chief into written communication with Spanish officers and colonists. Once during these days he 'wrote for Charles'; that is to say, he wrote for the colonial secretary a letter, or letters, in German or Spanish, which Charles could not himself write. This may be conjectural, but it reasonably



- 10 Verses; sung  $\frac{1}{2}$  meditated  $\frac{3}{4}$  read prayer.
- 11 Expounded; Ingham read prayer.
- 12 Visited Betty Wright and company; dinner.
- 1 Wrote letter for Charles. 2 Letter.
- 3 Prayer with them; talked, conversation.
- 4 Letter  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; sung.<sup>1</sup>
- 6 Walked, rain, Germans, sung, Kempis; prayer.
- 7 At home; supper; conversation.
- 8 With Germans; sung; conversed with them 9; prayer.

From this extracted page, as also from others, the devotional minutes have been omitted. The figures inserted in the lines are notes of time.

*Sat. 3.*—Oglethorpe sent for him. The conversation, which no doubt again referred to Wesley's work in the colony, resulted in a letter 'for me to the Bishop of London.' Returning home, he dressed as for service. Presently Oglethorpe sent for him to the court. The Indians were there. For an hour they conversed. Captain Watson came, and was tried. 'He was heard.'<sup>2</sup> Oglethorpe took leave of the Indians. Afterwards, at Oglethorpe's house, he dined with Chicali and Malatchi, conversing for an hour with them. Company came, and Wesley returned home, where he found Appee in the garden: he was about to leave for Charlestown. In the evening Wesley visited; James Burnside was calling on Miss Bovey. The younger of the two sisters was engaged to be married to Appee, who at this time was regarded as Charles Wesley's probable successor in the secretaryship; the elder was afterwards married to James Burnside, who seems to have been clerk in Causton's office, and was on terms of sincere friendship with the Wesleys.

explains the meaning of an otherwise obscure entry. The translated hymn, as finally edited for publication (1738) in what was really a new and greatly revised edition of the Charlestown *Collection* will be found in App. XVII. vol. vi. That Hymn-book did not exhaust John Wesley's store of psalms and hymns transcribed or translated by him for use in his pastoral work whilst in Georgia.

<sup>1</sup> For letters written at this time to Mr. Hutcheson and Mr. Vernon, see *Works*, vol. xii. pp. 43-4.

<sup>2</sup> A month earlier, in this same magistrates' court, Charles Wesley heard Oglethorpe address the people to the following effect:

'If any one here has been abused or oppressed by any man, in or out of employment, he has full liberty of complaining. Let him deliver in his complaints in writing at my house. I will read all over by myself and do every particular man justice.'

At this the magistrates, of whom Causton was chief and worst, were in consternation. They hoped 'he would not discourage government'; by which they meant the power to imprison people without trial, or proof, or indeed hearing. It was on the advice of John Wesley that Oglethorpe made this vigorous attempt to reform the maladministration of justice. Charles says: 'He dismissed them, and told me he feared his following my brother's advice in hearing all complaints would ruin the people; and he should never have any to serve him. I replied, I thought the contrary; and that such liberty was the happiest thing that could happen to the colony, and much to be desired by all good men.' This explains much in the after treatment of John Wesley. Little wonder that Causton and his satellites desired to be rid of a man who protested against a pettifoggish imitation of the Stuart travesty of justice.

*Wed. 7.*—I called there again, being determined now to speak more closely. But meeting company there, prudence induced me to put it off till another opportunity.

*Sun. 4.*—Mr. Colliton—whom he had seen on Fitzwater's boat with Reeves and Yoakly during his voyage from Frederica—called; also Chicali. They conversed together. If Colliton was an Indian trader, as seems probable, he would be able to interpret during Wesley's conversation with Chicali. Ingham read prayers and preached. At the Eucharist there were seventeen communicants. After dinner Wesley wrote to Rivington the publisher, and read a sermon. Later he read Hickes with Delamotte.

*Mon. 5.*—In the early morning the inspiration to sing and write fell upon him. He was interrupted by a request to visit Captain Watson and by a letter from Mrs. Hawkins; but eventually he escaped, and spent a full hour in transcribing and 'singing George Herbert.'<sup>1</sup>

In the afternoon he wrote to Mrs. Hawkins, and walked with Charles, who was 'in trouble.' His relations with Oglethorpe and the colony were approaching a crisis.

*Tues. 6.*—At the five-o'clock morning service Miss Sophy and Miss Fosset were present. He afterwards walked with them, and they accompanied him to the parsonage. This was the beginning of a practice which eventually led to the greatest trouble of Wesley's life in Georgia. He resumed his letter to Mrs. Hawkins, relieving the sorrow of a painful exercise by interludes of song. The letter occupied an hour and a half in transcription. In later life he learnt the value of short, sententious letters. He also wrote for Charles—evidently in connexion with his brother's critical affairs, for he adds '*Κύριε βοήθει.*' He then abridged Carolina papers. Mr. and Mrs. Parker called. He ended a day of worrying thought and event in a sleepless night.

*Wed. 7.*—At four o'clock, after private prayer, he reports himself as 'lively.' In place of the usual exposition, he is 'in the water with Charles and Delamotte.'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> If we may judge from frequent references at this time to 'Herbert' and 'singing,' he now began or continued the selection and adaptation of hymns from George Herbert's *Temple*. In the *Charlestown Collection* two or three of these hymns appear. In later editions the number is increased to forty-two. As a Christian poet Wesley popularized him in the early eighteenth century and for all future time. It was in Savannah that he began to render this service to literature and to the Christian Church. But not all the skill of Wesley sufficed to make George Herbert an acceptable voice in modern church psalmody.

<sup>2</sup> On this early-morning bath, Charles writes: '*July 7.*—Between four and five this morning Mr Delamotte and I went into the Savannah. We chose this hour for bathing, both for the coolness and because the alligators were not stirring so soon. We heard them, indeed, snoring all around us; and one very early riser swam by within a few yards of us. On Friday morning we had hardly left our usual place of swimming when we saw an alligator in possession of it. Once afterwards Mr. Delamotte was in great danger, for an alligator rose just behind him, and pursued him to the land, whither he narrowly escaped.'

*Thur. 8.*—Mr. Oglethorpe being there again, and casually speaking of sudden death, Miss Becky said, 'If it was the will of God, I should choose to die without a lingering illness.' Her sister said, 'Are you, then, prepared to die?' She replied, 'Jesus Christ is always prepared to help me. And little stress is to be laid on such a preparation for death as is made in a fit of sickness.'

After a fast-day breakfast on bread, he 'cleaned and catalogued' his books, slept, transcribed and sang hymns, visited, and gratefully recorded the fact that in a thunderstorm he was 'not afraid.' Amongst others he visited Mrs. Mellichamp, who was in trouble. Her son, a disreputable and dangerous character, wished to marry Miss Sophy Hopkey, and, according to her account, threatened to murder her and any lover she might choose in preference to himself. John Wesley gave Charles an hour, reading for him (i.e. dictating) and then writing. The 'company' he met at Miss Bovey's was Mrs. Vanderplank.

*Thur. 8.*—During these summer days he lived in the garden.

4 Garden, private prayer.

5 Read prayers, expounded, garden, on business. 10 there.

6 On business in garden, in talk.

And again, after he had spent an hour in cleaning and covering books (probably the books of his lending-library) he returned to work in his garden. At nightfall, when the cares of an anxious and a sorrowful day were ended, he came home and conversed with Delamotte in the garden. Singing and the transcription of verses are again prominent. Entries like these are frequent:

10 Sung; diary; transcribed verses. 11 Visited, verses.<sup>1</sup>

There were several anxieties in the inner circle. A Parker-Mellichamp complication had to be dealt with; Miss Bovey was dying, so, apparently, was Tomo-chachi. Oglethorpe sent for Wesley. They took boat together for Yamacraw, the Indian village up the river, and saw Tomo-chachi,

<sup>1</sup> He seems to have tested every hymn he selected, altered, translated, or composed, by singing it repeatedly—by himself, with his friends, in public or 'society' worship, or in his visitation of the sick. Unfortunately the Diary never tells us which hymn was sung, and only occasionally helps identification by indicating its source. With Watts as a writer he had been familiar from Oxford days. The negative evidence of the Diary suggests that the numerous selections from Watts, which take front rank in the *Charlestown Collection*, were made in Oxford, and were used in the

devotional meetings of the Holy Club. Norris, Hickes, Herbert, the Herrnhut Collection, Freylinghausen's *Gesang-Buch*, with French and Spanish devotional works, were the principal helps he at this time had for a work the importance of which he himself did not realize, and which indeed is not yet understood. How few, even among expert writers, understand that it was *John Wesley*, not Charles, who led the way in the hymnological transformation which within a few years was to revolutionize the worship of praise in the English Church and throughout Christendom!



*Sat. 10.*—Just as they had done drinking tea, Mrs. Margaret, seeing her colour change, asked if she was well. She did not return any answer; and Dr. Tailfer<sup>1</sup> soon after going by, who was 'very ill.' Wesley seized the opportunity to talk with Oglethorpe about Mellichamp and Parker. Whilst they were with the Indian king, Ingham and Mrs. Musgrove came. Returning by boat, Oglethorpe was 'ill with grief.' Oglethorpe was fond of the old chief, whom he had taken to England, and whose life was at this juncture so important to the colony.

*Fri. 9.*—The early hours were devoted to 'verses,' which he transcribed, or translated, and sang repeatedly. Twice he was with Oglethorpe, in the evening by request.

*Sat. 10.*—Oglethorpe is distressed. He clings to Wesley. At 4.45 he comes to him, and remains all the morning, in the garden, walking, or in the Governor's house.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Talser or Tailfer (Talser is a misprint for Tailfer), was joint writer, with Anderson and others, of *A True Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia*, dedicated to Oglethorpe and published at Charlestown in 1741. (See Peter Force's *Tracts* in the British Museum Library.)

'From an early period,' writes Tyerman in his *Life of Whitefield* (vol. i. p. 447), 'Tailfer had been turbulent, and his daily employment had been to misrepresent the public measures, disperse scandal, and incite discontent.' We have a graphic account of the state of public affairs in Georgia, and especially in Savannah, three or four years later (in 1740). The beginning of trouble, however, may be traced to causes at work as early as 1736—causes which Oglethorpe found more difficult to deal with than the plots of Florida Spaniards. Unscrupulous settlers, wanting labour for their plantations, clamoured for the right to import negroes. Oglethorpe and the Trustees refused to sanction the slave-trade. Wesley, unlike Whitefield, who sympathized with the malcontents, stood firmly by the Trustees in their non-slavery policy. The cruelties practised on negro slaves in South Carolina Charles Wesley exposed on his return to England: white slavery—of which there were notorious examples even in virtuous Georgia—John Wesley denounced. Another principle, cherished

alike by Oglethorpe, the Trustees, and the Wesleys, was the exclusion of spirituous liquors from ordinary sale in the colony. John Wesley's first act on landing was, as we have seen, to stave the rum-casks. The Holy Club, before landing, had taken a solemn vow of abstinence from wine and flesh. In the scurrilous pamphlet which Tailfer and Anderson dedicated to 'His Excellency James Oglethorpe,' they say:

You have protected us from ourselves by keeping all earthly comforts from us. You have afforded us the opportunity of arriving at the integrity of primitive times by entailing a more than primitive poverty upon us. The valuable virtue of humanity is secured to us by your care to prevent our procuring, or so much as seeing, any negroes (the only creatures proper to improve the soil), lest our simplicity might mistake the poor Africans for greater slaves than ourselves. And, that we might fully receive the benefit of those wholesome austerities, you have denied us the use of spirituous liquors, which might at least divert our minds from the contemplation of our happy (!) circumstances.

This specimen of colonial satire, though belonging to a slightly later date, sufficiently explains the bitter hatred cherished in Georgia against Oglethorpe and the Wesleys. It may also throw light on the Governor's present distress.

<sup>2</sup> No explanation of this prolonged private conference between Wesley and Oglethorpe is given. Side-notes in the

she desired him to step in, and said, 'Sir, my sister, I fear, is not well.' He looked earnestly at her, felt her pulse, and replied, 'Well, madam, your sister is dying!' However, he thought it not impossible bleeding might help. She bled about an ounce, leaned back, and died.

As soon as I heard of it I went to the house, and begged they would not lay her out immediately, there being a possibility, at least, she might only be in a swoon; of which, indeed, there was some slight hope, she not only being as warm as ever, but having a fresh colour in her cheeks, and a few drops of blood starting out upon bending

At two he visited; at three he spent an hour with the Germans in conversation and singing; at four Mr. Parker came; after evening prayer he had an interview with Mr. Dison; they supped; at the court-house news came of Miss Bovey's sudden death. He was to and fro between the court-house and Miss Bovey's. He saw the dead girl.<sup>1</sup> At seven, during a violent storm, he 'prayed with Oglethorpe.'

Diary show that all the interest centred in Oglethorpe. Wesley is 'lively,' and all the members of 'our Company' are well. Oglethorpe alone is distressed. At five-o'clock prayers he is present. After prayers, 'he with me, garden, conversed; he right.' For two hours the conversation continues, and again for three hours. At noon Wesley returns to the parsonage and dines, returning to his troubled friend immediately. 'He quite right and serious!'

<sup>1</sup> Conversation till 1.30; diary, verses, prayer.

The interpretation suggested is that Wesley, on his return, finding Oglethorpe as he left him, 'quite right,' and still in a serious frame of mind, resumed the conversation for half an hour, and closed the conference by reading to him verses from his Diary, and by prayer. The Diary volume then in use, and, judging from its appearance, carried about with him daily, is the one from which these notes are extracted. The verses read to Oglethorpe are probably some of those written at the end of this 'Hendrix Diary.'

The trouble harassing Oglethorpe was

no mere local and temporary dispute, but the far graver question of his relation to the Trustees and the English Government, involving, as it did, the fate of the whole enterprise. (Wright's *Memoir of Oglethorpe*.)

<sup>1</sup> Charles Wesley's note on this event emphasizes the impression it produced: 'Saturday, July 10.—I was waked by the news my brother brought us, of Miss Bovey's sudden death. It called up all my sorrow and envy. "Ah, poor Ophelia!" was continually in my mind, "I thought thou shouldst have been my Hamlet's wife." Mr. Appee was just set out for Charlestown, on his way to Holland, intending to return when he had settled his affairs, and marry her.

But death had quicker wings than love.

The following evening I saw her in her coffin, and soon after in her grave.' See also letter from Wesley to Miss Anne Granville, Telford's *John Wesley*, p. 242. Dr. T. Hales, one of the Georgia Trustees, who came to see Charles Wesley at Mr. Hutton's house after his return to England, was much interested in the account of Miss Bovey's death.

her arm; but there was no pulse and no breath; so that, having waited some hours, we found her 'spirit was indeed returned to God that gave it.'

I never saw so beautiful a corpse in my life. Poor comfort to its late inhabitant! I was greatly surprised at her sister. There was, in all her behaviour, such an inexpressible mixture of tenderness and resignation. The first time I spoke to her, she said, 'All my afflictions are nothing to this. I have lost not only a sister, but a friend. But this is the will of God. I rely on Him; and doubt not but He will support me under it.'

This evening we had such a storm of thunder and lightning as I never saw before, even in Georgia. This voice of God, too, told me I was not fit to die; since I was afraid rather than desirous of it. Oh, when shall I wish to be dissolved and to be with Christ? When I love Him with all my heart.

Almost the whole town was the next evening at the funeral; where many, doubtless, made a world of good resolutions. Oh, how little trace of most of these will be left in the morning! It is a true saying, 'Hell is paved with good intentions.'

*Sun. 11.*—The event of to-day was the funeral of Miss Bovey. Ingham took the morning sermon and Communion. The evening sermon Wesley prepared in the garden. He also wrote two papers on Miss Bovey, one being an account of a conversation she had with Mrs. Weddal. The 'Mrs. Margaret' named in the printed Journal seems to have been Mrs. Margaret Wamsley. At the 'funeral,' which is distinguished from the 'burial,' there was 'no talk'; after prayers and sermon he buried, and 'spoke.' Only a fragment of Wesley's account has survived, unless, indeed, the original papers are treasured in some American family.

*Mon. 12.*—After five-o'clock prayers, in place of the usual exposition, he conversed seriously with Miss Sophy. He was studying German when Oglethorpe sent for him. Another long conversation was punctuated by the cry, 'Κύριε βοήθει!'

10 Began to methodize his [Oglethorpe's] business.

This duty might have been continued, but after two hours 'company came.' So he wrote letters to Mr. Appee and Mr. Colwell. Visiting Miss Bovey in the evening, he found her in 'excellent temper.' An hour's conversation left her 'serious and much affected.' This lady played an increasingly important and kindly part in Wesley's Savannah ministry. An intelligent and spiritually-minded woman, she opened her house for Wesley's religious meetings.



*Tues. 13.*—After the early-morning exposition he read Charles's letter to Oglethorpe, interviewed Mrs. Lacy, who had come in from Thunderbolt, and read another letter; 'at Oglethorpe's; he asleep; meditated, prayed; with Oglethorpe interpreting and sorting letters.' Then he 'wrote letters for the Parish,' visited, dined, read more letters, visited—and so on to the end of the day, with interludes for his friends, whom he never neglects, and for Mrs. Causton and Miss Sophy, who are more and more in evidence. It is a diligent, devout life, much traversed by affairs, and not without its human emotions.

*Wed. 14.*—A long day of letter-reading, and of writing on Government business, lay before him. He anticipated the usual hour for prayers, and by 5.15 was at Oglethorpe's reading letters, a task which he sanctified by private prayer. Many of these official letters must have been in Spanish, French, or German. This was a fast-day, and he did not break his fast until 1.30. It was nearly six before he finished his work. He then returned home, dressed, supped, went to Miss Bovey's, where he met Miss Sophy, and began the reading of Young's *Last Day*. Oglethorpe joined the little company. They talked together and were all much affected. After evening prayers he returned to Miss Bovey's, ended the reading, and engaged in 'a close conversation on dress and company.'

*Thur. 15.*—During Oglethorpe's breakfast hour, the day before, he wrote a letter to Mrs. Hawkins (which may also have been part of the Governor's business). This he now transcribed. At seven he was again with Oglethorpe, writing for him until eleven, when parish-visiting claimed him. Mrs. Smith, Mrs. Bush, Mr. Gilbert, Johnson, and Mr. Ducat were on his list. Was this the 'Johnson' after whom a square in Savannah (referred to in Whitefield's *Life*) was named? In the evening a company again met at Miss Bovey's, to whom he 'read my sermon.' 'She in tears.'

*Fri. 16.*—For seven hours and a half he wrote for Oglethorpe, again breaking his fast at 1.30. They talked together for an hour. 'Writ' for another hour, 'sorted papers,' went home for the usual Holy Club devotions; but Oglethorpe sent for him again, and he wrote for him until the time of Miss Bovey's meeting, the public exposition, and the daily visit to the Germans.

*Sat. 17.*—Oglethorpe was asleep when his friend called at six o'clock, so he spent an hour writing verses. When Oglethorpe awoke Wesley gave five hours to writing petitions, which were numerous and complicated enough to require more than an hour for their sorting.

*Sun. 18.*—A curious entry to-day has not yet been explained :

9 Meditated, conversed with Delamotte; at Mrs. Pember's.

10 Married her and Sr Fr B. [Sir Francis Bathurst]; read prayers.

11 Sermon and Eucharist. 17 Communicants.

Both before and after the afternoon service he catechized. Apparently at Miss Bovey's, where every evening a religious meeting seems at this time to have been held, he read Scougal. The last entry for the day also is curious :

9 At home, garden, meditated, Scotsman came, and Charles came.

*Mon. 19.*—He again found Oglethorpe asleep at six o'clock, and, as in later days when his tired preachers overslept themselves, he was troubled.

*Tues. 20.*—Five of the Chicasaw Indians <sup>1</sup> (twenty of whom had been in Savannah several days) came to see us, with Mr. Andrews, their interpreter.<sup>2</sup> They were all warriors, four of them head men. The two chief were Paustoobee and Mingo Mattaw. Our conference was as follows :

Q. Do you believe there is One above who is over all things ?

Paustoobee answered, We believe there are four beloved things above : the clouds, the sun, the clear sky, and He that lives in the clear sky.

Q. Do you believe there is but One that lives in the clear sky ?

A. We believe there are Two with Him, Three in all.

Q. Do you think He made the sun, and the other beloved things ?

A. We cannot tell. Who hath seen ?

Q. Do you think He made you ?

A. We think He made all men at first.

Q. How did He make them at first ?

A. Out of the ground.

Q. Do you believe He loves you ?

A. I do not know. I cannot see Him.

Q. But has He not often saved your life ?

A. He has. Many bullets have gone on this side and many on that side ; but He would never let them hurt me. And many bullets have gone into these young men ; and yet they are alive.<sup>3</sup>

But 'Miss Bovey was up.' He filled the spare hour by writing verses with the Germans. It was nine before he could begin the Governor's business, and then he wrote for him petitions and other documents until five, when he visited at his desire. The evening meeting at Miss Bovey's, with Mr. B. Burntside (as he calls him) and Miss Sophy present, and Scougal's *Life of God in the Soul of Man*, read by Wesley, proved an effective counter-attraction to the ball held in the town that evening. The same evening 'Ingham left us,' henceforth making his home among the Indians of Yamacraw, which was not far from the Cowpen.

*Tues. 20.*—He wrote his Journal. At nine the Chicasaws<sup>4</sup> came. He wrote out the conference which Charles took in shorthand, reading it to the Germans. At five the Chicasaws held their last audience. The evening was spent at Miss Bovey's in reading Scougal, at the church, and with the Germans.

<sup>1</sup> Journal, p. 408. See *Digest of S. P. G. Records*, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the Rev. Mr. Andrews, one of the agents of the S. P. C. K. See *Minutes* of that Society.

<sup>3</sup> See this quoted in a review of Dr.

Robertson's *History of America*. (Journal, July 6, 1781.)

<sup>4</sup> Phonetic spelling is a characteristic of all the Diaries. Here the name is spelt Chickesaws ; in the Journal it is Chicasaws.

Q. Then, cannot He save you from your enemies now?

A. Yes, but we know not if He will. We have now so many enemies round about us, that I think of nothing but death. And if I am to die, I shall die, and I will die like a man. But if He will have me to live, I shall live. Though I had ever so many enemies, He can destroy them all.

Q. How do you know that?

A. From what I have seen. When our enemies came against us before, then the beloved clouds came for us. And often much rain, and sometimes hail, has come upon them; and that in a very hot day. And I saw, when many French and Choctaws and other nations came against one of our towns; and the ground made a noise under them, and the beloved ones in the air behind them; and they were afraid, and went away, and left their meat and drink and their guns. I tell no lie. All these saw it too.

Q. Have you heard such noises at other times?

A. Yes, often; before and after almost every battle.

Q. What sort of noises were they?

A. Like the noise of drums, and guns, and shouting.

Q. Have you heard any such lately?

A. Yes; four days after our last battle with the French.

Q. Then you heard nothing before it?

A. The night before I dreamed I heard many drums up there; and many trumpets there, and much stamping of feet and shouting. Till then I thought we should all die. But then I thought the beloved ones were come to help us.<sup>1</sup> And the next day I heard above a hundred guns go off before the fight began; and I said, 'When the sun is there, the beloved ones will help us, and we shall conquer our enemies.' And we did so.

Q. Do you often think and talk of the beloved ones?

A. We think of them always, wherever we are. We talk of them and to them, at home and abroad; in peace, in war, before and after we fight; and, indeed, whenever and wherever we meet together.

Q. Where do you think your souls go after death?

A. We believe the souls of red men walk up and down, near the place where they died, or where their bodies lie; for we have often heard cries and noises near the place where any prisoners had been burned.

Q. Where do the souls of white men go after death?

A. We cannot tell. We have not seen.

Q. Our belief is, that the souls of bad men only walk up and down; but the souls of good men go up.

A. I believe so too. But I told you the talk of the nation.

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<sup>1</sup> Journal, July 6, 1781.



(Mr. Andrews.—They said at the burying, they knew what you was doing. You was speaking to the beloved ones above, to take up the soul of the young woman.)<sup>1</sup>

Q. We have a book that tells us many things of the beloved ones above ; would you be glad to know them ?

A. We have no time now but to fight. If we should ever be at peace, we should be glad to know.

Q. Do you expect ever to know what the white men know ?

(Mr. Andrews.—They told Mr. Oglethorpe they believed the time will come when the red and white men will be one.)

Q. What do the French teach you ?

A. The French black kings<sup>2</sup> never go out. We see you go about : we like that ; that is good.<sup>3</sup>

Q. How came your nation by the knowledge they have ?

A. As soon as ever the ground was sound and fit to stand upon, it came to us, and has been with us ever since. But we are young men ; our old men know more : but all of them do not know. There are but a few whom the Beloved One chooses from a child, and is in them, and takes care of them, and teaches them. They know these things ; and our old men practise ; therefore they know. But I do not practise ; therefore I know little.

*Wed. 21.*—Writing the Journal, a long letter to Mrs. Hawkins, and 'petitions' for Oglethorpe occupied the greater part of the day. At four he dressed for pastoral visitation and prayers ; walked in the garden, reading Heylin and praying. Miss Nunes was added to the little devotional company that met daily in Miss Bovey's house. The morning and evening expositions, the evening worship with the Moravians, the daily fellowship with Delamotte and any other member of 'our Company' who happened to be at hand, continued. Charles Wesley writes, 'I heard by my brother that I was to set sail in a few days for England.'

*Thur. 22.*—From six till dinner he was writing for Oglethorpe, with whom he dined. Company came, amongst others Mr. Johnson and Mr. Causton. A burial compelled the postponement of the reading in Scougal at Miss Bovey's. Charles says that he got 'their licences signed by Mr. Oglethorpe, countersigned them myself, and so entirely washed my hands of the traders.' This strengthens the impression that Charles had no love for business, and no natural aptitude for the post into which he drifted contrary to his brother Samuel's advice.

<sup>1</sup> See *Spectator*, No. 56, for the Indian notions of the future of their beloved ones.

<sup>2</sup> By the 'black kings' the Indians meant priests.

<sup>3</sup> Some of the Indians were shrewd enough to see the effects of the 'black kings' religion. After hearing the gospel

from a Protestant missionary, a chief said, 'That goes straight to my heart, not like that other nonsense talk. The Great Spirit wants clear here'—pointing to his heart—'never mind face. Water on face all go for nothing to bad man' (*Life of Sir Rowland Hill*).

*Mon.* 26.—My brother and I set out for Charlestown, in

*Fri.* 23.—The morning was given to Oglethorpe and to letters written to Mr. Hutcheson and Mr. Vernon.

*Sat.* 24.—From seven till one he sat with Oglethorpe in the court-house. At first none came. He filled an idle hour with writing. Whether the long session was justified or not, he does not say. It was, however, a practical carrying out of his advice to the Governor. Apparently it was at this time—either to-day or on the previous day—that Miss Sophy sailed away to Frederica. Wesley conversed with her after morning prayers on the Friday morning. When next her name appears in the Diary she is in Frederica, lodging at the Hirds with Miss Fosset.<sup>1</sup> Another burial interfered with Miss Bovey's meeting.

*Sun.* 25.—This was Charles Wesley's last day in Savannah. His brother began the day with much prayer, alone and with Delamotte. At an early service Miss Bovey was present and nineteen others, and amongst them Oglethorpe, who brought letters. John wrote for him until 10.45, when he read prayers. Oglethorpe was present, and a congregation of seventy. Charles preached and administered the Eucharist to seventeen communicants, including Miss Bovey. John at once resumed official work, and continued, with a brief interval for dinner, until five, when Charles again preached. Oglethorpe and the Wesleys adjourned to Miss Bovey's, where they spent Charles's last evening in Georgia.

*Mon.* 26.—Up to the last moment, on this as on many occasions, Wesley discharged his prescribed duties, reading prayers and expounding. Miss Bovey was there, and heard the 'words which concluded the Second Lesson and' Charles Wesley's 'stay in Georgia—"Arise, let us go hence."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The ladies seem to have had a separate hut, but Hird was their host.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Wesley writes (Journal, Sun., July 25): 'I resigned my secretary's place in a letter to Mr Oglethorpe. After prayers he took me aside, and asked me whether all I had said was not summed up in the line he showed me on my letter :

*Magis apta tuis tua dona relinquo.*

Sir, to yourself your slighted gifts I leave; Less fit for me to take than you to give.

I answered, I desired not to lose his esteem, but could not preserve it with the loss of my soul. He answered, he was satisfied of my regard for him; owned my argument drawn from the heart unanswerable; and yet, said he, "I would desire you not to let the Trustees know your resolution of resigning. There are many hungry

fellows ready to catch at the office; and in my absence I cannot put in one of my own choosing. The best I can hope for is an honest Presbyterian, as many of the Trustees are such. Perhaps they may send me a bad man; and how far such a one may influence the traders, and obstruct the reception of the gospel among the heathen, you know. I shall be in England before you leave it. Then you may either put in a deputy or resign.

"You need not be detained in England above three days; and only speak to some of my particular friends—Vernon, Hutchinson, and Towers—to the Board of Trustees when called upon, and the Board of Trade.

"On many accounts I should recommend to you marriage rather than celibacy. You are of a social temper, and would find in a married state the

order to his embarking for England ;<sup>1</sup> but the wind being contrary, we did not reach Port Royal, forty miles from Savannah,

Oglethorpe brought more letters, as did the Germans. Certain of the letters the Governor read in the presence of them all. At noon the boat was on the bar, but the wind being contrary they could not proceed. Wesley read an 'account of Carolina.' At half-past three he bathed, at four ate and resumed the story of Carolina ; at 8.30 he slept.

difficulties of working out your salvation exceedingly lessened, and your helps as much increased."

On this it may be remarked : (1) Charles Wesley held his appointment direct from the Trustees, and was not, strictly speaking, Oglethorpe's private secretary, but 'secretary for Indian affairs' under Oglethorpe : hence he counter-signed the traders' licences. (2) Both Charles and John were troubled in conscience with respect to some of the transactions with traders and Indians, which their position compelled them to countenance. (3) The crucial questions affecting colonial and missionary policy, then and for many generations following, were the treatment of native races, negro slavery, and the liquor traffic. Civil rulers and ministers of the gospel, who took up a distinctively Christian attitude on these questions, were bound to exasperate those who lived only for greed and pleasure. Bearing this in mind, we have no difficulty in interpreting hints of perplexity and trouble. (4) John Wesley's loyalty to Oglethorpe—a loyalty all the more remarkable because he was not convinced as to Oglethorpe's entire innocence in the matter of Mrs. Hawkins and Mrs. Welch—never wavered. It accounts for his silence in the *Journal* and *Diary*. (5) The women of Georgia, in both Savannah and Frederica, were responsible for many disasters that overtook a noble enterprise. In Oglethorpe's opinion a clergyman of a 'social temper,' if unmarried, was likely to increase the mischief-making power of unscrupulous women. He courteously puts the case in another form ; but it is not difficult, with the Wesley record in Frederica

before us, to read between the lines. Undoubtedly Oglethorpe was right. We may imagine John and Charles Wesley in Georgia married to strong, intelligent, conscientious, sympathetic women. How different the story ! How different the early history of the American Southern States !

Neither the Wesleys nor Ingham intended to leave the colony. It was necessary, however, that one of them should visit England. The Trustees needed information at first hand. The mission needed recruits and relief. There was much poverty on all the stations. The *Diary* pages bear significant testimony to the ravages made by sickness and death. Within a few months George Whitefield was collecting money for the orphan children of Georgia. At first there was some doubt as to whether John, Charles, or Ingham should visit England. Probably Ingham's departure to Yamacraw helped the final decision. This seems to have been taken during those long conferences between Oglethorpe and John Wesley which form so marked a feature in the *Diary* during the last days of July. Charles could be better spared than John. He was an indifferent secretary, and had no enthusiasm for such work. It was not, as he now knew, his vocation. After his first round of letter-writing in Frederica, he wrote, 'I would not spend six days more in the same manner for all Georgia.' On the other hand, John Wesley had become indispensable. He did his own work and his brother's. He was not only an exceptionally able secretary, with a gift for languages, a command of clear, sententious English, and the pen of a swift writer, but was



till Wednesday evening. The next morning we left it. But the wind was so high in the afternoon, as we were crossing the

*Tues. 27.*—Sailing northward among the islands he sang, and read Law and German alternately, until, at ten, the boat anchored near an island or mainland station where lived a man named Harris, with whom Wesley conversed seriously, afterwards visiting sick women, reading prayers and expounding, as he did every day whether on boat or shore. He and Charles had a quiet hour to themselves. As the day lost its intense heat they set out again, singing, reading Law, and rowing.

*Wed. 28.*—By seven they reached Hilton Head, where he sang, read Law, expounded, influenced Mrs. Dawson for good, set out in the great 'heat,' singing, reading Law, and feeding on melons, until, in the evening, they came to Beaufort. There a Mr. Wood and 'the Committee' were in session at Serjeant's; Wesley joined them. But what the business was, or what the Committee, is not revealed.

*Thur. 29.*—With a fair wind, singing and reading, they came to St.

a wise counsellor, a methodical man of affairs, a born organizer and ruler of men; absolutely fearless and candid, and as silent as the grave. To John Wesley Oglethorpe claved more and more. Therefore not John, but Charles, was chosen for a mission to England the duties of which Oglethorpe thought might be discharged in three days! No one then imagined that Charles would never return. Samuel Wesley did not approve the appointment of his youngest brother as either missionary or secretary. He knew both Charles and Oglethorpe, and understood better than most the conditions under which such an enterprise as the Georgia Mission must be carried out. John, he thought, having declined the duty of keeping the Epworth home together for his mother and sisters, might safely go to Georgia; but Charles, he was firmly convinced, should have stayed at home. The event justified his prevision. Charles accomplished nothing by going to Georgia. He lost rather than gained—learned nothing, did nothing. With the best intentions he hindered rather than helped. He was much too highly strung, too sensitive, too delicate in physique, for the rough life of Frederica. Secretarial duties he detested, rarely discharging them when his more versatile brother was at hand.

His one supreme gift, as far as we know, lay dormant during all the months of his voyage to and residence in Georgia. America, if so disposed, might enroll John Wesley as one of her sacred poets, but not Charles. We do not know a single hymn which was written there by the poet of Methodism.

In England—at the university, in social circles, in the time immediately preceding his 'conversion'—Charles Wesley's power to attract and sway young life was remarkable. Oxford Methodism—indirectly the beginning of Methodism in Cambridge University—Robert Kirkham, Morgan, Whitefield, Ingham, William Delamotte, were all of them Charles Wesley's trophies. The unconscious imitation of his handwriting by members of the Holy Club is a silent testimony to the influence he wielded. Can we trace even the faintest evidence of such influence in Georgia? There, unlike his brother, he was sterilized, paralysed, all but slain intellectually and spiritually, as well as physically. Georgia did nothing for Charles except ruin his health, and he did nothing for Georgia until long after he had left, never to return. 'When the boat put off I was surprised that I felt no more joy in leaving such a scene of sorrows.'

neck of St. Helena's Sound, that our oldest sailor cried out, 'Now every one must take care for himself.' I told him, 'God would take care for us all.' Almost as soon as the words were spoken, the mast fell. I kept on the edge of the boat, to be clear of her when she sank (which we expected every moment), though with little prospect of swimming ashore against such a wind and sea. But, 'How is it that thou hadst no faith?' The moment the mast fell, two men caught it and pulled it into the boat; the other three rowed with all their might, and 'God gave command to the wind and seas'; so that in an hour we were safe on land.

*Sat. 31.*—We came to Charlestown. The church is of brick, but plastered over like stone. I believe it would contain three or four thousand persons. About three hundred were present at the morning service the next day, when Mr. Garden<sup>1</sup> desired

Helena Road, where the wind rose and, in the Sound, became a storm which 'broke the sail.' At three they were safe on shore, where the brothers resumed their singing and reading as though nothing had happened. At seven they were rowing, and at nine sleeping.

*Fri. 30.*—The wind was again fair. He read Macarius<sup>2</sup> and sang. At 6.30 they reached Bennet's Point. At eight, in the boat, he read prayers and expounded. For two hours it rained, but he still read Macarius and sang, until noon, when they 'dined on bread-and-butter,' and were not a little affrighted by the falling of the mast. But he again read Macarius and sang. They lost themselves, but found their way, and rowed, and sang, and read, and prayed, until, at 8.30, they lay down and slept.

*Sat. 31.*—At nine they reached Lad's Island, where 'a man and dog were surly'; so they set out again, reading and singing, until, at noon, John began to think of a sermon to preach in Charlestown the next day. At 2.30 they were at Stono Bridge. There he walked with Charles, Macbain, and Mr. Sweeney. Another person named is Wallis. The intention was to walk into Charlestown; but Macbain was tired at Ashley, so at Sarreau's, or Mrs. Belinger's, horses were engaged, and in three hours they reached Charlestown. Finding that Mr. Eveleigh (he appears

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. Alexander Garden was the Bishop of London's Commissary for South Carolina. There being no bishop in the colony, it was regarded as within the jurisdiction of the diocese of London. Whitefield described Garden as 'a good soldier of Jesus Christ.' This was none the less true because, at a later date, he suspended Whitefield from his ministerial office for some apparent

irregularity. For Wesley's opinion of Garden, see p. 349. The letters of Dr. Garden, addressed to Linnaeus and Ellis, are valuable. They may be found in Sir J. E. Smith's *Selections of the Correspondence of Linnaeus*.

<sup>2</sup> 'An Extract from the Homilies of Macarius' takes up 60 pp. in Wesley's *Christian Library*, vol. i.

me to preach ; about fifty at the Holy Communion. I was glad to see several negroes at church, one of whom told me she was there constantly, and that her old mistress (now dead) had many times instructed her in the Christian religion. I asked her what religion was. She said she could not tell. I asked if she knew what a soul was. She answered, 'No.' I said, 'Do not you know there is something in you different from your body? Something you cannot see or feel?' She replied, 'I never heard so much before.' I added, 'Do you think, then, a man dies altogether as a horse dies?' She said, 'Yes, to be sure.' O God, where are Thy tender mercies? Are they not over all Thy works? When shall the Sun of Righteousness arise on these outcasts of men, with healing in His wings!

AUG. 2, *Mon.*—I set out for the Lieutenant-Governor's seat, about thirty miles from Charlestown, to deliver Mr. Oglethorpe's letters. It stands very pleasantly, on a little hill, with a vale on either side, in one of which is a thick wood ; the other is planted with rice and Indian corn. I designed to have gone back by Mr. Skene's, who has about fifty Christian negroes.<sup>1</sup>

later as Rev. Laserre Eveleigh), who, as Charles tells us, had engaged to provide lodgings, had gone to bed, they slept at an inn.

AUG. 1, *Sun.*—With the help of a barber John dressed before calling on Mr. Eveleigh and Mr. Garden, in whose church he that morning preached, administering the Eucharist to fifty communicants, among whom was 'one negro woman.'

His first duty was to deliver Oglethorpe's dispatches to Colonel Broughton, the Lieutenant-Governor of South Carolina. At eleven o'clock on Sunday night he was called by La-rong, presumably the guide appointed to conduct him to the Governor's place. At midnight he was at La-rong's house. A quarter of an hour later they set out, and walked until four in the morning, when they halted and made a fire. At five they set out again, and at seven reached Mr. Ware's ; 'they at prayer.' From half-past eight to eleven was the last stage of the journey. At Colonel Broughton's he remained for dinner and conversation, setting out on the return journey at 2.30. The rest of this exhausting journey may be given in the broken words of the Diary :

1 Dined, conversed, 2.30 set out ; meditated ; very hot ; handkerchief.

4 The tavern ; talked ; horse tired. 5 Set out ; led my horse ; thirst ;

10 At Quarterhouse ; they would not let me in ;

11½ Mr Barton's ; they let me in ; in talk ; supper.

<sup>1</sup> One of the rules drawn up by the Trustees forbade the employment of negroes ; this was soon set aside—a fact

which reached the ears of the Trustees before Wesley sailed for Georgia. For the attitude of Oglethorpe and Wesley



But my horse tiring, I was obliged to return the straight way to Charlestown.

I had sent the boat we came in back to Savannah, expecting a passage thither myself in Colonel Bull's. His not going so soon, I went to Ashley Ferry on Thursday, intending to walk to Port Royal. But Mr. Belinger<sup>1</sup> not only provided me a horse, but rode with me himself ten miles, and sent his son with me

AUG. 3, *Tues.*

5 Dressed; in talk; set out; private prayer; 6.30 met Mr Dwight;  
7 he lent me his horse; 7.30 at home. 8 On business in town.

This interval, spent in the town on business, is the only point during this visit to Charlestown at which a possible visit to Lewis Timothy, printer and publisher, can be surmised.

At eleven he called on Mr. Garden, and was introduced to Colonel Fenwick's family. 'Jerry' (or Jeny, probably an abbreviated name), who seems to have been responsible for the voyage home, was out. Wesley returned to Mr. Garden's for dinner. At Judge Trot's he was caught in a storm. The Diary at this point is hopelessly confused. Twice within two pages attempts have been made (by Wesley himself) to supplement its defects. The following provisional itinerary is suggested: AUG. 4, *Wed.*—At three Wesley rises; at four sets out with Charles and Appee; at 5.30 they reach the Quarterhouse, where they rest awhile; at seven the two brothers set out (what becomes of Appee we are not informed); at nine they are at Mr. Guy's (Rev.); at ten at Mrs. Belinger's; at 11.30 Wesley walks in the garden; at 12.30 the minister of Charlestown reappears; he dines, and at 6.30 sets out with Charles for Charlestown. After this there is confusion.<sup>2</sup>

At Ponpon they (John Wesley and his friends) dine; at Ashepoo Ferry they sup and sleep. By 4.30 they are called for breakfast; at 8.30 they reach Jehu Bartoc's, where melons refresh them; at 10.30 they arrive at

towards this and cognate subjects, see p. 244.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 352.

<sup>2</sup> It may be that we have two distinct entries for Aug. 4, the first recording John Wesley's doings on that day, and the second Charles Wesley's. If so, it would appear that Charles accompanied his brother as far as Ashley Ferry, Appee leaving them at the Quarterhouse; that whilst John and Charles halted at Mrs. Belinger's hospitable house, walking in the garden and conversing for the last time, the minister of Charlestown arrived, and, after dinner, returned with Charles

to Charlestown, where the latter was rejoined by Appee. Meanwhile, John Wesley rode ten miles south with Mr. Belinger, senior, and afterwards twenty miles farther with Belinger, junior.

It would scarcely be worth while to linger thus over a confused record, but for one fact which stands out clearly. The friendship with Appee belonged to Charles rather than to John. At a critical moment it drew Charles somewhat away from his brother, the result being that John was thrown into more intimate companionship with Mr. Garden and others.

to Cumbee Ferry, twenty miles farther; whence, having hired horses and a guide, I came to Beaufort (or Port Royal) the next evening.<sup>1</sup> We took boat in the morning; but, the wind being contrary and very high, did not reach Savannah till Sunday, in the afternoon.

Cumbee Ferry, where they have an interview with Mr. Bull's overseer, who accompanies Wesley to Mr. Griffith's, where young Belinger leaves him. Beaufort, on the island of Port Royal, he reaches at 7.30; sups with Serjeant, whose acquaintance he made on his outward voyage; calls on Mr. Jones, who may have been the minister of the place.

Sat. 7.—At the inn he again sees Mr. Jones. At 10.45 he takes boat for Savannah, a journey of forty miles, reading Millar's *Propagation of Christianity*.

Wind high—against us.

7 Mrs Dawson's, conversed, supped. 8. Set out, private prayer.

9½ Storm; could not bear up; lay by.

Sun. 8.—At 4.30 they were again under weigh. Reading Ostervald's *Catechism* he reached Tybee Creek, where they again lay by. At four the boat arrived at Savannah. Wesley dressed, dined, prayed with Delamotte, and saw Miss Bovey and the Germans.

Mon. 9.—The one day spent in Savannah was devoted chiefly to the Journal and to pastoral visitation. At five he packed for the voyage to Frederica, which was to commence the next day. At Miss Bovey's evening meeting he read his Journal. It was nearly midnight before he had finished his work on the Journal.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wesley parted with his brother on Aug. 5, and Charles sailed for England on Aug. 11.

<sup>2</sup> This section of the Journal must have contained a full account of his voyage to Charlestown, of his interview with the Lieut.-Governor of South Carolina, of his adventures during long journeys in an interesting province, of his parting with Charles, of the business transacted in Charlestown, of the friends he made and the books he bought or borrowed, and of the tentative arrangements made

with Lewis Timothy for the printing of the Charlestown *Collection of Psalms and Hymns*—which, as we now know, was even then taking definite shape—and of his conferences with Mr. Garden. This Journal is one of the missing documents. If, as is probable, it was written in the same volume that contained the account of Wesley's next visit to Frederica, and is still in existence, it will be in a mutilated condition. The leaves torn out are those (already referred to) in the Colman Collection.

## THIRD FREDERICA JOURNAL

AUG. 10, *Tues.*—Finding Mr. Oglethorpe was gone, I stayed only a day at Savannah ; and leaving Mr. Ingham and Delamotte there, set out on Tuesday morning for Frederica. In walking to Thunderbolt I was in so heavy a shower, that all my clothes were as wet as if I had gone through the river. On which occasion I cannot but observe that vulgar error concerning the hurtfulness of the rains and dews of America. I have been thoroughly wet with these rains more than once, yet without any harm at all. And I have lain many nights in the open air, and received all the dews that fell ; and so, I believe, might any one, if his constitution was not impaired by the softness of a genteel education.

At Thunderbolt we took boat ; and on *Friday*, August 13, came to Frederica, where I delivered Mr. Oglethorpe the letters I had brought from Carolina. The next day he set out for Fort

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*Tues.* 10.—He discharged his ministerial duties as usual up to the last moment. At 10.15 he set out with Jemmy (Billingshurst? see p. 126), and in hard rain walked across country to Thunderbolt, arriving at one o'clock. Mrs. Causton was there, no doubt with letters and final messages for her niece, who was visiting the Hirds at Frederica. At four he embarked and sang his way to Skidoway, where he arrived at six. He sang, read prayers, and expounded for a congregation of eight.

*Wed.* 11.—He called the crew at 2.45, and slept, read German and Law as far as Pine Island, which they reached at eight. Leaving at nine, he read Law's *Serious Call*, sang, dined, read German and the *Serious Call* until six. So high was the wind that they could not cross St. Katherine's Sound.

*Thur.* 12.—All day they seem to have beat about St. Katherine's Island, once landing, until after six, when they reached Clark's Bluff.

*Fri.* 13.—As on the previous day, he read Law and German, and sang until evening, when they arrived at Frederica. He first saw Oglethorpe, who talked of Miss Sophy. He then went to Mr. Hird's, where he found her and conversed—'She quite right.' At ten he prayed with J. B. (i.e. Jemmy B—t), who seems to have been his personal attendant ; Delamotte did not accompany him to either Charlestown or Frederica.

*Sat.* 14.—His four o'clock private prayer was by himself, but at five he prayed with 'J.Bt.' Ten persons came to his exposition. In a private interview he found Oglethorpe 'open and friendly.' He went to the Hirds, to the Colwells, and called on Mrs. Hawkins, but 'I was not as before.' At



St. George. From that time I had less and less prospect of doing good at Frederica ; many there being extremely zealous and indefatigably diligent to prevent it, and few of the rest daring to show themselves of another mind for fear of their displeasure.<sup>1</sup>

noon he again called at Mr. Hird's, where he found Oglethorpe. When the Governor had gone for dinner, Wesley adds the significant words, 'Read *Collection*<sup>2</sup> to Miss Sophy.' The six minutes of hourly prayer between one and two o'clock he spent 'with three.' As Mark Hird is named in the next line and Miss Fosset was ill, the three would be Miss Sophy, Mark, and either Phoebe or her mother. The Hirds were trusted by Oglethorpe, Wesley, Sophy Hopkey, and Miss Fosset. Before the public evening service he read prayers with Miss Sophy. At night he was informed that Mr. Moore<sup>3</sup> and company were 'very angry.' The rule of hourly prayer was still observed.

*Sun. 15.*—At early prayers eight were present, at morning sermon twenty-six, and at Holy Communion ten. He to-day read his Journal to Miss Sophy. At the afternoon society-meeting there were present Mark Hird, Mrs. and Mr. Hird, Mr. Tackner, Miss Sophy, and Miss Fosset, who 'with me sung'; he read Law; they sang again, and they all were 'seriously affected.' His note at the end of the page is, 'Too long with them.'

*Mon. 16.*—With Miss Hopkey he ended the reading of his Journal. To Mrs. Colwell he read his *Collection*. After visiting he was seized with sudden sickness :

10 At home; shook; headache; sung; slept.

11 Hot fit; sung; meditated; slept.

12 Hot fit; wrote diary; began to walk; sweat.

1 Sweat; slept; cool.

For the rest of the day he pursued his usual course.

*Tues. 17.*—He had spent an hour or two with a *System of Theology* and *British Theology*, when his attack of intermittent fever returned: 'A little cold, a little hot, sweat, headache, sweat. Mr. Hawkins came.' The temptation to administer spiritual medicine was irresistible; he notes that the doctor was 'serious and open.' At three the patient was well enough to hold a society-meeting, at the end of which 'they went to Mrs. Hawkins.' He then discussed her case with Mrs. Lawley. Mrs. Hird and Mrs. Robinson, concerned for his health, came. The former fed him with bread-and-butter, whereupon he read prayers and expounded, and held another society-meeting.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the displeasure of the 'many.' For an account of the 'Fragment' that follows, see note on p. 261.

<sup>2</sup> This, without doubt, was the *Collection of Psalms and Hymns* which he had been slowly preparing. It is interesting to note that reading to members of his flock formed part of his editorial preparation.

<sup>3</sup> Three 'Moores' (or 'Moor' and 'Moore'; Wesley's spelling of names is never quite reliable) appear, in the Journal and the Georgia Correspondence: (1) The husband of Oglethorpe's servant; (2) Lieut. Moore of the *Hawk*; (3) Mr. Francis Moore, Oglethorpe's trading agent. Here, probably, the first is meant.

*Fragment of Lost Journal*

[. . . I had heard of him ; to which he gave me a satisfactory answer. And at parting we agreed that neither for the future should believe or relate anything of the other, till he had first mentioned it to himself.

[*Fri.* 20.—Mr. Oglethorpe returned. Between five and six in the evening I called at Mr. Hawkins's for my decoction of the bark. He was not at home. She desired me to sit down, and sat down by me. I told her the being ill-treated by those from whom I expected it had given me little concern. But it had grieved me to find Mr. Hawkins joining with them, whom I used to look upon as my friend. She asked how he had treated me ill. I answered, 'By exposing my brother's paper, which as a friend he should have shown to me only.' She said, 'All the women in the town are uneasy and affronted at the two Greek words there. They think them a general reflection on them all. Pray tell me, who do they mean?' The substance of my answer was: (1) 'What my brother says is not said by me, neither am I accountable for it; (2) this was writ before we had explained, when all things were dark: he is now of a quite different opinion; (3) I take him to mean by those words only two persons, you and Mrs. Welch.'

*Wed.* 18.—The day began as usual. After morning prayers he returned to the book on *British Theology* he was reading the day before. At 9.30 he was seized with strong shaking, from which he did not recover until two in the afternoon. In the evening he 'took a vomit.' The fever and the violent measures adopted for its reduction must have left him weak and in no condition to 'fight with beasts at Ephesus.'

*Thur.* 19.—Reading George Herbert 'to them' and reading to Miss Sophy letters to and from Morgan were his principal occupations.

*Fri.* 20.—The occupations of a day memorable in the story of Wesley's Georgia life are specially interesting. He was, as we have seen, in feeble health, but rose at 4.45. Praying for half an hour, he fell asleep; but awoke in time for prayers and exposition, at which ten were present. He conversed with Miss Sophy; read Mr. Hawkins's case. At nine he was at home, transcribing George Herbert. This he finished, and turned to *The Negro's Advocate*, which he read for two hours. At home (he seems to have dined, &c., with the Hirds and slept elsewhere, possibly in the room he built during his former visit) he sang with Miss Sophy and Mark Hird, reading

[She started up, said I was 'a villain, a scoundrel, a pitiful rascal,' with several other titles of the same kind. In the midst of her speaking Mr. Hawkins came in. She told him I said 'that dog my brother meant her by those d——d words'; upon which he immediately joined her, bestowed much of the same sort of eloquence both upon him and me, only intermixed with more oaths and imprecations. I was much grieved, and indeed could not refrain from tears. I know not whether they interpreted this as fear; but they rose in their language, and told me they would uncase [unfrock] us both. I replied, 'The sooner

Law and again singing. It was at five o'clock that the episode occurred which Wesley so minutely describes in his Journal.<sup>1</sup> The reference in the Diary is brief:

5½ Mrs Hawkins; she very abusive.

6 Mr Hawkins came; both very abusive. Adieu! ½ in talk with Oglethorpe of them.

7 Read prayers, expounded; ½ Mr and Mrs Hawkins came (21 and Oglethorpe there) to Oglethorpe and me; they complained; they abusive.

8 In talk with them and Oglethorpe ½; got no good; within with Oglethorpe.

9 Oglethorpe sent for Horton; he accused me.

½ Mrs Hird's, within; 10.

<sup>1</sup> It is at this point that a fragment, torn from one of the Wesley note-books, fills in one of the many blank spaces in the printed Journal. The fragment is now in the Colman Collection. It consists of fourteen pages, one of which is the first draft of a letter to Oglethorpe. The pages are numbered 148 to 160. It would appear, therefore, that once there was, in some unknown person's possession, a volume of Wesley's manuscript Journal containing 147 pages of narrative, plus the pages from 161 to the end. The printed extracts give but an imperfect idea of the whole, which, as we now know from the Diary, must have been extremely interesting and valuable. By whom or for what reason the fourteen pages were rudely torn from the volume there is no evidence to show. We do know, however, that the whole Colman Collection is a mere survival. In its original condition—which we may be perfectly sure was much more considerable than now—it was in the custody of the minister occupying Wesley's house in

City Road. John Pawson, with a fiery zeal against what he regarded as dangerous literature, began to burn Wesley's note-books and letters. How much he destroyed we do not know. Henry Moore, hearing of these exploits, hastened home, and was happily in time to save the books and letters of the Colman Collection. It is quite likely that these pages were torn out to be burned, and that Moore rescued them. The volume from which they were torn may have been given away, either by Pawson or Moore, as a memento of Wesley, or may have been rescued by Mrs. Pawson and appropriated, like the first Oxford Diary. It was Henry Moore himself who gave away the second Georgia Diary now in the possession of Bishop Hendrix. (See above, pp. 205-6.)

There is now no reason why this curious fragment should not be published.

The first five lines, apparently, are the incomplete account of Wesley's interview with Oglethorpe before he went south to St. George's Fort.



the better, and that I would go to Mr. Oglethorpe just now.' I did so, and gave him a plain relation of what had occurred. After prayers, they came too; but were so warm and used such language in the very relating their case, that Mr. Oglethorpe was obliged to check them more than once. After a long hearing, Mr. Oglethorpe said, (1) that my brother had been guilty of an indiscretion in writing that paper; (2) that this was not imputable to me, who was no way accountable for what he said; and that therefore (3) they had done very ill in abusing me in a manner no way justifiable or excusable. With this reprimand he dismissed them.

[Sat. 21.—I spent an hour with Mr. Horton, and laboured to convince him I was not his enemy. But it was labour in vain. He had heard stories which he would not repeat, and was consequently immovable as a rock. Many things indeed he mentioned in general, as that I was always prying into other people's concerns, in order to set them together by the ears; that I had betrayed every one who had trusted me; that I had revealed the confessions of dying men; that I had belied every one I had conversed with, himself in particular, to whom I was determined to do all the mischief I could.

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Sat. 21.—A sure sign of physical exhaustion is the sleep that interrupts his private devotions. A person called Verplank (a name familiar to American citizens in later days) appears on the scene. At eight Wesley had an interview with Horton. He 'quite angry; got no good.' An hour later Mrs. Welch came; 'she quite scurrilous and profane.' F. Moore, on the contrary, was 'open and friendly.' Wesley sang a hymn from his Diary. The little leather-bound volume would necessarily be at hand whenever he wrote up his Journal. Which of the four hymns (App. XVII. vol. vi.) did he sing? Was it

O Jesu, source of calm repose?

or,

My soul before Thee prostrate lies?

Both hymns were in his *Collection*, and either, sang on this morning of sore distress, in this 'land of wars and pain,' would comfort his weary spirit. Most readers will select the second because of its striking fitness for this time of deep humiliation. At noon he was still writing his Journal. He dined at the Hirds, held two devotional meetings, at both 'singing,' at one 'reading *The Humble Heart*,' and at the other 'beginning Cave.' Seven times during the day he sang. Verplank attended his first society-meeting; he had a private interview with Oglethorpe.

But whenever I pressed him to come to particulars, he absolutely refused it. I asked him what motive he thought I had to proceed thus. He said he believed it was a pure delight in doing mischief, and added, 'I believe, in a morning when you say your prayers, you resolve against it; but by the time you have been abroad two hours, all your resolutions are vanished, and you can't be easy till you're at it again.'

[Here Mrs. Welch, coming up, asked with a curse what I meant by saying she was an adultress, and entertained me and a pretty many other auditors with such a mixture of scurrility and profaneness as I had not heard before. God deliver thee from the gall of bitterness and the bond of iniquity!

[I now found what remained was to look upon my (once) acquaintance, as well as my late friend, as dead, and so neither to speak [to nor] of them. But on *Sunday*, the 22nd, between three and four in the afternoon, Mrs. Hawkins sent me by her maid a note, wherein she desired to speak with me upon an affair of importance. I paused a little, and asked the servant whether she knew what her mistress wanted. She said, 'No'; upon which I replied, 'If a parishioner desires my company, I must go; but, be sure, stay you within.'

[When I came in, she said, 'Sir, sit down.' I sat down on the bedside. She stood close to me, with her hands behind her, and said, 'Sir, you have wronged me, and I will shoot you through the head this moment with a brace of balls.' I caught hold of the hand with which she presented the pistol, and at the same time of her other hand, in which she had a pair of scissors. On which she threw herself upon me, and forced me down upon the bed, crying out all the while, 'Villain, dog, let go my hands,' and swearing bitterly, with many imprecations both on herself and me, that she would either have my hair or my heart's blood. I was very unwilling either to cry out, which must publish to all the world what, for her sake, I desired should be more private; or to attempt rising by force, which could not have been done without hurting her. Just then the maid came in, whom she ordered to reach a knife, swearing she would be the death

of her if she did not. The woman stood trembling, not knowing what to do. Her two boys [servants] came in next, whom she bid to hold my hands, and I desired to take hold of their mistress. But they did not dare to do either. Then came in Mr. Davison the constable, and Mr. Reed, who, on my desire, were going to take her by the arms, when Mr. Hawkins came in, asked what that scoundrel did in his house, and commanded them at their peril not to touch his wife. Upon this encouragement she struggled again to get her hands loose; but not being able, seized on my cassock with her teeth and tore both the sleeves of it to pieces, and then fixed upon my arm, four men (for Mr. Robinson and Ward were now come) standing by, and not daring to hinder her. I then spoke to Mr. Hawkins, who, seeing the company increase, took her round the waist and lifted her up. I went to Mr. Oglethorpe and gave him a simple narration of what had happened. He sent for them both and for Mr. Horton. She defended all, saying he had not done her justice for the wrong she had received, and therefore she had done herself justice. After a long hearing, her husband and she, promising better behaviour for the future, were dismissed.

[I thought here had been a full end of all; but every hour brought me fresh reason to believe the contrary. Mr. Hawkins related what had passed wherever he came, in such

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*Sun. 22.*—Quite early he had a serious conversation with Mr. Reed, the friend upon whom he relied to take pastoral charge of the faithful few when he should leave Frederica. At first Miss Sophy and her friend were present. When they left, Wesley and Reed talked on for half an hour. As a preparation for preaching Wesley read *The Contrite Heart*, meditating, singing, and dressing. At the service thirty-two were present. After Holy Communion he 'sang and prayed with them.' After dinner he read Cave, walked with the two ladies, and was singing from his Diary when Mrs. Hawkins sent for him. On the tragic scene so fully described in the Journal, he writes in the Diary the ejaculation—'Alleluia to God!!!' His subsequent interview with Oglethorpe is briefly noted, also with Horton and Mrs. Lawley. At six in the evening fifty persons heard him expound. The Second Lesson that evening was 2 Pet. ii. Miss Sophy and her friends at the after-meeting heard a reading from Law, and joined in singing two psalms or hymns. Davison, one of the constables, and his company supped with him at Hird's. He slept at his own house; but Mark Hird and Reed, both of them stalwart and trusty friends, were his body-guard. It was not safe to leave him alone.



a manner as he judged proper. Mrs. Hawkins did the same. A report likewise went through the town that I designed to steal away in the night. Many advised me very seriously not to go ; others came to take their leave. Finding how things were managed, early in the morning I sent Mr. Oglethorpe the following letter :

Aug. 23.

[Sir,

[I choose to write rather than speak, that I may not say too much. I find it is utterly impossible anything should be kept secret unless both parties are resolved upon it. What fell out yesterday is already known to every family in Frederica ; but to many it has been represented in such a light that 'tis easy to know whence the representation comes. Now, Sir, what can I do more ? Though I have given my reputation to God, I must not absolutely neglect it. The treatment I have met with was not barely an assault : you know one part of it was felony. I can't see what I can do but desire an open hearing in the face of all my countrymen of this place. If you (to whom I can gladly entrust my life and my all in this land) are excepted against as partial, let a jury be impanelled, and upon a full inquiry determine what such breaches of the law deserve.

[I am, Sir,

[Your obliged and obedient Servant.

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*Mon. 23.*—It was at six in the morning he wrote the letter to Oglethorpe which he inserted in the Journal. Horton, Reed, Hird, and others saw him repeatedly. Oglethorpe sent for him twice. On the second occasion Mr. and Mrs. Hawkins were there, and the Governor attempted a reconciliation, on which Wesley remarks, 'Alas !'<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> It was characteristic of Wesley that, having realized his duty as a pastor responsible to God for the cure of souls, he should cleave to it at all costs, until, by some unmistakable sign, he was set free. He believed that God had called him to fulfil this ministry of restoration for a woman who, on her own showing, was a sinner of deepest guilt, whose husband was the only doctor in the town and Wesley's personal friend. He might suffer, lose his best friends, anger his brother, be misunderstood and reviled by those whose good opinion he valued ; yet he was willing to be a fool for Christ's

sake, if only he might, no matter at what risk to himself, save some. We think of Wesley as a soul-saving evangelist from the hour of his 'evangelical conversion' ; but the spirit of the evangelist, mounting into what the world regarded as a mania, was in him long before he reached Aldersgate Street. The Diaries prove, beyond possibility of question, that, from the 'boy' who served in his house to the Governor whom he himself served, he faithfully strove to save every man, woman, and child who crossed his path. His friends may have thought his methods injudicious. Six months earlier Spangen-

[Mr. Oglethorpe sent for Mr. Horton, who came from him to me, spoke largely of the necessity of union among ourselves, how we were surrounded with enemies, of the many divisions already in the town, and the probability that this would increase them. He then informed me that he was ordered, nevertheless, if I insisted on it, to open a court; but he thought (to speak freely) it would be much better to terminate things in a more friendly manner. I told him I had no desire of doing any hurt either to Mr. or Mrs. Hawkins; but that I must secure myself against future insults, and put a stop to their misrepresentations of what was past. He said he would talk with them on those heads, and return to me with their answer. This he soon did, assuring me, in their name, that I should have no further reason of complaint.]

[At one Mr. Oglethorpe sent for me and talked fully upon the same subject; and at eight again, at which time I found Mr. and Mrs. Hawkins sitting with him. For above an hour was he labouring to reconcile us. No, I had obliged them beyond all reconciliation. The wrongs I had done might be forgiven (for indeed they were none at all); but my friendship never can till the day of their death. However, something like an agreement was patched up, one article of which was that we should speak to each other no more. Blessed be God who hath at length given me a full discharge, in the sight of men and angels, from all intercourse with one 'whose heart is snares and knots and her hands as bands.'

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*Tues. 24.*—St. Bartholomew's Day was observed in due form. At the five-o'clock exposition ten were present, at the sermon twenty-four, at Holy Communion eight. The reading of sermons and singing of hymns, the writing the Journal and reading of Prior, one of his favourite poets, filled the day. Rain prevented work in the garden.

berg, discussing this very case, warned him to desist. We, at this distance of time, may share Spangenberg's opinion; yet nothing can take from the splendour of his loyalty to the duty of the hour, as he conscientiously conceived it. But when the founder and Governor of the colony, knowing all the facts, deliberately

discharged him from all further obligation, he gratefully accepted his release. His words are worth pondering: 'Blessed be God who hath at length given me a full discharge, in the sight of men and angels, from all intercourse with one "whose heart is snares and knots and her hands as bands."' "

[*Fri.* 27.—Fr. Don Antonio de Arredondo came to St. Simon's from the *Havanna*, to treat with Mr. Oglethorpe. He said he had full powers from the King his master to conclude as he judged convenient. Captain Gascoigne set up tents for him and his attendants on Jekyl Island, over against St. Simon's. The ship lay in the river between. Mr. Oglethorpe came down to him from Frederica every day, for six or seven days successively. After which he returned to the *Havanna*.]

*Sat.* 28.—I set apart (out of the few we had) such books [as were of most general use], towards a library at Frederica. [At eleven, while I was with Mrs. Patterson, who was dangerously ill, Mrs. Hawkins came in and sat down. But I exchanged not a word with her, good or bad. In the afternoon I walked with Mark Hird to the Fort, where the Independent Company is placed, on the other side of the island.] About five we set out homeward; but [the night overtaking us, and] my guide not

*Wed.* 25.—Mark Hird still kept guard at night. With Miss Sophy Wesley read Heylin's *Tracts*. Three hours he gave to Oglethorpe, who had pressing anxieties. Spaniards threatened the frontiers of the colony; Indian allies were not always proof against the wiles of the enemy, and the colony was a house divided against itself. In Wesley the Governor found a wise and confidential adviser. He was writing 'an account' when Miss Sophy came; she heard him read Heylin's *Tracts*, as also did the sick whom he visited later in the day. At the evening exposition he was not a little surprised to see Mr. Horton present, and a congregation of thirty.

*Thur.* 26.—Some hours he devoted to hymns and letters. Heylin and Hickes (*Reformed Devotions*) were his companions in visitation and in his pastoral treatment of Miss Sophy and her friend. In the afternoon he walked with them to Mr. Reed's lot. Again thirty came to evening prayers. After supper he read Cave.

*Fri.* 27.—He awoke sick, but after sleep was able to read prayers, expound, and receive friends. Reed took him to his lot, where he helped to make an harbour, work in which he was skilled. Law, Hickes, and Cave were his authors for the day. In his pastoral visitation he utilized letters from English friends. With Mrs. Patterson (a Scotch Presbyterian), who was very sick, he read Hickes, selecting, no doubt, the prayers and psalms 'for the Afflicted.' At nine Oglethorpe sent for him to hear the negotiations with the Spanish envoy. Before retiring for the night he read Hickes, but 'could not sleep for Pauvre,' possibly the Indian who was in the town.

*Sat.* 28.—He again went to Reed's lot, and again Oglethorpe sent for him. Letters had come, which he read; they consulted together; at home his own letters awaited him. For an hour he transcribed



being perfect in the way, we were soon lost in the woods. [It was a starlight night, but neither of us knew which way the town lay. We walked, however, straight forward, and crept where we could not walk,] till between nine and ten o'clock; when, being heartily tired and thoroughly wet with dew, we lay down and slept sound till morning.

About daybreak, on *Sunday*, the 29th, [we fixed on one of the brightest stars, and resolved to steer straight towards it, as long as it appeared. About six we lost sight of our star, but] found ourselves soon after sunrise in the Great Savannah, near Frederica. By this good providence I was delivered from another fear, that of lying in the woods; which I find by experience is, in fair weather, and to a person in tolerable health, a mere 'lion in the way.'

[I was now in hourly expectation of setting out for Savannah. Mr. Reed promised to read evening prayers in my absence, and five or six persons agreed to spend an hour together every day in singing, reading, and exhorting one another.]

hymns; for another hour sorted books for a library. The difficulties of travel are illustrated by the following entries:

- 12 Hickes; conversed; dined; set out with Mark, conversed.
- 1 Conversed.
- 2 Walked together; bemired.
- 3 Lost; return;
- 4 At the Fort; agreed to walk with Delegal junior.
- 5 Set out; conversed; bemired.
- 6 Lost; prayed; found way.
- 7 Lost; prayed; found way; lost again.
- 8 Walked; tired.
- 9 Lay down by wood; slept sound.

*Sun.* 29.—Early they set out, conversing and singing. By six they were at home. In half an hour Wesley was dressed, reading prayers, and expounding to a congregation of ten. He was reading Hickes when Oglethorpe sent for him. After a long private consultation he wrote for him. Returning home, he had to converse with Mr. Sweeney, from whom he 'got no good.' At last he found opportunity to read his Greek Testament for a few minutes, and to dress for preaching and Holy Communion. The books he read with one and another were Heylin, Hickes, Law, and Cave.

*Mon.* 30.—Much business had to be transacted at home and with Oglethorpe. Between two readings in Hickes he read 'verses on Death,' and thought out, or wrote, a meditation thereon. He had a conversation with Jemmy, doubtless regarding their approaching return to Savannah. Probably it was Jemmy, of whom we have heard nothing for several days,

SEPT. 2, *Thur.*—I set out in a sloop, and about ten on Sunday morning came to Skidoway; whence, after reading

who brought the letters Wesley this morning read to Oglethorpe. He was walking in the garden at home when Mark and Miss Sophy came; with them he had an hour's conversation and prayer. He walked with Miss Sophy and her friends to Mrs. Colwell's lot, and had 'a good time.' They met a rain-storm and returned home very wet. At supper-time Ausberg came.

*Tues. 31.*—Every morning after prayers he at this time read Heylin to Miss Sophy.

9 Transcribed verses.

10 Altered verses.

11 Altered verses.

12 Hickes' *Devotions*.

1 Dined together.

2 Read Poem on Death; at home.

3 Mr Reed within; Miss Sophy and company; sung; Law.

4 Sung; Hickes.

This last was one of the devotional, society, or 'company' meetings which he seems to have held almost every day, the chief features of which were singing and the reading of a book of devout meditation.

At six o'clock he 'marked Psalms and Hymns.' At evening prayers he read from Quesnel, closing with psalm or hymn. He then read Hickes,<sup>1</sup> supped, and read Cave.

SEPT. 1, *Wed.*—This was his last day, for the present, in Frederica. He read Hickes for Matins, Vespers, and Compline; but at the time of Lauds he was holding a private conference with Oglethorpe. He began to read *The Contrite Heart*, and continued the reading of Law and Quesnel. He saw Captain Dempsey and several friends.

*Thur. 2.*—He conducted service as usual, conversed with Miss Sophy,

<sup>1</sup> Hickes provides daily services,—Matins, for the early morning; Lauds, for noon; Vespers, for the evening; and Compline, for the close of the day. Wesley did not always use Hickes; nor, when using his *Devotions* for a period, did he read the four full services for each day. He followed the advice given 'To the Reader,' omitting this or that as time and opportunity offered. On Tuesday 31, for instance, he was unable to use Hickes's *Office for Matins*, but at twelve he read the *Lauds*, at four the *Vespers*, and at eight *Compline*. Each office had its choice of psalms, its lessons, its prayers and responses, its hymn. It helps the student of Wesley to follow him through these devotions, especially if the circumstances through which he was passing are remembered.

It is clear that the *Collection of Psalms and Hymns* was in course of preparation. For tentative use in the small society-meetings at Frederica, the *Collection*, though unfinished, was enough. Hymn by hymn its quality was tested by use. An analysis of the Diary would show that the discovery, translation, transcription, and alteration of a hymn were accompanied by frequent singing. In private devotions, in public worship, in his society-meetings, at the bedside of the sick, and in ordinary intercourse with friends, he sang the psalms and hymns which formed the first Hymn-book, and also many of those which were afterwards included in the editions of 1739, 1740, and 1741. How many of these were composed by himself can only now be conjectured.

prayers and preaching to about half a dozen people, I set out for Thunderbolt, and thence for Savannah in the afternoon.

#### FOURTH SAVANNAH JOURNAL

[SEPT. 6, *Mon.*—Many complaints being made of what had been done in my absence by Mr. Dison, chaplain of the Independent Company, who had now been at Savannah several weeks, I

read Hickes's *Matins*, and by eight o'clock was with Oglethorpe at the Bluff, noting gratefully that he was 'at one with him.' Waiting for the boat that was to take him on board the sloop, he began Worthington *On Resignation*, read *Lauds*, also Worthington to Miss Sophy, who seems to have accompanied him to the Bluff. Miss Fosset came also to bid him farewell. They dined. At twelve he set out in the sloop, reading Worthington, conversing with Mr. Stuart. After another reading in Worthington, he began Spanish grammar, and worked at it for two hours.

*Fri.* 3.—To-day, having finished Worthington, he read Watts.

*Sat.* 4.—He read Dr. Knight's sermons, sang frequently, and began Potter *On Church Government*. By seven o'clock, the wind being contrary, he was 'afraid; so very sick!' It was midnight before he felt 'a little better.'

*Sun.* 5.—This morning he was well enough to pursue his study of Bishop Potter (the bishop who had ordained him, and who now, as Archbishop of Canterbury, was disposed to look with favour on Moravian orders); at 9.30 the sloop reached Skidoway, where a boat came to take him to Mrs. Mouse's house. There he read prayers and expounded to a congregation of nine. His hostess accompanied him in the boat to the sloop. Bishop Potter's book was his companion as far as Thunderbolt, where he dined and conversed with Mrs. Lacy. At two he set out for Savannah, reading Potter as he walked. At four, arrayed in canonicals, he read prayers and expounded to forty of his old parishioners. At 5.15 Mrs. Causton came, eager, no doubt, for news of her niece. The rest of the evening was spent exactly as though he had not just returned from a long and perilous journey—praying with Delamotte, walking in the garden with him and Ingham, and visiting his friends the Germans.<sup>1</sup>

*Mon.* 6.—Under this date the Diary makes no allusion to Mr. Dison and his irregularities. He probably heard what had occurred from Delamotte, John Brownfield, whom he visited, and Miss Bovey, with whom he

<sup>1</sup> In a framework of apparently trifling details, how vivid the picture of Wesley, at thirty-three, in training for habitual concentration of thought and purpose, for a methodical and scrupulous economy of time, and for a singular gift of adaptation to the ever-varying claims of personal friendship and church duty!

Through these hour-by-hour Diary pages we see John Wesley—student, missionary, evangelist, parish priest—being girded for a work of which he never dreams, and tuning the Church's harpsichord for a service of song that was to awaken and charm successive generations.



went to his lodgings, and taxed him, (1) with baptizing several strong, healthy children in private houses, which was what I had entirely broke through; (2) with marrying several couples without first publishing the banns—a custom which he knew was contrary to the rubric and canon both; and (3) with endeavouring to make a division between my parishioners and me, by speaking against me before them both as to my life and preaching. The two last charges he denied; but owned the first, promised never to do it again, and did the very same thing the next day. O Discipline! where art thou to be found? Not in England, nor (as yet) in America.

[Wed. 8.—Mr. Von Reck and his brother came to town in order to their passage to Europe. Neither of them was well

to-day resumed the interrupted lessons in French. A much more important subject presented itself in the letters from home which awaited his arrival:

7 Read letters and Delamotte prest to go home.

8 Letters, conversed; at Miss Bovey's, conversation; she right.

10 At home prayed with Delamotte on business.

Again at noon, before their frugal 'dinner on bread-and-butter,' he prayed with Delamotte, as also at three and six. His love for Delamotte, who, although not always in agreement, was ever a faithful friend and helper, is very apparent in these frequent prayers. To all intents and purposes he was Delamotte's tutor, and as such held himself responsible to the young man's father. After his English service he sang with the Germans and read to them his Journal. This was his deliberately chosen way of taking his friends into his confidence with regard to the momentous events which had happened in Frederica.

Tues. 7.—His hour of rising varied; therefore the hour for morning prayers. His diet also had changed from plain bread to bread-and-butter. He saw Mr. Causton, Mrs. Causton, Mr. Dison; meditated on his letters; dined at noon; visited Thomas Mellichamp (who may at this time have been in prison), Betty Wright, Mrs. Causton and company, and Mr. Causton. Returning home he prayed, gave Miss Bovey her lesson in French, and read to her his *Collection*. After his hour with the Germans he wrote to Mr. Hird and Miss Sophy. Six times on this page the name of Causton occurs. One of the grievances against Wesley, as appears from the *True Account*, was his close intimacy with Causton. His enemies assumed that he, Causton, and Oglethorpe were in alliance against the interests of the colonists; in other words, against their policy in relation to negro slavery and the liquor trade. It should be remembered that the facts as to Causton were at this time unknown. Neither Wesley nor Oglethorpe understood the man until later.

Wed. 8.—The three friends observed the Wednesday fast of the Holy Club, and breakfasted on bread. Wesley wrote to Oglethorpe on business,

recovered from the fever. The next morning I desired them to make use of our house while they stayed.

[*Fri.* 10.—We began our morning prayers at a quarter past five, an hour we hope to adhere to all the winter. Between fifteen and twenty persons constantly attend them, besides the children and the rest of our own family.

[I had often observed that I scarce ever visited any persons, in health or sickness, but they attended public prayer for some time after. This increased my desire of seeing not only those

to Charles, to Mrs. Hutton (praying with Ingham and Delamotte), to Mr. Newman, and began a letter to 'Brother Wright' (Hetty Wesley's husband). He prayed again with Ingham and Delamotte, also at three, before the bread-and-butter dinner. His anxiety for Ingham and Delamotte, whose future was uncertain, is very pathetic. To Miss Bovey he was acting as tutor in French and pastor. In his close religious intimacies he was in the habit of reading extracts from his Journal, letters (which were often in the nature of religious essays or small treatises), and such devotional literature of his own collection or composition as chanced at the time to be on hand. An entry, several times repeated, in connexion with Miss Bovey, suggests that he read to her not only his *Collection of Psalms and Hymns*, still incomplete, but also his *Prayers*, a copy of which, in his own handwriting, has been preserved in the Colman Collection. Reed and Mark Hird in Frederica, and Miss Bovey in Savannah, he was—consciously or unconsciously—training as lay pastors in the innermost circle of the Christian Church. They were to the church in Georgia what helpers, class-leaders, and leaders of bands were to the Methodism of the next decade. One of the complaints urged against Wesley in the *True Account* was that he 'appointed deaconesses.'

[*Thur.* 9.—He scrupulously notes variations in diet, and especially unusual luxuries. This morning, for instance, the friends breakfast on bread-and-butter again, and, later in the morning, Wesley drinks 'chocolate with Von Reck.' To prepare for guests whom he had invited to stay at the parsonage, he made ready the parlour and cleaned it. To-day he wrote at length to his brother Samuel on business, probably in relation to his mother and sisters, for whom, jointly with Samuel, he was responsible. To Miss Bovey he read *Prayers* and the *Poem on Death*, which he had written or transcribed or translated in Frederica, and to which he appears to have attached some importance.

[*Fri.* 10.—Letters were written to Sister Patty, Whitefield,<sup>1</sup> and Clayton. The visitation of the sick is absorbing more and more of his time. Letters,

<sup>1</sup> The letter to Whitefield, coupled with the pressure of sick-visitation and the increasing mortality, suggests that already the need for some special provision to shelter orphan children was

being felt in Savannah. A phrase in the hitherto unpublished Journal for this day (Sept. 10) would lead to the conclusion that Wesley was turning the Savannah parsonage into an orphanage. There can

who were sick, but all my parishioners as soon as possible at their own houses. Accordingly I had long since begun to visit them in order from house to house. But I could not go on two days, the sick increasing so fast as to require all the time I have to spare (which is from one in the afternoon till five). Nor is even that enough to see them all (as I would do) daily. So that even in the town (not to mention Frederica and all the smaller settlements) there are above five hundred sheep that are (almost) without a shepherd. He that is unjust must be unjust still. Here is none to search out and lay hold on the *Mollia tempora fandi*, and to persuade him to save his soul alive. He that is a babe in Christ may be so still; here is none to attend the workings of grace upon his spirit, to feed him by degrees with food convenient for him, and gently lead him until he can follow the Lamb wherever He goeth. Does any err from the right way? Here is none to recall him. He may go on to seek death in the error of his life. Is any wavering? Here is none to confirm him. Is any falling? There is none to lift him up. What a single man can do is not seen or felt. Where are ye who are very zealous for the Lord of Hosts? Who will rise up with me against the wicked? Who will take God's part against the evil-doers? Whose spirit is moved within him to prepare himself for publishing glad tidings to those on whom the Sun of Righteousness never yet arose, by labouring first for those his countrymen who are else without hope as well as without God in the world? Do you ask what you shall have? Why, all you desire. Food to eat, raiment to put on, a place where to lay your head (such as your Lord had not), and a crown of life that fadeth not away! Do you seek means of building up yourselves in the knowledge and love of God? I call the God

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daily services, devotional meetings, and intercourse with the Germans seem at this time to prevail over everything. It is only with difficulty that he can read at all. Whole days pass without reference to books of any description. To-day he has conversation with Töltschig.

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be little doubt that many of the letters written by Wesley at this time were on behalf of the orphan children and destitute colonists of Georgia. The spirit of his appeal is reflected in

the remarkable passage which closes the Journal-fragment now rescued from oblivion. Cf. Tyerman's *Life of Whitefield*, vol. i. p. 60.



whom we serve to witness, I know of no place under heaven where there are more, or perhaps so many, as in this place. Does your heart burn within you to turn many others to righteousness? Behold the whole land, thousands and thousands are before you. I will resign to any of you all or any part of my charge: choose what seemeth good in your own eyes. Here are within these walls children of all ages and dispositions. Who will bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, till they are meet to be preachers of righteousness? Here are adults, from the farthest parts of Europe and Asia and the inmost kingdoms of Africa. Add to these the known and unknown nations of this vast continent, and you will indeed have a great multitude which no man can——<sup>1]</sup>

*Mon. 13.*—I began reading, with Mr. Delamotte, Bishop Beveridge's<sup>2</sup> *Pandectae Canonum Conciliorum*. Nothing could

*Sat. 11.*—He wrote to Mr. Vernon and to Mr. Thorold—'Squire Thorold,' as Whitefield, to whom he sent a present of ten guineas, called him. He had an interview with 'John.' He began to catechize the children.

*Sun. 12.*—The attendances were, at early-morning prayers, 25; at the sermon, 35; at Holy Communion, 13; and at the afternoon catechizing, 50. For some unexplained reason there was no meeting at Miss Bovey's this afternoon; but at Mrs. Gilbert's he prayed, sang, read the *Country Parson* (G. Herbert's *A Priest to the Temple; or, the Country Parson, His Character, and Rule of Holy Life*), and again sang. Ingham appears to have been present.

*Mon. 13.*—The page is interesting.

4 10. Prayed with Delamotte; began *Codex Canonum*.

5 Meditated; read prayers, expounded, 11 present,

<sup>1</sup> Here the fragment abruptly ends. The powerful closing passage may be compared with the letters to Whitefield and others written from Georgia during these weeks.

The reference to settlements reminds us that Wesley was already feeling his way towards an itinerating evangelism and a circuit system. Savannah, Frederica, Thunderbolt, Skidoway, Irene, Yamacraw (or Cowpen), were already on his list. One might add the German section in Savannah, New Ebenezer, Darien, and other stations occasionally visited.

<sup>2</sup> William Beveridge; born 1637; died 1708; admitted to St. John's College, Cambridge, at the age of sixteen years; became eminent in Oriental scholarship and ecclesiastical learning; a voluminous writer; vicar of Ealing and rector of St. Peter's, Cornhill; successively prebendary of St. Paul's, archdeacon of Colchester, and prebendary of Canterbury. He declined the see of Bath and Wells as successor to Bishop Ken, when he was deprived; but accepted the bishopric of St. Asaph in 1704. Beveridge's remarkable work con-

so effectually have convinced us that both Particular and 'General Councils may err, and have erred'; [and of the infinite difference there is between the decisions of the wisest men and those of the Holy Ghost recorded in His Word ;] and that things ordained by Councils as necessary to salvation have neither strength nor authority unless they be taken out of Holy Scripture.

6 Hair cut ; at home and talked.

7 Talked together.

8 Wrote Journal.

9 Journal.

10 Marked Journal.<sup>1</sup>

11 Marked Journal.

12 Dined ; marked.

1 Marked ; visited.

2 Visited.

3 Visited.

4 Miss Bovey's ; Mr Houston ; intimate talk.

5 Began Fleury's *Mœurs des Israélites* with me.

6 At home ; burial ; talked together.

7 Read prayers, expounded ; Germans.

8 Germans  $\frac{1}{2}$  ; interview with Mr Parker ; at nine with Delamotte and Ingham 9.45, prayed.

*Tues. 14.*—For about two hours he read 'psalms,' probably with a view to the hymn-book project which was maturing.

*Wed. 15.*—He wrote to his sister Emily and Mr. Rivington. Was it his wish to publish through Rivington, and did Rivington decline to publish so great a novelty, strengthened in his objection by the fact that the book placed in the forefront ten psalms from Dr. Isaac Watts's collection? This morning he indulged in coffee, and spent some hours in his garden, sometimes working and sometimes singing and meditating.

*Thur. 16.*—He wrote to Mr. Horne, Sister Kezia, 'my mother,' Sister Ellison, Sister Nancy, Seraius, Hervey. He also spent some time in sorting letters. He must have received quite recently a large number of highly important letters, only a few of which, as far as we at present know, have survived. These all bear marks, in the form of dates and other endorsements, of the 'sorting' which at intervals he practised.

*Fri. 17.*—He was still busy reading or writing letters. One to Dr. Burton must have been voluminous, for he spent two hours in writing it. More interesting, though perhaps less important, were letters to his

sisted of a collection not only of all the Apostolic Canons, that is to say, of those attributed to the Apostles, but also those of eleven Councils ; also of a number of paraphrases and letters, and of the Canons of the four General Councils, &c.

<sup>1</sup> The Journal in its original form was

no doubt a daily record, or nearly so. This he marked for extraction and transcription. It was these extracts he sent home to his brother Samuel and to comrades in the Holy Club. One of the manuscript copies is thus marked in pencil.

*Mon. 20.*—We ended the *Apostolical Canons*, of which I must confess I once thought more highly than I ought to think. [Of them Bishop Beveridge observes that they are the decrees of the several Synods, which met at several places, and on several occasions, in the second and third age after Christ ; and are therefore] called Apostolical, because partly grounded upon, partly agreeing with, the traditions delivered down from the Apostles.

He further observes, [‘ That as they were enacted by different Synods, so they were collected by different persons ; till, about A.D. 500, John, Bishop of Constantinople, placed them at the head of the Canons, which he then collected into one Code ;

old friends ‘Aspasia’ and ‘Selima’ ; in other words, to the celebrated Mrs. Delany and her sister Anne Granville. The names of new parishioners whom he visited are given. To the lesson in French for Miss Bovey a long reading from Law was added, with conversation. French, for a deaconess or class-leader in Savannah, was more than an accomplishment ; it was almost a necessity. Preparation for exposition was usually made whilst walking in the garden, sometimes Greek Testament or other devotional book in hand. There is a marked absence of ‘singing’ in the records of these days. When it does occur, it is in close proximity to ‘psalms’ or ‘verses.’

*Sat. 18.*—He read Fleury's *Catechism* to Ingham. After serious conversation with Causton, by which he was ‘convinced,’ and with Mrs. Causton, by which she was ‘seriously convinced,’ he returned home and spent an hour in transcribing and altering verses. In the garden he read French and German (hymns?) and sang. In the evening, after prayers, communicants came, and he began to read Bishop Patrick's *Prayers*. Before leaving he sang and prayed with them and ‘read my mother's letter.’ These were the children and young people whom he and Delamotte so diligently instructed, and whose admission to Holy Communion, after long probation and most careful preparation, was one of the charges urged against him in the *True Account*.

*Sun. 19.*—For the first time Ephrem Syrus appears as a book read in preparing for the pulpit. There were sixteen communicants. Before the afternoon service he catechized the boys alone, and after the service catechized again. Twenty were present.

*Mon. 20.*—He worked on the transcription of his Journal in conjunction with Von Reck, who also kept a journal. The Recks were still living with him in the parsonage, and he made the most of the opportunity to perfect his knowledge of German. With the communicants he read Patrick's *Prayers*, sang and prayed, afterwards spending an hour with the *Canons*.

The interval between September 20 and October 12 is blank in the Journal. The Diary fills the missing days.



since which time they have been in force in the Eastern Church. But then,' he adds] (*Codex Canonum Ecclesiae Primitivae*,<sup>1</sup> p. 159; and why did he not observe it in the first page of the book?),

*Tues. 21.*—He spent two hours with his Journal, and an hour meditating on a sermon and singing. He then robed, went to the Germans, read prayers, preached to a congregation of seventeen, and administered the Eucharist to nine communicants, noting, 'No wine there!' From one to four o'clock, as usual, he visited; the names are given. He ended the afternoon with a reading from Law at Miss Bovey's, followed by serious conversation. In the evening, after the exposition, he visited the Germans, with them reading the 'Councils.'

*Wed. 22.*—He rose at four, and prayed with Delamotte, but was sleepy, hot, and sick. Nevertheless he expounded as usual, and after a cup of coffee, which seems to have been his remedy for malarial sickness, he spent

<sup>1</sup> The studies of missionaries were prescribed by the S.P.G. They included the *Codex Canonum*. Wesley, in this course of reading, was acting according to his instructions. He began the study shortly after four o'clock on Monday, Sept. 13, reading with Delamotte. There is no further reference to the subject until Sept. 19, when, both in the afternoon and evening, the *Apostolical Canons* were read. Probably Wesley knew the book, and only read portions from time to time with Delamotte. After the 20th, when the reading with Delamotte ended, he took the work to the Germans, reading it with them night after night, until the 26th of the month, when, for Wesley personally, it became a subject of prolonged morning study. Either alone or with the Germans he continued the study until Oct. 4.

<sup>2</sup> We are not told in so many words that it was so, but many details produce an impression, gradually approaching conviction, that at this time, in faith, ecclesiastical leanings, worship, and ministerial duty, Wesley was closely identified with the Moravians. On this day, for instance, he reads prayers and expounds at five in the morning, presumably in the building that served as an English church; but at ten he reads prayers, preaches, and administers the Communion with the Moravians. This

is the more remarkable because it was an English church festival (of St. Matthew). But it was quite in harmony with the ideals which Zinzendorf, Spangenberg, and other Moravian leaders at this time cherished. Their views, also it should be remembered, found favour with the Archbishop of Canterbury (Potter) and with the Prussian court chaplain. We know that Wesley had asked James Hutton to obtain information respecting the attitude of English Church leaders towards Moravian orders; and it is quite conceivable that his correspondence with Zinzendorf, Spangenberg, and, through Oglethorpe, with the Bishop of London, now his diocesan, may have touched on this apparently momentous question, namely, whether on S.P.G. mission stations English clergy might not co-operate with Moravian ministers, recognizing their orders as valid, and therefore their administration of the Sacraments. Ecclesiastically the Saltzburghers were in a different position. They were not Moravians. Their orders were not recognized as valid; therefore Wesley, being at this period in bondage to the most rigid interpretation of canon law, refused to admit their baptisms as valid. As he shortly came to see, it was all highly absurd; but we have to accept him as we find him—self-portrayed in his own Diary.

'they contain the discipline used in the Church at the time when they were collected; not when the Council of Nice met, for then many parts of it were useless and obsolete.'

five hours with his Journal. There was much illness in the town; burials were frequent; Wesley himself was far from robust. To-day he buried Mrs. How and child. He began Clemens.

*Thur.* 23.—His Journal (in which he wrote on the Mystics), a letter to Miss Sophy, business with Causton, visitation, burial of Matt. Banish, French with Miss Bovey, and the *Canons*, filled the day.

*Fri.* 24.—After morning prayers and coffee, he spent six hours with the Mystics. He visited, wrote again to Rivington, and to 'Mr. Laserre of Charlestown'; interviewed Ingham, who came in from Yamacraw, gave Miss Bovey her lesson in French and a reading in Law—'she sad.' He went to the churchyard to bury a German, but there was 'no corpse.' He closed a busy day with the belated funeral and *Canons* with the Germans.

*Sat.* 25.—The Mystics again absorbed the morning. After dinner he 'shaved,' visited, catechized, christened Parker, and met his communicants' class.

*Sun.* 26.—The *Canons* took the place of the Mystics. The attendances were 24 at morning prayers, 10 at Holy Communion, and 50 at the afternoon catechizing.

*Mon.* 27.—Burntside (he thus spells Burnside's name) is 'seriously affected?' The day's study begins with the Mystics, but the *Canons* soon displace them. He converses with Mrs. Musgrove.

*Tues.* 28.—French grammar and the beginning of a German grammar varied the monotony of canonical studies. He wrote 'names,' as in after years he so often did. He held a serious religious meeting with boys, singing with them in the garden and praying. He sang also with his communicants' class after evening exposition. Did he sing Brevint's sacramental hymns, or Hickes's, or his father's 'Behold the Saviour of mankind'? Any of these is possible. In Savannah, for the present, the communicants' class seems to have taken the place of the society-meeting.

*Wed.* 29.—He began to transcribe a German 'Dicconary.' He wrote letters for the sick, spent several hours in pastoral visitation, and 'buried Lady Bat[hurst].'

*Thur.* 30.—The German Dictionary, visiting, and the *Canons*, with the usual services, teaching, and devotions, filled the day.

OCT. 1, *Fri.*—Nearly the whole day was given to German (probably the dictionary), and to visiting. The Brownfields were on his sick list.

*Sat.* 2.—He is 'very lively,' and accounts for it by the cold. German, with an interlude for French, visiting for five hours, and his communicants' class are the features of the day. A cross may indicate Passion hymns as those he sang with the class. There is a return in this section of the Diary to the more precise and introspective methods of earlier Diaries. This, no doubt, is the explanation of certain letters, figures, and signs that appear in the third and fourth columns.

OCT. 12, *Tues.*—We considered if anything could yet be done for the poor people of Frederica; and I submitted to the judgement of my friends, which was that I should

*Sun.* 3.—At 3.45 he 'prayed and sang with them'; 'very lively.' During early hours Ingham returned, and read and preached for Wesley. More names were written. After catechizing, Wesley, Ingham, and Delamotte walked together. At night they read the *Canons*, also the verses on *Death*.

*Mon.* 4.—The reading of the *Canons* with the Germans was finished. After morning prayers, on this and following days he felled trees.

*Tues.* 5.—With Delamotte he read Hebrew and German. In the afternoon the three friends went to the Plantation. Returning, he read German verses. With the Germans in the evening he began 'Cotelerrri' g' (i.e. John B. Cotelarius, a seventeenth-century King's Greek Professor, and writer on the early Fathers).

*Wed.* 6.—An attack of sickness yielded to a rigid fast and tree-felling. He worked steadily at German until 11.15, when he began his customary round of pastoral visitation. French lesson, evening exposition, a religious meeting with Mr. and Mrs. Causton, Mrs. Gilbert and company, ended the long day's work. He broke his fast with the Germans at nine, or thereabouts.

*Thur.* 7.—Tree-felling, German, and visiting; Ingham comes to dinner—'he very zealous.'

*Fri.* 8.—The German work was interrupted by business for Delamotte and Ingham; for the former he taught school, praying in German. A Spaniard came, for whom he wrote a certificate. The first visit in the afternoon was to Haselfo (probably the Spaniard), whom he found 'very serious.' This being the Friday fast, he did not eat until six o'clock. He read prayers and expounded with the Germans, thirty being present, and, quite worn out, slept. Afterwards he walked, meditated, and sang in the German garden.

*Sat.* 9.—He was now preparing for his fourth visit to Frederica, and had conversation with Ingham, who was to be left in charge at Savannah, with Delamotte to assist. Books were sorted and goods packed. He had an interview with Mrs. Causton, whose niece was in Frederica. He wrote lists of names, catechized the children, visited, and 'could not speak'; prayed again and again with Delamotte, once more met his communicants' class, and 'transcribed verses.'

*Sun.* 10.—The reading of Ephrem Syrus was his preparation for preaching, and at intervals through the day he returned to the same writer, of whom he thought highly.

*Mon.* 11.—The marks of anxiety for the friends he was about to leave are apparent. After early prayers he visits Mr. Neimer (no doubt one of his many sick parishioners). He then has a special celebration of Holy Communion with Ingham and Delamotte. He writes for Miss Bovey, transcribing verses for her, and again takes school for Delamotte. 'Dr. Nun,' and Mr. Boltzius, the minister of the Saltzburghers, come.

*Tues.* 12.—This, his last day for some time in Savannah, he spent chiefly in reading Ephrem Syrus to various persons, including Delamotte, who is frequently named.



take another journey thither; Mr. Ingham undertaking to supply my place at Savannah for the time I should stay there.

[About five in the evening, being to set out for Frederica the next day, I asked Mr. Causton what commands he had to Miss Sophy. Some of his words were as follows: 'The girl will never be easy till she is married.' I answered, 'Sir, she is too much afflicted to have a thought of it.' He replied, 'I'll trust a woman for that. There is no other way.' I said, 'But there are few here who you would think fit for her.' He answered, 'Let him be but an honest man—an honest, good man; I don't care whether he has a groat. I can give them a

*Wed. 13.*—He read prayers and expounded as usual, drank chocolate with Miss Bovey, saw Mr. Belinger, junior, whose acquaintance he had made during his Charlestown journey, visited several persons, held final interviews with Causton—with whom, for some unexplained reason, he was cross—and went with Delamotte to the Bluff. From the Bluff, at half-past two, he set out on his journey, again having as his companion Jemmy B[illinghurs]t. He read Potter all the way to Mrs. Lacy's at Thunderbolt. At six he went on board the boat, singing, privately praying, but 'without words.' He read prayers at Skidoway, and at nine set out singing, Mr. Mouse sailing with him. One unexplained entry at the end of each of the five last lines is 'no words.' This closes the fourth Savannah Diary.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This hitherto unread Diary, like earlier ones, bears constant testimony to the orderliness and neatness of Wesley's daily life in Georgia—in a word, to his Methodism. He rose early and retired early; the first hour, or hour and a half, of the morning he reserved for devotion—private, 'company,' and public. He read the Scriptures according to the Calendar, and expounded (usually the Second Lesson) twice every day; morning, noon, and evening he prayed, following the rule of the early Church, which had been adopted by 'our Company' in Oxford; after breakfast he read or wrote until twelve, except on Sundays and church fasts and festivals, when he preached and administered Holy Communion. In the afternoon he visited the sick and those who needed pastoral tending; always he seems to have had pupils—Delamotte, Ingham, Miss Bovey, German friends, and later Miss Sophy;

he taught Greek, Hebrew, French, German, church history, canon law, and, in the case of John Reinier, anatomy. The regularity of his life was often broken in upon by urgencies—the claims of Oglethorpe for secretarial and consultative service, journeys by land and sea, attacks of sickness: such interruptions he accepted as inevitable, never permitting more than a temporary arrest of the habitual course and rule of his life. Thrown out of gear for an hour, a day, or a week, he returned with unerring instinct to the normal, so that there was never more than a minimum waste of time; and he never murmured at these interruptions.

These hitherto unrecorded weeks in the autumn of 1736 are an admirable example of Wesley as a colonial 'country parson'—in the prime of life, moderately High Church, studious, pastoral; friendly within limits, but always

maintenance.' I asked, 'Sir, what directions do you give me with regard to her?' He said, 'I give her up to you. Do what you will with her. Take her into your own hands. Promise her what you will. I will make it good.']

mindful of old friends and kinsfolk; a preacher and tutor, abstemious to the point of severe asceticism, poetical, musical, observant of natural phenomena; able to walk great distances, to sleep in the woods or on bare boards, to swim, ride, row, sail a boat, and work with tools; he cleaned his own house and cultivated his own garden. All his old classical and metaphysical books (except Plato for a few days), his games, stage-plays, and romances he laid absolutely on one side. The one prominent idiosyncrasy of his former life that survived was his fondness for the companionship of women, who, however, must be religious and intellectual, like his sisters and the lady comrades and correspondents of earlier days. These last he had not, as is generally assumed, discarded; their names remain on his list of special correspondents in this Hendrix Diary side by side with those of his most cherished kinsfolk and friends.

The Diary that runs parallel with his fourth Savannah Journal marks: (1) His comparative freedom from temptation. He was too busy, and too happy in his work, to wander far in either deed or thought. There are no such self-upbraidings as mark almost every page in the first Oxford Diary. (2) His bondage to rule. He lived a slavishly methodical life, and he never girded against the law of outward observance, but, on the contrary, cherished it as one of the friendliest features of his appointed course as a Christian minister. It is astonishing how rarely his hours of devotion, and especially the minutes given to prayer at the end of each hour throughout the day, are interrupted. The long line of figures running down the centre of each page may be slightly varied. (Here, for instance, are those for the page at which we have halted. Beginning at four

o'clock in the morning, the devotional minute register reads: 6. 5. 6. 6. 5. 6. 5. 5. 6. 6. 5. 5. 6. 6. 6.: the rule is 6 minutes, but often 7, or, as here, 5, never more than 7, or fewer than 5, minutes are given.) But it is only now and then, on the rarest occasions—in a storm, or when some matter of business unusually urgent is on hand—that a break occurs in the sequence. As a rule, wherever he is, or however occupied, one hour is separated from another by six, or five, or seven minutes spent in prayer, or singing, or some other form of devotion. Often these minutes given to God and the religious culture of his own soul are counted at the foot of the page. From the Easter of 1725, under the influence of Thomas à Kempis, Jeremy Taylor, and 'Varanese,' he began to build up this life of rigid subjection to law, rule, and methodical habit. His mother, on the whole, though not without warning, encouraged this scheme of life; his father also approved and warned; his brother Samuel was affectionately critical; his sisters were wistful, secretly proud, gently satirical. His spiritual mentors were often changed, and thus variety was secured. Charles and Morgan supplied a strain of enthusiasm, the latter in the direction of practical and philanthropic service. John Clayton to a great extent took the place of 'Varanese,' but led him back to the ideals of the early Church, whilst Gambold encouraged his leaning towards Mysticism. Among books of devotion, William Law took the place of Jeremy Taylor, and Hickeys, at intervals, of Kempis; whilst Scougal, Herbert, Heylin, Ephrem Syrus, Bishop Patrick, and others come in succession. Jeremy Taylor, his earliest devotional friend, does not at present appear on the Diary page; intellectually he had quarrelled with him, as afterwards he quarrelled

## FOURTH FREDERICA JOURNAL

[OCT. 13, *Wed.*—I set out for Frederica, and] came thither early on Saturday morning, and found few things better than I expected.

*Sat.* 16.—[I met Mark Hird on the Bluff, who gave me a melancholy account of the state of things.] The morning and evening prayers, which were read for a while after my leaving the place, had been long discontinued, and from that time everything grew worse and worse. [Mr. Tackner

*Thur.* 14.—At 3.30, the wind being fair, he called the crew. He read Potter for some hours, 'ending' him at eleven. By two they were at Mrs. Clark's Bluff, where he walked, meditated, sang, read Patrick, and expounded in German. He supped with them and remained the night.

*Fri.* 15.—He again called the crew at 3.30. At six they were on shore. In a calm he sat on the boat reading Rogers *On the Thirty-nine Articles* alternately with Bishop Patrick, taking the *Country Minister's Advice* as an interlude, until at four in the afternoon he ended Patrick and refreshed himself with German. At six they rowed awhile, landed, supped, prayed, and at seven slept.

*Sat.* 16.—At 3.30 he reached Frederica, met Mark Hird; 'in trouble, alas! in trouble. Ah, my Frederica!'<sup>1</sup>

with William Law; but Jeremy Taylor's *Rules of Holy Living* are wrought into the texture of the Oxford Methodism that dominates this, the best part, of his life in Georgia. It was the 'best,' partly because undisturbed by female influence. There was no Mrs. Hawkins to irritate by her folly; and no winsome Miss Sophy to allure, by her fondness, from the lofty purpose which had brought him to Georgia, a purpose which was only in abeyance through force of circumstances. In his friendship with Miss Bovey there is no trace of sentimental affection. She was in love with Burnside, Causton's chief clerk, whom shortly after she married. We may think of her as the Miss Bolton or the Miss Ritchie of Georgia Methodism—'the one woman in America whom I have found without guile.'

<sup>1</sup> Even more powerfully than the Journal the Diary impresses. In few words we

see the complete collapse of the elaborate structure of outward righteousness—of a religion built up according to rule and law, but without life or root in itself. So long as the master-builder was there to watch with ceaseless vigilance and to control with imperious will, the structure held together and seemed to prosper. But as soon as his presence was withdrawn, it toppled into the dust like a house of cards. But we see also the amazing courage and promptitude of the builder. He cries out in pain and disappointment, 'Alas! Ah, my Frederica!'—and without the loss of a single moment begins to rebuild. Let us put the record—the words of which are condensed into single letters, but about the interpretation of which there can be no question—into narrative form:

At 3.30 Wesley lands. Mark Hird—of whom he might have written, 'Mark is profitable to me for the ministry'—



had thrown off the form as well as the power of godliness ; and so had most of his neighbours who ever had pretensions to it.

[Even poor Miss Sophy was scarce a shadow of what she was when I left her. Harmless company had stole away all her strength. Most of her good resolutions were vanished away ; and, to complete her destruction, she was resolved to return to England. I reasoned with her much, but with no success ; she could not see that she was at all changed, and continued fixed in her resolution of leaving America with the first ship that sailed. I dropped the argument for the present, finding the veil was upon her heart. I begged of her to pray earnestly to God to direct her to what was best. I then read to her some of the most affecting parts of the *Serious Call* and of Ephrem Syrus. I was at first a little surprised and discouraged ; but I soon re-collected my spirits,<sup>1</sup> and remembered my calling, and the

meets him. He learns the truth about his converts, services, and society-meetings. In deep distress he sits down for a quarter of an hour, sends Mark to gather a company, sleeps in peace for half an hour, rises, dresses in full canonicals, and, with a congregation of nine souls, reads prayers and expounds. Without waiting to eat, he begins with his backsliding Israel, going from house to house, dealing with the faithless ones individually, using precisely the same means which availed before—his garden, hymns, psalms, Heylin, prayers, conversations ; with the simplicity of a child he puts forth the old charm, believing that once more the errant souls will fall under its mystic spell.

In all this we may discern the characteristics which, 'after Pentecost,' went far to ensure the triumph of the evangel preached by Wesley—his dauntless courage, his unwavering trust in men when once he had taken them into his confidence, and his dogged pursuit of the same end by means which he had satisfied himself were right. The weakness in this Frederica episode, as in the whole Georgia enterprise, lay in this—

that he did not as yet fully understand the mystery of 'the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus.'

<sup>1</sup> Two parallel lines of thought and emotion are distinctly traceable in both Journal and Diary. The first, which concerns his work, is the more prominent ; the second, which will now become more and more conspicuous, concerns his relationship to Miss Sophy Hopkey. The unpublished Journal, coming to our help, makes this hitherto confused story quite clear.

The untroubled hand, with which for more than a month past he has been writing his Diary, has gone. It is in tremulous handwriting, recalling the Storm Diary of the outward voyage, that he records his first interview with 'my Friend.' Miss Sophy is the first person with whom he converses after his masterful resuscitation of morning prayer. She is 'open but not affected.' Repeated onslaughts on her soul produce no effect. His whole battery of devotional and hortatory books, with interludes of reasoning, singing, and prayer, fails to shake her resolution. She is determined to go to England by the first ship.

word which cannot fail: 'Greater is He that is in you than he that is in the world.'

Non me, qui caetera, vincet

Impetus, at rapido contrarius evehar orbi.—OVID.<sup>1</sup>

I began with earnest crying to God to maintain His own cause, and after the evening prayers were ended invited a few to my house, as I did every night while I stayed at Frederica. I read to them out of the exhortations of Ephrem Syrus—the most awakened writer, I think, of all the ancients. We concluded our reading and conversation with a psalm; and I trust our God gave us His blessing. [My next point was to divert Miss Sophy from her fatal resolution of going to England.]

*Mon.* 18.—Finding there were several Germans at Frederica, who, not understanding the English tongue, could not join in our public service, I desired them to meet me at my house;

*Sun.* 17.—Mark seems to have quietly resumed his old habit of sleeping in the hut—the Hirds' hut, apparently placed at Wesley's disposal until his own house shall again be fit for occupation. Mark is another Delamotte—friend and servant, guardian and minister. At 4.30 the master is praying with him. (The surname is dropped; always with Wesley a sign of affection or confidence.) Fourteen are present at early prayers. Mark brings backsliding Tackner. They converse, pray, sing, and are seriously affected. He preaches to an amazing congregation—forty-six—and administers Holy Communion. Mr. Dison, chaplain of the Independent Company on the other side of the island, has returned from Savannah after doing there all the mischief in his power. Forty-two are present at evening prayer. Ephrem Syrus is the book to which Wesley now pins his faith, but neither services nor readings have much effect on Miss Sophy. 'She got little good.'

But the Germans come after supper, and 'are serious,' and sing. He reads Ephrem Syrus to 'Timothy,' and they sing. Was this Lewis Timothy, the printer of the *Charlestown Collection*? If so, why was he in Frederica?

*Mon.* 18.—Certain entries are of interest:

- 4 Private prayer for myself.
- 5 Private prayer for my mother and company.
- 6 Dressed, read prayers, expounded.
- 7 Conversed with Miss Sophy; Hickes; talked with her; conversed.
- 8 Cleaned my house.<sup>2</sup>
- 9 Cleaned; in trouble with Hird [Mark's father]; German.

<sup>1</sup> 'I shall not be conquered by the force that conquers all things else, but I shall ride out in opposite motion to the swiftly moving circle' (from Ovid, *Metam.* ii. 73). Sol is speaking to Phaethon. In

the original the futures are presents (evehor, vincit). Wesley quotes from memory, and adapts to his own purpose.

<sup>2</sup> The house on which he had worked with his own hands he now cleaned and

which they did every day at noon from thenceforward. We first sang a German hymn; then I read a chapter in the New Testament; then explained it to them as well as my little skill in the tongue would allow. After another hymn and the Lord's Prayer, I concluded with the Blessing.

[*Tues. 19.*—In the evening I asked Miss Sophy if she was still determined to go to England. On her answering 'Yes,' I offered several arguments drawn from the topics of religion against it. But they did not appear to make any impression. Then I pressed her upon the head of friendship. Upon which she burst into tears, and said, 'Now my resolution begins to stagger'; as it did more and more every day.

He continued his German studies until noon, when the Germans came, 'sung, Bible, sung, dined—10 of us.' This was a new society-class, but in German.

*Tues. 19.*—The weariness of reaction was setting in. He did not awake until five, and after half an hour of private prayer fell asleep again; but resting fifteen minutes, he again prayed, and at six read prayers and exhorted. At seven he was with Miss Sophy, praying, reading Heylin and Hickes; he began a course of Milton with her, probably from his own annotated copy more than half a century later destroyed at the City Road preachers' house. He was reading Ephrem Syrus when Miss Sophy came again; he read Law to her, talked of her going to England, 'got no good'; in her hut (a hut seems to have been assigned to her and Miss Fosset: Frederica was barely one year old, and had not yet progressed far beyond its primitive palmetto huts) again read Milton. After evening prayer 'they came,' and he read Ephrem, sang, and, in a word, held his society-class as aforetime. Once more he talked to Miss Sophy of going to England; 'she doubted.'

*Wed. 20.*—At the usual seven-o'clock reading he succeeded in making some impression on Miss Sophy. Law's *Serious Call* did what Heylin, Ephrem Syrus, Hickes, and John Milton could not accomplish: 'she was affected much.' In the evening he wrote to the Trustees. He expounded twice a day and held his small meetings. His own reading was almost exclusively devotional.

*Thur. 21.*—Nothing distinguishes the day from days immediately preceding.

*Fri. 22.*—He rouses from lethargy, and is once more the faithful pastor. At three he prays, at four sleeps, at five prays; then he converses seriously and prays with Mark. He visits Davison the constable, and Lawley, of

reconsecrated by a sacred use. If the English would not use it, he would turn to the Germans, of whom a small number had settled in the town. They at least

had grace and capacity for Oxford Methodism. As in Savannah, so here in Frederica, they might become worthy members of 'our Company.'



[*Sat. 23.*—Between five and six in the evening Mr. Oglethorpe returned from the southward. I was in the Fort with Mr. Horton when he came. He ran to Mr. Horton, kissed him, and expressed much kindness to him, but took no notice of me, good or bad, any more than if I had not been in the room. I was not surprised, having long expected it. When I mentioned it to Miss Sophy, and added, 'Now, Miss Sophy, you may go to England, for I can assist you no longer; my interest is gone'; she answered, 'No, now I will not stir a foot.' 'If Mr. Oglethorpe,' I said, 'advised you to go, he may be displeased.' She replied, 'Let him be pleased or displeased. I care not'; and then, turning to me with the utmost earnestness, she said, 'Sir, you encouraged me in my greatest trials. Be not discouraged in your own. Fear nothing. If Mr. Oglethorpe will not, God will help you.'

[*Sun. 24.*—I had a long conversation with Mr. Oglethorpe, in consequence of which I told her: 'Miss Sophy, Mr. Oglethorpe thinks it best<sup>1</sup> that you should return to Savannah immediately.' She fell into a great passion of tears, and said she could not

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whom he writes '*Gratia sa.*' He read Hickes with Miss Sophy and Mrs. Mouse (of Skidoway).

*Sat. 23.*—He visited Mr. Horton, who was 'very ill and irritable.' Mr. Oglethorpe came, and was 'cold and strange.' At home Vernon came—probably Mr. Vernon's son, who had been committed to Wesley's pastoral care.

*Sun. 24.*—The conversation with Oglethorpe took place before the public service. Immediately after Miss Sophy was informed of the decision, and was 'grieved.'

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<sup>1</sup> However Wesley may have interpreted Causton's words (before he left Savannah), Miss Sophy would have understood their significance. Her uncle was contemplating a marriage between Wesley and his wife's niece, an alliance which, from his point of view, and certainly from Oglethorpe's, was much to be desired. It meant the abandonment of the Indian mission, the definite appointment of Wesley to the pastorate of Savannah, and ultimately, perhaps, to a position of ecclesiastical power and influence for the whole state of Georgia; it meant that Wesley, who by this time

was known as a man of high administrative ability and prescient political insight, would remain in the colony, Oglethorpe's trusted adviser and secretary, a blameless English gentleman, in a state which sorely needed disinterested and capable leaders; a scholarly and eloquent preacher who, in less than a year, had made his mark not only in this colony but also in the neighbouring state of South Carolina; a courageous loyalist, who had become a terror to evildoers, whose name stood for culture, duty, citizenship, and who was equally acceptable to English and Germans. Naturally Oglethorpe

bear the thoughts of it. I talked with her near an hour, told her Mr. Causton's engagement to make good whatever I should promise her, so that she had only to make her own terms; and I left her a little more composed.

*Mon. 25.*—[I asked Mr. Oglethorpe in what boat she should go. He said, 'She can go in none but yours, and indeed there is none so proper.' I saw the danger to myself, but yet had a good hope I should be delivered out of it, (1) because it was not my choice which brought me into it; (2) because I still felt in myself the same desire and design to live a single life; and (3) because I was persuaded should my desire and design be changed, yet her resolution to live single would continue.

*Mon. 25.*—At six in the morning he married Mr. Weston and Miss Fosset, immediately afterwards reading prayers and expounding. At ten he had a brief interview with Oglethorpe, and at 11.30 set out with Miss Sophy. 'Jemmy,' who had accompanied him from Savannah, was with him, and the usual boat's crew. Whether the boat conveyed passengers or goods we are not informed. The Diary, which at first is in rude hand-

desired to see him well married and settled in the colony.

For other but equally cogent reasons Causton desired to see this well-born Oxford clergyman, who was trusted alike by the Trustees, the S.P.G., and the Governor, married to his wife's niece. Such a marriage would go far to secure his somewhat precarious position in the colony. Mrs. Causton also desired the marriage, if only in the interests of her niece, who, until safely married, was sure to be a continual source of trouble.

It is not difficult to realize the anxiety, amounting almost to consternation, with which Wesley contemplated the situation. He was the bond-slave of vow and rule and conviction, and, as he conscientiously believed, of divine calling; at the same time he was 'a man of like passions'—devout and affectionate.

Miss Sophy Hopkey also, of whom we may still think as a simple, inexperienced girl, without guile or artifice, was profoundly troubled. She had reason to dread a return to her uncle's house. Her

friend, Miss Fosset, was about to be married. The lover who, with ferocious threats, dared her to think of anybody except himself was in prison for fraud. She had no one in Frederica to trust except the Hirds, with whom, in some sense, she lodged. Up to Mr. John Wesley she looked with reverent affection. To her he was a grave, learned, saintly clergyman, almost old enough to be her father, who had come into her circle out of another world. She loved and feared him in about equal proportions. And now Colonel Oglethorpe, in her eyes king of the country, had decreed that she should return to Savannah, where her uncle and aunt would certainly tyrannize over her, and where Mellichamp might murder her; and, to add to her perplexity and distress, she was to return in the next boat, and under the escort of Mr. John Wesley, whom she secretly loved and really dreaded as a being of almost preternatural saintliness and authority. In England the Mellichamps were well connected (see Georgia letters, Record Office).

writing, adds little of interest to the Journal story. Every hour he prays with Miss Sophy, and sometimes sings. Fleury's *Manners of the Ancient Christians* is read until exhausted. They row long distances, frequently land, walk, lie down as described in the Journal, and once 'eat oysters.' On Friday morning a wind storm rises. The same night a wakeful hour is beguiled by an exposition of the *Excellent Woman*. And so, after many delays, they at last come to Skidoway, where they see Mr. Wattle, Mr. Griffin, and Mr. Mouse: thence to Thunderbolt and Mrs. Musgrove's, and home on Sunday, October 31.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Diary version of this extraordinary voyage is a mere fragmentary record of times, places, and barely noted events. The whole story, as told in the Journal, of which the above is only the beginning, is complete and transparently truthful. It is so perfect in composition and hand-writing that it might be sent to the press without touch of editorial pen. Written from the point of view of personal experience, it reveals Wesley in the act of studying himself. At a critical moment in his life he diagnoses his own case. It is a psychological review of motives and emotions by a man torn by inward conflict—a conflict between duty and affection. The story gains in impressiveness when we discover the time and place of its final revision, for no doubt the substance of the narrative was written more briefly and hurriedly at a much earlier period. The MS. from which we quote has never before been published. It bears no marks of haste, and is obviously a document composed with care, with conscientious regard for exactitude, and by a master of literary style. It was written more than a year after the events described took place; written not in Georgia, but in Oxford, in the old rooms at Lincoln College where the Holy Club had so often met, and at a date (March 12, 1738) when, as we know from the Journal, Wesley was profoundly moved by spiritual realities. It will assist the student, and add to the interest of the general reader, if at this point the Journal for March 2 to 15, 1738, is quoted:

FEB. 28, *Tues.*—I saw my mother once more. The next day I prepared for my

journey to my brother at Tiverton. But on *Thursday* morning, MARCH 2, a message that my brother Charles was dying at Oxford obliged me to set out for that place immediately. . . .

With regard to my own behaviour, I now renewed and wrote down my former resolutions:

1. To use absolute openness and unreserve with all, &c.

*Sat. 4.*—I found my brother at Oxford, recovering from his pleurisy; and with him Peter Böhler, by whom (in the hand of the great God) I was, on *Sunday*, the 5th, clearly convinced of unbelief, of the want of that faith whereby alone we are saved.

Accordingly I began preaching this new doctrine, &c.

*Fri. 10.*—Peter Böhler returned to London.

*Tues. 15.*—I set out for Manchester. †

The date of the document we are considering falls in the above blank—March 12, 1738. It is important to note the facts. He had just left his aged mother. He had come to Oxford, as he supposed, to see his brother die. On Sunday he had passed through one of the greatest spiritual crises of his life. Memories of Epworth, Oxford, and Georgia were upon him. He was at the bar of his own conscience, face to face with the Searcher of hearts. He turned the small note-book of forty-four pages which he had just filled with the story of another of his many life-crises, and on the blank outside leaf he inscribed the memorable words: 'SNATCHED AS A BRAND OUT OF THE FIRE.'

On the first inside page, immediately before the narrative, he wrote the following texts: 'The Lord knoweth the thoughts of man that they are but vain.' 'O give me not up unto my own heart's



## FIFTH SAVANNAH JOURNAL

[WE set out about noon. The afternoon, and so the greater part of the following days, we spent partly in using Bishop Patrick's *Prayers*, and partly in reading the first volume of Fleury's *History of the Church*, a book I chose for her sake chiefly, as setting before her such glorious examples of truth and patience, in the sufferings of those ancient worthies, 'who resisted unto blood, striving against sin.'

[In the evening we landed on an uninhabited island, made a fire, supped, went to prayers together, and then spread our sail over us on four stakes, to keep off the night dews. Under this on one side were Miss Sophy, myself, and one of our boys who came with me from Savannah; on the other, our boat's crew. The north-east wind was high and piercingly cold, and it was the first night she had ever spent in such a lodging. But she complained of nothing, appearing as satisfied as if she had been warm upon a bed of down.

[The next morning, as we crossed Doboy Sound, the wind being high and the sea rough, I asked her, 'Miss Sophy, are not you afraid to die?' She answered calmly, 'No, I don't desire to live any longer. Oh that God would let me go now! Then I should be at rest. In the world I expect nothing but misery.'

[In the evening, the wind being contrary, we landed on

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lusts, neither let me follow my own imaginations.'

The writing within is the story of his friendship with Miss Sophy, from March 13, 1736, when he first spoke to her, to March 12, 1737, when she married Mr. Williamson.

By a curious coincidence the MS. thus written was purchased on March 12, 1903, by the Rev. Charles H. Kelly from Mr. Herbert Weise, in whose family the document had been treasured possibly for more than a hundred years.

For whom did he write this extra-

ordinary document? The surmise which best fits in with all we know of his habits in relation to such matters is one that invests the MS. with new significance and sacredness. It is precisely the kind of paper he would write for his mother. The fact that he had just seen her, and that she had read his written Journal in which so many of these particulars were noted, would strengthen this surmise. It is a perfectly fair copy, without abbreviations, which his mother's aged eyes would have no difficulty in deciphering.

the south end of St. Katherine's Island. And here we were obliged to stay till Friday; so that I had time to observe her behaviour more nearly. And the more I observed, the more was I amazed. Nothing was ever improper or ill-timed. All she said and did was equally tinctured with seriousness and sweetness. She was often in pain, which she could not hide; but it never betrayed her into impatience. She gave herself up to God, owning she suffered far less than she deserved.

[*Wed. 27.*—In the afternoon we fell into a conversation on 'Lying in order to do good.' She owned she used to think there was no harm in it, and that she had herself sometimes done it to me; but added, 'she was now convinced no lying was lawful, and would therefore watch against all kinds of it for the future.'

[*Thur. 28.*—In the afternoon, after walking some time, we sat down in a little thicket by the side of a spring. Here we entered upon a close conversation on Christian holiness. The openness with which she owned her ignorance of it, and the earnest desire she showed for fresh instruction, as it much endeared her to me, so it made me hope she would one day prove an eminent pattern of it.

[*Fri. 29.*—We ventured to set out, though the wind was very high. The waves dashed over the boat every moment, and the cold was extremely piercing. She showed no concern, nor made any complaint, but appeared quite cheerful and satisfied.

[It was not without some difficulty that in the afternoon we landed on St. Katherine's again. Observing in the night, the fire we lay by burning bright, that Miss Sophy was broad awake, I asked her, 'Miss Sophy, how far are you engaged to Mr. Mellichamp?' She answered, 'I have promised him either to marry him or to marry no one at all.' I said (which indeed was the expression of a sudden wish, not of any formed design), 'Miss Sophy, I should think myself happy if I was to spend my life with you.' She burst out into tears and said, 'I am every way unhappy. I won't have Tommy; for he is a bad man. And I can have none else.' She added, 'Sir, you don't know the danger you are in. I beg you would speak no word more on this head.' And after a while, 'When others have spoken to me on the subject, I

felt an aversion to them. But I don't feel any to you. We may converse on other subjects as freely as ever.' Both my judgement and will acquiesced in what she said, and we ended our conversation with a psalm.

[*Sat.* 30.—In the afternoon we landed on Bear Island, and walked together for near two hours. Here again Miss Sophy expressed the strongest uneasiness, and an utter aversion to living at Mr. Causton's, saying, with many tears, 'I can't live in that house: I can't bear the shocks I meet with there.' I said, 'Don't be uneasy, Miss Sophy, on that account. If you don't care to be at Mr. Causton's, you are welcome to a room in our house; or, which I think would be best of all, and your aunt once proposed it, you may live in the house with the Germans.' She made little reply.

[About five we took our boat again, and in the evening came to Rattonpossum, another uninhabited island about thirty miles from Savannah. Here our provisions failed; neither could we find any firewood, except one old stump of a tree, nor so much as two or three stakes to prop up our sail. Miss Sophy hung her apron on two small sticks, which kept off a little of the north wind from her head, and lay down on the ground under the canopy of heaven, with all the signs of perfect content.

[*Sun.* 31.—We came to Thunderbolt. Here we agreed that I should walk to Savannah and meet her at the landing. She went to Mr. Causton's directly. About five Mr. Causton came to my house, largely protesting his obligations to me, and repeated again and again that whatever I desired with regard to Miss Sophy he would consent to. After talking again with her upon it, I desired, (1) that she should come to my house every morning and evening; (2) that at his house she should come into no company but by her own choice; (3) That she should be no more upbraided with Mellichamp, nor should he be mentioned before her.

[*Nov.* 1, *Mon.*—She was eighteen years old. And from the beginning of our intimate acquaintance till this day, I verily believe she used no guile: not only because even now I know no instance to the contrary, nor only because the simplicity of her behaviour was a constant voucher for her sincerity; but because of the entire



openness of all her conversation, answering whatever questions I proposed, without either hesitation or reserve, immediately and directly. Another thing I was much pleased with in her was, that whenever we were conversing or reading, there was such a stillness in her whole behaviour, scarce stirring hand or foot, that 'she seemed to be, all but her attention, dead.' Yet at other times she was all life—active, diligent, indefatigable; always doing something, and doing with all her might whatever her hand found to do. For indeed, if the weakness of her body did not, her sense of honour would not hinder her doing anything.

[Nor did she at all favour herself on account of that weakness; she could not remove, she would not indulge it. Softness and tenderness of this kind she would not know, having left the delicacy of the gentlewoman in England. She utterly despised those inconveniences which women of condition in England would think worse than death. With bread to eat and water to drink she was content; indeed she never used any drink beside water. She was patient of labour, of cold, heat, wet, of badness of food or of want; and of pain to an eminent degree, it never making any alteration in her speech or behaviour, so that her frequent headache was only to be discerned by her paleness and the dullness of her eyes.

[Little of a gentlewoman in delicacy and niceness, she was still less so, if possible, in love of dress. No philosopher would have despised her *ζῶν φιλόκοσμον*. Though always neat, she was always plain. And she was equally careless of finery in other things. It was use she considered, not show; nor novelty either, being as little concerned for new as for fine or pretty things. The same disregard she had for what are called diversions, such as balls,

Nov. 1, *Mon.*—He arrived in Savannah on Sunday afternoon, and fell at once into the routine of daily services, private devotions, and pastoral business; to which were now added the extraordinary duties involved in the arrangement entered into with the Caustons and Miss Sophy. She slept at home, and spent her mornings and evenings at the parsonage, alone, or more frequently with Wesley and Delamotte and their guests. In the evening Miss Bovey came, and others, to share the readings and singing which still formed the main feature of the society-meetings.

On this Monday morning he rose at four, spent one hour in private prayer, and read prayers and expounded at five. Miss Sophy was present. In the garden he prayed with her, and afterwards walked with Ingham and Delamotte. The rest of the day was spent mainly in pastoral visitation. In the evening he resumed worship with the Moravians. Later he read Valdesso to Miss Sophy. She returned home shortly after nine.

dancing, visiting ; having no desire either to see or be seen, unless in order to be wiser and better.

[Not that her love of retirement or want of curiosity was owing, as some supposed, to want of sense. Her constant, even seriousness was very far from stupidity. Indeed, her understanding was not of a piece with her years. Though unimproved, it was deep and strong. It reached the highest things and the lowest. It rose to the greatest, yet stooped to the least. With fine sense she had a large share of common sense, and particularly of prudence, suiting herself readily to all persons and occasions, nature in her supplying the place of experience. Her apprehension was so quick that there was scarce ever need to repeat a thing twice to her, and so clear as to conceive things the most remote from common life without any mistake or confusion. But she was by no means fond of showing her sense ; seldom speaking when she could decently avoid it, and then in few words, but such as were clear and pertinent, and contained much in little compass. One reason of her speaking so seldom was the mean opinion she had of herself, particularly of her own understanding, which was also the great cause of her constant eagerness for instruction, and indeed for improvement of every kind, as she was very sensible of her want of all. Hence too it was that she was so teachable in things either of a speculative or practical nature, so readily convinced of any error in her judgement or oversight in her behaviour, and so easily persuaded to lay aside her own designs or measures and pursue those which others advised. Indeed, one would almost have thought she had no such ingredient in her nature as self-will.

[As her humility was, so was her meekness. She seemed to have been born without anger. Her soul appeared to be wholly made up of mildness, gentleness, longsuffering. Then especially, when she had to do with those who had injured her beyond the manner of men, she stayed for no entreaty before she forgave ; but of one thing she was not easily convinced, that any one needed her forgiveness or had done ill either to her or any other. She was with difficulty induced to believe any evil which she did not see. And even when she could not help believing, still she took care 'to speak evil of no man.'

[And as her greatest enemies, so much more the greatest strangers had a share in her good will and affection. She was a friend to human kind. To whomever was distressed she was all sympathy, tenderness, compassion. But to any whom she particularly called a friend her behaviour can only be conceived, not expressed. Such was the spirit of gratitude that ran through it ; such the softness, the sweetness of

every part of it; yet still preserving in all that yielding easiness a modesty pure as the light.

[The temper of her heart towards God is best known by Him 'who seeth in secret.' What appeared of it was a deep, even reverence, ripening into love, and a resignation unshaken in one of the severest trials which human nature is exposed to. The utmost anguish never wrung from her a murmuring word. She saw the hand of God, and was still. She said indeed, 'If it be possible, Father!' But added, 'Not as I will, but as Thou wilt!']

[Such was the woman, according to my closest observation, of whom I now began to be much afraid. My desire and design still was to live single; but how long it would continue I knew not. I therefore consulted my friends whether it was not best to break off all intercourse with her immediately. They expressed themselves so ambiguously that I understood them to mean that I ought not to break it off. And accordingly she came to me (as had been agreed) every morning and evening.

[The time she was at my house was spent thus. Immediately after breakfast we all joined in Hickes's *Devotions*. She was then alone till eight. I taught her French between eight and nine, and at nine we joined in prayer again. She then read or wrote French till ten. In the evening I read to her and some others select parts of Ephrem Syrus, and afterwards Dean Young's and Mr. Reeve's *Sermons*. We always concluded with a psalm.

[This I began with a single eye. But it was not long before I found it a task too hard for me to preserve the same intention with which I began, in such intimacy of conversation as ours was.

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*Tues. 2.*—He wrote a letter to the Trustees and began French with Miss Sophy. Her lesson lasted an hour. Invariably he closed each lesson with prayer or a psalm. On this first occasion he prayed with her and Delamotte. Two lines follow which may be of considerable importance:

10 Wrote French.

11 French; F' G. with French, sung it.

The interpretation suggested is that, when the French lesson closed, Wesley wrote French on his own account for an hour and a quarter. He then turned to Freylinghausen's *Gesang-Buch* (in which he would find tunes as well as German hymns) and sang the hymn from the French which he had copied, intending to translate and reversify it. At noon



he sang devotionally with Delamotte, dined, abridged French (it may have been grammar, catechism, or hymns), and began his usual round of pastoral visitation. In the afternoon he resumed French with Miss Bovey, and in the evening read Ephrem Syrus with her and Miss Sophy.

Wed. 3.—He has developed an enthusiasm for French, and is writing an *Abridged Grammar*.<sup>1</sup> At eleven he prayed for Oglethorpe and himself. In the evening, after reading Ephrem Syrus with Miss Sophy and singing the usual psalm, he remarks, 'I fear for her.'

Nov. 4, 5, 6.—The days passed without variation from the usual routine, except that on the 6th Indians came, recalling Wesley by their presence to the divine vocation which brought him to America, and which he confesses the present arrangement with Miss Sophy is seriously threatening.

Sun. 7.—Miss Sophy did not come until the evening. Before the morning service he and Ingham had 'close conversation.'

Mon. 8.—He began a *German Grammar*, working at it through the early morning hours. The rest of the morning he spent with Hickes's *Christian Priesthood*. During each of these days he visited his flock with all diligence, and did not neglect prayers, the catechizing of children, or his personal morning studies. But always, morning and evening, Miss Sophy, with her guardians' full consent, was in the parsonage to be taught, read to, or prayed with. Every afternoon pastoral visits were paid, and Miss Bovey received her lesson in French. Wesley also was making his own tools—a *Hymn-book*, a *French Grammar*, a *German Dictionary*, a *German Grammar*, a *Catechism*, and a *Selection of Prayers* for devotional purposes.

Tues. 9.—At ten he took boat up the river to visit the small colony at Irene. Hickes's *Reformed Devotions* was his companion in the boat. On his arrival he cut down trees, and had an interview with Mrs. Musgrove and Sinauki. Returning in the afternoon, he saw Ingham, probably at his house near the Cowpen.

Wed. 10.—The German work was interrupted by misgivings and qualms of conscience, ending in a new 'Resolution,' which he frankly communicated to Miss Sophy. He then fled for refuge to Hickes, and wrote in the Diary the devotional letters of an earlier time, 'T G.' In the evening, when Miss Bovey and Miss Sophy came, he read to them a sermon and sang a psalm.

Thur. 11.—At four he prayed with Delamotte and read Hebrew and German. After prayers Miss Sophy, Causton, and Mr. Williamson came. He wrote to Mr. Reinier (probably John Reinier), saw John Brownfield, and wrote to Verelot and Charles. 'F' G' (Freylinghausen's *Gesang-Buch*?) with Miss Sophy; conversed; resolutions; read Hickes. Mr. Reed and Mr. Robinson, from Frederica, came.

<sup>1</sup> In 1751 Wesley printed a *Short French Grammar*. It is republished, with other grammars, in the *Works*. In its complete form it was prepared for Kingswood

School. The original draft, now in the Colman Collection, was the *Abridged French Grammar* prepared for the use of Miss Sophy Hopkey in Savannah.

[Nov. 12, *Fri.*—By a careful inquiry of many persons, I came to the full knowledge of a strange piece of history. Mr. T(ailfer), a surgeon of Edinburgh, debauched the only child of one Mr. Ure, a lawyer, his distant relation. He then persuaded her to sign a writing which she had never read, and to go over with him to America. She did so, partly out of fear of her father, but chiefly out of love for him. When she came hither, having been brought to bed in Carolina, he treated her as a common servant; and not only so, but beat her, and that very frequently to such a degree that the scars made by the whip a year before were plainly visible at this time. The fault commonly was that 'the child cried when he had company.' After he had kept her thus for about two years, and she had borne him a second child (the first being dead), he married, and sold her to one of the Indian traders.

[When I met him and her before Mr. Oglethorpe, he allowed the facts and defended them; only he said he had not sold her, but made a present of her to the Indian trader. Mr. Oglethorpe after a full hearing determined that she should be set at liberty (with an allowance out of the public store) to work for herself and her child.]

*Fri. 12.*—At morning prayer he expounded the 123rd psalm. This is the first occasion on which he indicates the subject of his exposition. It was a departure from his ordinary Second Lesson exposition. At seven he wrote to L. Percival, and to Mr. Carter 'of eating.' At eight Mr. Oglethorpe came. At nine he had an interview with him; prayed with Miss Sophy and began with Dr. Tailfer. He saw Mrs. Causton. Went out with Mrs. Mouse, who evidently had come in the boat with Oglethorpe from Frederica. At eleven was again at Oglethorpe's.

He out to others; me at home. Dressed. Mr Brownfield, conversed; Communion; Mr Tripper's. Rachel Ure and Mrs Mouse.

These seem to have been witnesses in the case of 'Rachel Ure *v.* Dr. Tailfer'<sup>1</sup> whom Oglethorpe examined. For the rest of the day he seems to have been busily engaged with him and others in the investigation of this case. (Cf. Journal, same date. The Diary supplies the name of this notorious doctor.)

*Sat. 13.*—He continued his letter on eating, and wrote to his brother Samuel.

<sup>1</sup> This sufficiently accounts for Dr. Tailfer's animus against Wesley and Oglethorpe. He and Williamson (who married

Sophy Hopkey) were joint authors of *The True Account of the State of Georgia* (App. XVIII. vol. vi.).

*Tues. 23.*—Mr. Oglethorpe sailed for England, leaving Mr. Ingham, Mr. Delamotte, and me at Savannah, but with less prospect of preaching to the Indians than we had the first day

*Sun. 14.*—The day does not differ from others, except that he reintroduces Heylin and reads one of Dr. Young's sermons.

*Mon. 15.*—Letters and pastoral work, including the writing of letters for parishioners and the burying of the dead, occupied the day.

*Tues. 16.*—After two interviews with Oglethorpe he set out with Ingham and Delamotte for Irene, where for three hours he felled trees.

*Wed. 17.*—More than once he has referred to a letter he wrote to Oglethorpe. Once he reviewed it, and now spent the whole morning in transcribing it. Mrs. Musgrove came. They had a long conversation in the garden. Oglethorpe sent for him. In the afternoon he buried Mr. Tolney, also a child. There is much business on hand with Oglethorpe and others.

*Thur. 18.*—Again he transcribes a letter, and reads a letter from the Bishop of London 'for Negro's Book on Confirmation.' Other letters are referred to. All this, probably, is secretarial work for Oglethorpe, who is preparing for his journey to England. Each evening he reads a sermon to Miss Sophy and her friends, and sings a psalm.

*Fri. 19.*—He reads a letter to Delamotte and Miss Sophy before sending it to Oglethorpe. A short French letter follows, with a psalm, and some hours of letter-writing and transcription.

*Sat. 20.*—Practically the whole day was spent on business with Oglethorpe, Causton, and others, and in letter-writing or copying. In the evening he began Dr. Bray's *Circular Letters*.

*Sun. 21.*—He and Delamotte, who was in charge of the school, were busy with catechumens :

9 Freylinghausen's *Gesang-Buch* with Delamotte ; conversation of catechumens.

He devoted some time to the Catechism he was preparing. In the afternoon he catechized the children, of whom forty were present. There appear to have been eighteen catechumens. A letter was written to Sir John Phillips, whose generosity was making it possible for George Whitefield to carry on the work of the Holy Club at Oxford. His last duty for the day was the reading of Dr. Bray's *Circular Letters* to Miss Sophy and Delamotte.

*Mon. 22.*—The hurry of business has passed. After his manner he resumes the studies, devotions, and pastoral work which Oglethorpe's projected visit to Europe has to some extent interrupted—French, German, German grammar, and readings in Ephrem Syrus.

*Tues. 23.*—He wrote a letter to his brother Samuel. Mr. Ingham came in from Yamacraw, probably to attend the funeral of Mrs. Musgrove's only son, whose name, given in the Diary, is 'Ned.' At Causton's there was 'conversation on eating'—a subject upon which Wesley still held extreme views. No reference is made to Oglethorpe's sailing on this day. He sailed the day following.



we set foot in America. Whenever I mentioned it, it was immediately replied, 'You cannot leave Savannah without a minister.' To this indeed my plain answer was, 'I know not that I am under any obligation to the contrary. I never promised to stay here one month. I openly declared both before, at, and ever since my coming hither that I neither would nor could take charge of the English any longer than till I could go among the Indians.' If it was said, 'But did not the Trustees of Georgia appoint you to be minister of Savannah?' I replied, 'They did; but it was not done by my solicitation: it was done without either my desire or knowledge. Therefore I cannot conceive that appointment to lay me under any obligation of continuing there any longer than till a door is opened to the heathen; and this I expressly declared at the time I consented to accept of that appointment.' But though I had no other obligation not to leave Savannah now, yet that of love I could not break through; I could not resist the importunate request of the more serious parishioners 'to watch over their souls yet a little longer till some one came who might supply my place.' And this I the more willingly did because the time was not come to preach the gospel of peace to the heathen; all their nations being in a ferment; and Paustoobee and Mingo Mattaw having told me, in terms, in my own house, 'Now our enemies are all about us, and we can do nothing but fight; but if the beloved ones should ever give us to be at peace, then we would hear the great Word.'

[In the evening of November 23 I buried Mrs. Musgrove's only son; who would probably have been quite lost in grief, but that God diverted her from it by the pain of a violent rheumatism.

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*Wed. 24.*—He rose soon after one in the morning; at two pushed off the boat; at 2.30 set out. At three they were aground; waded; got off; with Oglethorpe; at four rowed, conversed, sang. At six it was very rough; at nine they were aground at Dokoume; waded; got off; rowed; over the marsh on Tybee; James Dean and company there; walked to Tybee; in the lighthouse; walked back; 'sea overtook us; oysters; Mr. How came, slept.' At four they set out together, and by eight reached Mr. Causton's.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> One of the peculiarities of this sententious narrative is the fact that he does not indicate the point at which he bade

farewell to his friend. The same peculiarity is found in the story of Charles Wesley's departure.

*Thur.* 25.—At seven he set out for the Cowpen, Miss Sophy and others accompanying him. Mrs. Musgrove was ill and in trouble. As they walked he read Bray, also, later, 'to Mrs. Musgrove and them all.' He remained with the sick woman for an hour or two.

*Fri.* 26.—He now turned his attention again to Spanish, apparently dealing with the grammar, as he had already dealt with French and German grammars. Six hours at a stretch he gave to this work, the only relief being a reading from Hickee, conversation with his pupil in French, and the hourly five-minutes' prayer.

*Sat.* 27.—At seven he read Hickee's *Devotions*, worked again at Spanish, and sang a Spanish psalm or hymn. At ten he read Dr. Bray's *Tracts*, and at twelve Gilpin's Life.

*Sun.* 28.—Gilpin's Life was his preparation for preaching. The congregation numbered thirty-seven; there were fourteen communicants. Bray's *Tracts* he again read. In the evening hour with Miss Sophy and Delamotte he read letters.

*Mon.* 29.—Another long morning he devoted chiefly to Spanish. He visited Ross, who was dying. It being a fast-day, he did not eat until six, when he paid his daily visit to the Germans.

*Tues.* 30.—It was the feast of St. Andrew. He thought much on the sermon, and preached it to a congregation of twenty-one, administering Holy Communion after. He read letters from Charles, and buried Ross in the churchyard.

At this point are the four hymns<sup>1</sup> translated from the German, to which reference has already been made more than once. We do not know the date of the writing, but it must have been some weeks earlier than December 1736.

<sup>1</sup> Three of the hymns have numbers attached, by which the original source whence they were drawn before translation might be traced:

O Jesus, Source of sweet repose,  
Thy like nor man nor angel knows.

From Freylinghausen, freely translated.

124. My soul before Thee prostrate lies,  
To Thee, her source, my spirit flies.

Translated from C. F. Richter; first published in Freylinghausen's *Gesang-Buch*, 1704.

215. Jesu, to Thee my heart I bow,  
Strange flames far from my soul remove.

Zinzendorf: free translation.

The fourth hymn (numbered 306, see facsimile on p. 216) might be an original. But in all probability it also is a translation. Its source has not yet been traced. It is not in the Charlestown *Collection*, nor in the Wesley *Poems*:

306. To Thee with heart and mouth I sing,  
To all the earth make known,  
My heart's desire, my God and King,  
What Thou to me hast shown.

That Thou the everlasting Source  
Of mercy art, I know,  
From whom, with never-ceasing course,  
Unnumbered blessings flow.

What are we, Lord? of all we have  
What hath our eye surveyed,  
But what Thy bounty, Father, gave,  
But what Thy hand hath made?

Who hath yon beauteous, starry plain  
Fixed by His powerful voice?  
Who with soft dews and timely rain  
Bids our parched fields rejoice?

Who, when chill snows earth's face  
bespread,  
Who then gives fires to shine?  
Who crowns with oil our cheerful head,  
And glads our hearts with wine?

Life, motion, sense! whose gifts are  
these?

Whose all-disposing hand  
Our borders guards, and golden peace  
Preserves throughout our land?

[In the beginning of December I advised Miss Sophy to sup earlier, and not immediately before she went to bed. She did so; and on this little circumstance (for by this she began her intercourse with Mr. Williamson) what an inconceivable train of consequences depend! not only

All the colour of remaining life

for her; but perhaps all my happiness too, in time and eternity!]

DEC. 1, *Wed.*—German was the main subject of study. ‘Mild frost’ set in. ‘Read letter from Watkins.’

*Thur.* 2.—The frost became severe. He wrote to Charles, to Rev. Laserre, Eveleigh, and to Watkins.

*Fri.* 3.—He notes the rapid changes of temperature: at four in the morning ‘severe frost’; at seven ‘milder’; at nine ‘mild’; at twelve ‘warm.’ Moses Nunes came, also Mr. Hermsdorf. With Nunes (see p. 345) he seems to have read Spanish. He buried a German.

*Sat.* 4.—In the early morning it was very warm, then cloudy, then rain. French and German work continued, and the ordinary routine.

*Sun.* 5.—As a help in sermon preparation he read Freylinghausen’s *Gesang-Buch* and Thomas à Kempis. Sixty were present at the afternoon catechizing. A devotional book, *Nicodemus*; or, *A Treatise on the Fear of Man*, is named. Later it gave a title to one of Wesley’s lost Journal note-books. Still later it was translated and abridged for the Methodist Societies.<sup>1</sup>

*Mon.* 6.—This was a noteworthy day, as will appear.

4 Prayed with them; German. Mild, wind.

5 On business; read prayers, expounded; Miss Sophy came; 13 present.

6 Talked; sat within; Hickes. 7 German.

8 With Miss Sophy; French; in talk; German.

9 Prayed with them; began shorthand.

10 Shorthand; garden; shorthand. 11 Shorthand; German.

From this time onward shorthand was studied and practised, until, in the Diary, it was substituted for the abbreviated longhand and cipher hitherto used.

*Tues.* 7.—At six he ended the German grammar he was compiling or abridging; at seven he began to abridge *Nicodemus*, writing in a bound book now lost. His weather-notes are: at 4 ‘warm rain’; 1 p.m. ‘mild,

<sup>1</sup> One of the Weise MSS. on its last page remarks, ‘It goes on in the bound (*Nicodemus*) book.’ Because of the wholesale destruction of note-books and MSS. which took place after Wesley’s death we should have known nothing of Wesley’s literary activity in Georgia but for the notes preserved in the Diary. He had not abandoned his Oxford plan

of ‘collecting’ the books he read. Not a few of his abridgements and tracts, published in later years, were prepared in Georgia. There is little trace now of the ‘idleness’ habit against which he fought in 1725–7. His friendships in Georgia, notably those in which Miss Hopkey and Miss Bovey figured, were intimately associated with study, teach-



DEC. 9, *Thur.*—Hearing a poor woman was dangerously ill, I went to her immediately. She told me [that she had long wanted to speak with me, and had sent several messengers—who never came—] that she had many things to say. But the time was past; for her weakness prevented her saying more, and on Friday the 10th God required her soul of her.

[*Sun. 12.*—I read the *Proclamation against Profaneness* to a numerous congregation. The Acts of Parliament appointed to be read in churches were read on the following Sunday; and

fair'; 6 'full moon'; 9 'cold.' These notes he continues. A complete record for December 1736 could be given.

*Wed. 8.*—Hickes, *Nicodemus*, shorthand, Dr. Bray's *Tracts* were still the subjects of study or reading. One line is a mystery:

c . . . for four C. Lots. Kept to cool, fair.

The C may mean Causton or Church; the reference seems to be to the sale, or transfer, of lots in the country. On his deposition Causton retired to his lot near Savannah.

*Thur. 9.*—After morning prayers he walked with Causton, and had a long conversation respecting the town. At eight he read Blair's sermon on our Lord's Sermon on the Mount. At nine he, Miss Sophy, and Delamotte set out for the Cowpen. They found Mrs. Musgrove better and Mrs. Salter there. With Mrs. Musgrove he read an account of Florida. On his return in the evening he twice visited Mrs. Clark, the woman referred to in the text.

*Fri. 10.*—Hickes, shorthand, *Nicodemus*, Freylinghausen, *Tracts*, French, German, and 'Entick's book'<sup>1</sup> were the books he read. Thrice he conversed, or prayed, or read with 'the boys.' He notes a 'very sharp frost.'

*Sat. 11.*—Shorthand, *Nicodemus*, French, Calveto, Nelson's *Address* (which he read walking to Thunderbolt) were his studies for the day. At home he had interviews with Mr. Clark and Mr. Bradley, buried Mrs. K. Clark, and, at home, conversed with 'Bob Bradley.' Every morning he read French and prayed, or sang, with Miss Sophy, and every evening gave her a devotional reading. Expositions and pastoral visits were continued with exemplary regularity.

*Sun. 12.*—Hickes with Miss Sophy, Freylinghausen's *Gesang-Buch* with Ingham, the going of 'Jemmy,' conversation with 'John,' the *Proclamation of Profaneness*—at which seventy were present—and Dr. Owen ('Excellent!')—these were the day's features.

*Mon. 13.*—German, Owen, Hickes, *Nicodemus*, the *Gesang-Buch*, Kempis, ing, and the culture of the soul. Wesley in Georgia was never 'triflingly employed.'

On *Nicodemus*, Green's *Wesley Bibliography* says: 'The Treatise was written by August Herman Francke, Minister of Glaucha, and Professor of Divinity at the University of Hall (Halle), 1701.

It was translated in Scotland soon after. A second edition was published in Edinburgh, 1731. Wesley's appears to have been taken from this edition, but it is considerably abridged. It was a suitable pamphlet for the early Methodists.'

<sup>1</sup> Probably *The Evidence of Christianity* (London, 1729).

have since been put in execution, by those ministers of God here who bear not that character in vain.]

besides French and shorthand. If close study and devotional literature could keep alive the flame of piety, Wesley in Savannah must have been a burning and shining light.

*Tues. 14.*—The severe frost had gradually given way to 'mild,' 'fair,' 'warm and cloudy' weather. The only event causing this to differ from other days was a call from Causton and a visit to his lot.

*Wed. 15.*—In some unexplained way Mrs. Hawkins appears on the scene, and he writes, 'Cave!'

*Thur. 16.*—Without unusual event.

*Fri. 17.*—A sidelight is thrown on his habit of morning exposition.

5. m. rpbxlrzth.

The interpretation is this: at five o'clock he meditated. Read prayers; began exposition of the last twelve chapters of the Acts of the Apostles, ending the service with a psalm from the New Version (Tate and Brady). The line might have been undecipherable but for the Calendar. The book appointed for Second Lessons in December is the Acts. There were three festival days with their special Lessons; allowing for these, the 'last twelve' chapters (xvii. to xxviii. inclusive) would finish the book and end the year.<sup>1</sup>

The same day is noteworthy for another reason. He had abjured his classical studies—even Homer and Horace. But to-day he read Plato before expounding among the Germans; and again at eight and nine o'clock with Miss Bovey and her friends, closing the reading with singing and prayer. How interesting if we could discover the book of Plato from which he read! Does the Second Morning Lesson supply a clue? It was the story of St. Paul's visit to Mars' Hill and his sermon on the Athenian 'altar to the Unknown God.' (Cf. Wesley's *Notes on the New Test.*, Acts xvii.) And what psalm or hymn was sung, and to what tune? It might have been No. III., for Wednesdays and Fridays, in the Charlestown *Collection*:

Through every Age, eternal God,  
Thou art our Rest, our safe Abode;  
High was Thy throne ere Heaven was made,  
Or Earth, Thy humble Footstool, laid.

(Watts: Psalm xc.)

*Sat. 18.*—After two hours with Owen, Hikes, and *Nicodemus*, he walked with Delamotte towards Irene, and about nine came to the Spr [cypress]

<sup>1</sup> This is one of several tests by which the accuracy of the principles of decipherment has been demonstrated.

All this daily exposition of Scripture was laying a foundation for the prodigious sermon production and expository proficiency of future years. No great preacher, holding a public position, ever produced so many sermons, and in such variety, as

John Wesley, except, perhaps, Charles H. Spurgeon. He learned the art, and forced Charles to learn it, in Georgia. It was not without its bearing on the *Notes on the New Testament*, which became part of the doctrinal standard of Methodism and essential in the pulpit equipment of all the early Methodist preachers.

swamp. On his return home Ingham came. He ended *Nicodemus*, and considered, probably with Ingham, a 'Scheme for Psalms.' Dr. Hirsch came. Again the 'Scheme for Psalms' was discussed. At night it is once more referred to, and '10' appear to be the number of psalms selected. This agrees exactly with the ten psalms from Watts which are placed at the beginning of the Charlestown *Collection*.<sup>1</sup>

*Sun.* 19.—A German psalm formed part of his four-o'clock devotions.

5 German; end Scheme.

This probably refers to the end of the first section—Psalms and Hymns for Sunday—of the new book. It closes with a hymn from the German:

O Jesu, Source of calm repose,  
Thy like nor man nor angel knows.

Later in the day he begins a new section, which he calls, 'Scheme for Hymns,' or 'Hymn-book'—lit. 'Hym.'

He writes Resolutions, a process invariably connected with momentous events in his life. The 'Scheme' is to-day all-important; he names it no less than six times on this one page.

*Mon.* 20.—With some relapses into longhand, he now writes his Diary in shorthand. He selects Byrom's system from among all others, because his brother Charles is an expert writer, and they will now be able to communicate with one another without fear of prying eyes.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The first verse in the first Methodist Hymn-book strikes the true note of worship:

Ye holy souls, in God rejoice;

Your Maker's praise becomes your voice.

Great is your theme, your songs be new:

Sing of His Name, His Word, His Ways,

His works of nature and of grace,

How wise and holy, just and true!

Like all the ten psalms which Wesley, free from his brother Charles's presence and influence, selected for the leading place in the Charlestown *Collection*, this metrical psalm was written by Watts. Indeed, as Dr. Osborn truly says, 'More than one-third of the whole number contained in this little volume' are borrowed from the *Psalms and Hymns* of Dr. Watts.

<sup>2</sup> From a note in one of the earlier Diaries we learn that Wesley taught

Weston's shorthand to his pupils at Oxford. There is no evidence that he ever used this system for his own work, or that he ever communicated the cipher of his first Diary to any friend or pupil. Byrom's shorthand, learnt on the advice of Charles, he adhered to throughout the remainder of his life. A facsimile of the first and also of the last example of John Wesley's shorthand is interesting. We do not realize how much we owe to Byrom. We sing his hymn every Christmas Day—

Christians, awake, salute the happy morn!

And but for his shorthand we could scarcely have had a Journal so full and continuous.

The following is a transliteration of the first entries in shorthand (see p. 305):

December 20.

4 Prayed with Delamotte: drest: 6 read resolutions: German.

5 Drest [i.e. robed]: read prayers: 6 12 present.

6 Owen: the religious talk (?) 6

7 Scheme of hymns. 6

8 Scheme: prayed with them. 6

9 Transcribed hymns. 6

10 Transcribed hymns. 6

11 Transcribed. 6

The writing is imperfect, but the meaning is plain. He was preparing copy for the

*Collection of Psalms and Hymns*. The opening psalms were already selected,



*Wed. 22.*—Mr. Delamotte and I, with a guide [who had gone that way before,] set out to walk to the Cowpen. When we had walked two or three hours, [we came to a creek which our guide had forgot :] he did not know where we were. [There was no remedy but wading through.] In an hour or two we came to a cypress-swamp, directly across our path, through which likewise we were to walk, the water being about breast high. A mile or two beyond, we were out of all path and out of all our knowledge. However, we went on till past sunset, and then sat down on the driest spot we could find, intending after a while to make a fire, and so stay there till morning. But finding our tinder was all wet, we were at a stand. I advised to walk on still ; but both my companions, being faint and tired, were for lying down, which we accordingly did about six o'clock. The ground was wet as well as our clothes, which in a short time (it being a sharp frost) were as hard as the tree we lay against. However, I slept till six in the morning. There fell a heavy dew in the night, so that when we rose the side that had been uppermost was white as snow. In less than an hour we came to a plantation, [and after resting a little to Mrs. Musgrove's]. Nor did any of us receive any hurt at all, but came home in the evening [in perfect health].

*Tues. 21.*—He was again engaged on hymns, at the house of Mr. Campbell. At noon he was in the guard-house with the magistrates. Returning home, he worked at his Scheme, and was again with the magistrates, apparently at a great dinner.

*Wed. 22.*—He worked on the hymns to the last moment ; at 10.30 he set out, as described in the Journal, his companions being Delamotte and James Smith. Through rain they walked and sang, until, at 1.30, wet, they reached the Creek, and, shortly after three, the cypress-swamp. Wet and cold, they plodded on to a hut, where they tried to light a fire ; but the tinder was wet. Fireless, they lay down all together, the frost being very sharp, and slept. They were awakened many times by frost and cramp. This was at nine o'clock. At eleven a heavy dew fell and froze over the ground and their clothes. Beneath, the ground was wet, and their case seemed almost desperate.

*Thur. 23.*—At six they rose, prayed, succeeded in kindling a fire, set out, passed the swamps, and at seven reached Captain Williams's<sup>1</sup> planta-

and copied for the press ; he was now copying hymns and editing them.

<sup>1</sup> This was the gentleman planter who swore the lying affidavit against Wesley

in Bristol. On this occasion he and his family treated Wesley and Delamotte with hospitality. 'All very kind. Eat !'







## FIFTH FREDERICA JOURNAL

DEC. 28, *Tues.*—[Mr. Delamotte] and I with a better guide set out for Frederica by land. [We stayed that night and the next morning at the Cowpen,] and in the evening came to Fort Argyle. [It stands pleasantly on the high bank of the river Ogeechee, having woods at a little distance on every side.] Here we were obliged to stay till the next afternoon. Then we went on to Coanoochi river, over which we swam our horses by the side of the small canoe in which we crossed it

tion. At 8.30 they set out again. At Mrs. Musgrove's they found Ingham. There they had coffee and shelter. At noon he read prayers and expounded; at a quarter past they set out for Irene. In the late afternoon they returned home, and instantly Wesley resumed work as though nothing had happened. Exhausting journeys, perils by the way—none of these things moved him. In the evening Mr. Williamson came.

*Fri.* 24.—Owen, Hickes, and *Nicodemus* are the books read; but hymns are the all-absorbing enthusiasm, even to the exclusion of Miss Sophy, who is quite silent. In the morning he read hymns, in the afternoon transcribing what had been selected and altered.

*Sat.* 25.—There is no trace of special Christmas Day celebration, except the sermon and Holy Communion. An hour or two he devoted to hymns. In the evening he buried a German. The record is partly in shorthand and partly in longhand.

*Sun.* 26.—He married G. Rone, read a letter from Spangenberg, and had an interview with Hermsdorf, who appears to have brought news from Frederica.

*Mon.* 27.—The principal events of the day were the return of Causton, a conversation with Delamotte on Frederica, and the reading of Mr. Mouse's letters to Miss Bovey and Miss Sophy. The reading lasted from seven until a quarter to ten. Probably these were letters written by friends in Frederica and brought by Mr. Mouse, who seems to have been an Indian trader.

*Tues.* 28.—He began a letter to Spangenberg, and was busy all the morning. At two he took boat up the river with Delamotte, to call on Mrs. Musgrove. Ingham returned with him to Savannah, and read prayers and expounded. They packed for a long overland journey.

This was his fifth and last journey to Frederica. In the depth of winter the voyage by sea was judged to be impracticable. Probably no boat was running. In part Wesley may have been influenced by a desire to see members of his pastoral charge on various settlements and plantations *en route*. Who the 'better guide' was we do not know. 'Francis' is named. The Diary itinerary contains an exact description by compass of the route

ourselves. We made a fire on the bank, [set up our blankets for a tent, commended ourselves to God,] and, notwithstanding the rain, slept quietly till the morning.

[*Fri.* 31.—After riding through woods between thirty and forty miles, we made a good fire, and cheerfully ended the old year.]

taken. The following transliteration of the notes may be of interest to travellers in Georgia: <sup>1</sup>

*Wed.* 29.—Read prayers and expounded; coffee; packed; on business.

11.30 Set out NW.

12 W: SW, private prayer: sang; W. SSW. W. 3 over stones.

4 Swamp. SW: 4½ River Swamp. SE: E:

5 SSE. 5½ past the Swamp. 6. ferried.

6 At Fort Ogeechee.

7 Mr Finlay's. Supped together; read prayers, expounded.

8 At Mr Fitchet's; slept.

*Thur.* 30.—

6 Talked within. 7 read prayers, expounded; walked with Finlay.

9 Fort, 60 Indians came; in talk together.

11½ Diary: 12 walked, meditated, private prayer; sang.

1¼ Set out S. SSW:

3 At Cowanoochi, ferry boat not come.

5 Fire; 5½, boat come, ferried; 6½ fire, rain, supped, prayer, 8 sang.

7 Made camp, sang, supped, prayed, expounded; ¾ rain.

*Fri.* 31.—

6 Talked, read prayers, on business; 8¼ set out SSW: private prayer:

12.20 very branch[ed] and de[cayed]—

1 Set out S by E to S by W. Private prayer. 5¼ bee tree, camped.

6 Talked, conversed close with Francis [the guide]; he affected; read prayers, 8½.

<sup>1</sup> Here and there the entries, which obviously were made under difficulties, are almost undecipherable. The main features, however, of this record of a long and interesting journey across a little-known country in the depth of winter, are reliable. It is only small and immaterial details that are obscure.

In connexion with Wesley's remarks on extempore prayer it is of interest to note that this is probably the first occasion on which he himself, even at private devotions, offered extempore prayer.

It seems to have been Mr. McLeod of Darien who first introduced him to Haliburton's *Life*—'The Reverend Learned and Pious Mr. Thomas Haliburton, M.A., Professor of Divinity in the University of St. Andrews (Acts

xiii. 41).' Wesley, in the Preface to the *Abstract* which he published in 1739, says: 'This work of God in the soul of man is so described in the following treatise, as I have not seen it in any other, either ancient or modern, in our own or any other language. So that I cannot but value it next to the Holy Scriptures, above any other human composition, excepting only *The Christian Pattern*, and the small remains of Clemens Romanus, Polycarp, and Ignatius.' Whitefield shared his opinion. It must be remembered that Wesley at this time was much under the influence of the Mystics. Dr. Watts also published an edition. (Cf. Green's *Wesley Bibliography*.) McLeod is frequently referred to in the Georgia documents (Record Office).

1737. JAN. 1, *Sat.*—Our provisions fell short, our journey being longer than we expected; but having a little barbecued bear's flesh (that is, dried in the sun) [which we had reserved for such an occasion], we boiled it, and found it very wholesome [though not very agreeable] food.

*Sun.* 2.—We came to the settlement of the Scotch Highlanders at Darien, [about twenty miles from Frederica. I was surprised to hear an extempore prayer before a written sermon. Are not then the words we speak to God to be set in order at least as carefully as those we speak to our fellow worms? One consequence of this manner of praying is, that they have public service only once a week. Alas, my brethren! I bear you

JAN. 1, 1737, *Sat.*—

- 5½ Prayers, talked, they sought horses; 7½ They found them!  
 8 Set out NE: 9, E: E by S: private prayer.  
 11 SE: private prayer; 12 Yamase.  
 1 Camped; dined; 1½, set out W; 4 N: SW: 4, past first swamp.  
 6 Camped; talked and eat bear; 8 Rained, read prayers; 8½.

*Sun.* 2.—

- 5 Talked, read prayers, ill.  
 7½ Set out, private prayer: S by W: 5 Swamps, 6 ponds.  
 11½ Darien; Mr Mackintosh's; they very civil.  
 12 Prayers, sermon; 1½ Mr Mac.'s, dinner, walked with Mr Macleod  
 3 Conversed, tea, conversed; 4 walked with Delamotte, and to the Fort; conversed.  
 5½ Mr Mon[ro]—, maid and Mrs Patterson there; conversed.  
 7¾ Mrs Mackintosh's supper and singing; I prayed extempore!  
 8½ Mr Macleod's to bed.

*Mon.* 3.—

- 6¾ Walked, meditated, prayed; 7¾ wood; 8¼ Monro, Mr Mackintosh and company.  
 9 Talked within; 9½ Mr Macleod's, read Catechism of Assembly.  
 11 Mr Macleod came, conversed; 12 slept; 1 Mr Mackintosh's; headache.  
 2 Dined, in talk together ½; began Haliburton's *Life*, slept.  
 4¾ Monro's, talked together; 7½ Captain Mackintosh's supped; 9 set out with Mr Humble and Delamotte; expounded; ½ in the pettiawga; read prayers to them [or 'and sang']

*Tues.* 4.—

- 6¾ Windbound; read prayers; talked intimately.  
 8 Haliburton; 12 dined; Haliburton; 5½ talked, retiring.  
 6 Private prayer; 7 read prayers, meditated; 8½ cold, not so ill.

*Wed.* 5.—

- 4¼ Private prayer, meditated; 6¾ private prayer; 7 dressed, talked; Fleury; 11 conversed.  
 1¾ Frederica, Mr Hird's; all well; he not serious.  
 2 Dined within; 3½ walked with Delamotte, conversed; 5 at home, on business, prayed with Delamotte.  
 6 Supped, read prayers, expounded, and they with us sung; 16.  
 7½ Expounded hymn; within; he came and within; 10½ Mark's house; in trouble.



record, ye have a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge.

[Yet it must be owned that in all instances of personal or social duty this people utterly shames our countrymen: in sobriety, industry, frugality, patience; in sincerity and openness of behaviour; in justice and mercy of all kinds, being not content with exemplary kindness to one another, but extending it, to the utmost of their ability, to even the stranger that is within their gates.]

Mr. McLeod, their minister, is a serious, prudent, resolute, and (I hope) a pious man.

On *Monday* evening (January 3), I left Darien [in a periagua, it being about twenty miles by water from Frederica.

[*Wed.* 5.—In the afternoon we came thither, and took up our quarters at Mr. Hird's.] Most of those we met with were, as we expected, cold and heartless. I could not find one who had retained his first love. 'O send forth Thy light and Thy heat, that they may guide them, and lead them unto Thy holy hill!'

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*Thur.* 6.—He resumed the hymns, and being in a treacherous place again wrote the Diary in shorthand. He read Haliburton's *Life*, and visited.

*Fri.* 7.—The whole day he spent in devotional exercises and the reading of Haliburton.

*Sat.* 8.—Read Haliburton. At the usual morning exposition eight were present, and in the evening fourteen. He had an interview with Mrs. Hird.

*Sun.* 9.—At morning prayers twelve were present, at the ten-o'clock sermon seventeen, at Holy Communion six, and in the afternoon forty-four. These figures show that even now he could draw the people; but, apart from his personal magnetism, he had not learned how to hold them. In spare hours he read Haliburton.

*Mon.* 10.—He and Delamotte had an interview with Mrs. Weston, formerly Miss Fosset.

*Tues.* 11.—Haliburton was still the main subject of reading.

*Wed.* 12.—He seems on this occasion to have done but little visiting in Frederica; he had small encouragement to do so. Not improbably the Hirds warned him to remain at home. He appears to have limited his personal intercourse to the Hirds and the Westons. Reed and other old friends seem to have left the town. His work indoors was limited to Greek with Delamotte, and Haliburton for the good of his own soul. He must have read with great care, making extensive notes. He read extracts to the Hirds, one evening questioning them on the

[*Tues.* 18.—At night we had as sharp a frost as any I remember in England. We lay in a very small room, and had a fire all night. Notwithstanding which, not only all the water in the room was frozen, but our ink too, which stood on a table almost close to the fireside.

[*Sat.* 22.—Mr. Tackner told me the occasion of his breaking with Mark Hird, the only Christian friend he had. He owned himself to blame, and expressed an earnest desire of a thorough reconciliation. This was, by the blessing of God, effected the next day, and they joined together in the Sacrifice of Thanksgiving.

[*Sun.* 23.—In the morning I spoke to two or three who were going a-shooting; but they made light of it, and went on.

reading; Mr. Hird questioned him, and it gave him great pleasure to know that his old friend was interested. The next morning, at 4.30, he prayed with Mr. Hird, Mark, Phoebe, and Delamotte. Then he had a quiet hour with Haliburton. At six he talked, sang, meditated, recollected, prayed: six were present. It was one of his society-meetings. He returned to Haliburton, walked, at dinner enjoyed a good talk; read Haliburton for two hours, and again for two hours in the evening, finishing the day with the usual devotional exercises.<sup>1</sup>

*Fri.* 14.—The day was given almost exclusively to Haliburton. On Saturday he ended it, and forthwith took a walk, and 'saw hymns.' After dinner, writing his Diary, he 'saw psalms'; and after dinner 'ended psalms.' This may refer to a revision of copy, or to the reading of proofs, or to a further selection of hymns and psalms.

*Sun.* 16.—Twenty-five came to hear him preach, and there were eight communicants. On Monday and Tuesday hymns were still his chief concern.

*Wed.* 19.—He is still selecting or writing hymns. He now begins to transcribe those recently studied.

*Thur.* 20.—To-day he reads German hymns.

*Fri.* 21.—He married Ward; Dison married Toby; coffee. He afterwards wrote his Journal for some hours.

*Sat.* 22.—One of the disappointments that greeted him on his return to Frederica was an estrangement between two of his most reliable disciples—his first two converts on board the *Simmonds*. Tackner and Mark Hird had quarrelled. To-day he had a conversation with Tackner, who was 'convinced and affected.' Later he saw Mr. Hird. In the afternoon he 'tested Mrs. Colwell,' another of his old friends. At night he read the *Life of Mahomet*.

*Sun.* 23.—Thirty-one heard his sermon, among them 'all the Scotch,

<sup>1</sup> From Frederica came, almost more than from Savannah, the beginnings of many things in the Methodism of the

future—the preaching-house, the hymn-book, the class-meeting, the band-meeting, the lay helper.

I then represented it to the magistrates, who two days after directed an order to the constables to be more watchful in preventing this and all other profanation of the Lord's Day.

[*Tues.* 25.—Being on board a sloop which lay in the river, I heard Mr. M——p (Mellichamp) was on his journey to Savannah, and therefore determined to be there myself as soon as I could.]

*Wed.* 26.—After having beaten the air in this unhappy place

eight.' There is no further reference in the Diary to the quarrel between Tackner and Mark Hird. Two of his Scotch friends called this afternoon; also Mr. Parkins.

*Mon.* 24.—The first line only of the Diary is in shorthand. He awoke sick, but prayed with Delamotte, and by six was well enough to read the *Life of Mahomet*. At seven Mr. McLeod came; they had a long talk together, continuing the conversation, probably, of the previous day. He does not say so, but there can be little doubt that to this Scotch minister, whom he greatly admired, he committed his little flock in Frederica. At nine returned to the *Life of Mahomet*, on which he meditated. At eleven he packed; at two he was at the store-house on business with Mr. Patterson<sup>1</sup> and in talk with Penrose; at 3.30 he was at home conversing with Pierce.

As though to prepare for an ordeal, he spent much time in private prayer, and with Bishop Patrick's *Prayers*. At 5.45 Mrs. Hawkins came. After evening prayers he conversed and prayed with Mr. and Mrs. Hawkins, Mr. Dison, chaplain to the Independent Company, being present. He then transacted business, and ended the day with Mark and William. At 10 o'clock Delamotte, who had been away on his own affairs, came.

*Tues.* 25.—This was his last day in Frederica. In the early morning he read prayers and expounded. At ten he again read prayers and preached a sermon to a congregation of sixteen, administering Holy Communion afterwards to four persons. It was the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul. The appointed Lessons were Wisdom v. and Acts xxii. to verse 22.

At one he was on board Captain Ellis's sloop with Dison and Mr. McLeod. He dined with them; in the afternoon he heard of Mellichamp, and met Mr. Horton, who, to his great surprise, was civil. He and Delamotte discussed Miss Sophy's peril, and prayed for her. Once more he read prayers and expounded, eighteen being present. After supper he had a conversation with Hird, Horton, and Pearce (or Pierce).

*Wed.* 26.—His first thought in the morning was for Miss Sophy. He spent some time privately in prayer for her. At 10.30, in Penrose's boat, he set sail, reading Machiavelli's *Works*. At noon the next day (*Jan.* 27)

<sup>1</sup> Probably this Mr. Patterson was an 'elder' of the Presbyterian Church of Darien. He lived in or near Frederica,

and was in pastoral charge of the eight Scotch Highlanders in that part of the colony. McLeod was the chief minister.



for twenty days, at noon I took my final leave of Frederica. It was not any apprehension of my own danger, though my life had been threatened many times, but an utter despair of doing good there, which made me content with the thought of seeing it no more.

### SIXTH SAVANNAH JOURNAL

IN my passage home, having procured a celebrated book (*The Works of Nicholas Machiavel*), I set myself carefully to read and consider it. I began with a prejudice in his favour, having been informed he had often been misunderstood and greatly misrepresented. I weighed the sentiments that were less common, transcribed the passages wherein they were contained, compared one passage with another, and endeavoured to form a cool, impartial judgement. And my cool judgement is, that if all the other doctrines of devils which have been committed to writing since letters were in the world were collected together in one volume, it would fall short of this; and that, should a Prince form himself by this book, so calmly recommending hypocrisy, treachery, lying, robbery, oppression, adultery, whoredom, and murder of all kinds, Domitian or Nero would be an angel of light compared to that man.

*Mon.* 31.—[After having been detained several days on Sapolo Island by mists and contrary winds, at last I] came to Savannah. [Finding Miss Sophy was with Mrs. Musgrove at the Cowpen, a place where I doubted she would learn little good, I went up thither the same evening. She took boat and came down with me immediately, as it was not her custom to

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they were still his companions, but he notes that, alternately, he read Bishop Patrick. On *Jan.* 28 they were driven back again, landed 'in hard rain,' sat with Peter, and contrived to read prayers. On the 29th he still read Machiavelli and Patrick alternately, having to contend, first with thick fog, and then hard rain. On the 30th they sang and prayed in the rain, and set up a tent, in which they spent the day, Wesley and Delamotte singing, praying, and reading Patrick all day. At seven they slept, but at eleven a storm broke.

*Mon.* 31.—They reached Skidoway, but the wind being contrary they landed. By noon they were at Thunderbolt, and by 2.45 with the Germans in Savannah. At Cowpen he met Ingham also. With his usual quenchless

deny me anything. For indeed from March 13, 1736, the day I first spoke to her, till that hour, I cannot recollect so much as a single instance of my proposing anything to her, or expressing any desire, which she did not fully comply with.]

FEB. 1, *Tues.*—Being the anniversary feast, on account of the first convoy's landing in Georgia, we had a sermon and the Holy Communion.

The next morning, being informed of Miss Bovey's design to marry shortly, I went to her, and told her with all plainness my thoughts of Mr. Burnside and of the whole affair. Though we did not entirely agree in our judgement, she took it as it was intended. Here is one woman in America in whom to this day I have found no guile.

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zeal he prayed, expounded, and read Law with Miss Sophy ; ' she quite open and affected.'<sup>1</sup>

FEB. 1, *Tues.*—The only allusions to the anniversary festival are the morning sermon, with thirty-three in attendance, the celebration of the Eucharist, with thirteen communicants, and a dinner, of which he writes, ' Sent for to Penrose's ; much company ; dined.'<sup>2</sup>

After morning prayers he conversed with Miss Sophy respecting Melli-champ, who, being released from prison, had become dangerous. He then accompanied her to Mr. Causton's house. In the evening he read Haliburton's *Life* to a company at Miss Bovey's.<sup>3</sup>

*Wed. 2.*—It being the ' Purification of the Blessed Virgin,' he again preached and administered Holy Communion. Wesley never spared himself, and never sought excuses for relieving his people from what he regarded as the binding obligation of appointed services.

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<sup>1</sup> During the days following he resumed his ordinary habits as pastor and teacher, seeing much of Miss Sophy, and becoming more and more involved in a quasi-engagement, in which he struggled for freedom and a clear path of duty. From Feb. 3 until Friday 11, the Diary, greatly condensed, is written on two spare pages at the beginning of the book.

<sup>2</sup> It was an appointed Fast, but Wesley did not think it fitting that on such a day the people should be required to fast. He himself dined in company and supped with the Germans.

<sup>3</sup> It was evidently Miss Sophy who told Wesley of her friend's intention to marry Mr. Burnside. A reference in the

Diary suggests this : ' Miss Sophy came ; on business with Miss Bovey ; she open and convinced.' Why Wesley objected to Miss Bovey's marriage with Mr. Burnside we are not told. There was nothing against his moral character. As clerk in Mr. Causton's store, his position may not have been lucrative ; but that was not likely to be an objection in Wesley's eyes, and, as we shall presently see, Burnside was a man of moral courage, with a mind of his own, who, in a moment of perplexity and peril, could act with decision. Probably he wished to retain her as a deaconess. One of the charges against Wesley in the *True History* was that he appointed deaconesses.

[*Thur. 3.*—I was now in a great strait. I still thought it best for me to live single. And this was still my design; but I felt the foundations of it shaken more and more every day. Insomuch that I again hinted at a desire of marriage, though I made no direct proposal. For indeed it was only a sudden thought, which had not the consent of my own mind. Yet I firmly believe, had she (Miss Sophy) closed with me at that time, my judgement would have made but a faint resistance. But she said ‘she thought it was best for clergymen not to be encumbered with worldly cares, and that it was best for her, too, to live single, and she was accordingly resolved never to marry.’ I used no argument to induce her to alter her resolution.

[Upon reflection, I thought this a very narrow escape; and after much consideration, I went to Mr. Töltschig, the pastor of the Moravians, and desired his advice, whether I had not best, while it was yet in my power, break off so dangerous an acquaintance. He asked, ‘What do you think would be the consequence if you should?’ I said, ‘I fear her soul would be lost, being surrounded with dangers, and having no other person to warn her of and arm her against them.’ He added, ‘And what do you think would be the consequence if you should not break it off?’ I said, ‘I fear I should marry her.’ He replied short, ‘I don’t see why you should not.’

[I went home amazed to the last degree; and it was now first that I had the least doubt whether it was best for me to marry or not, which I never before thought would bear a question. I immediately related what had occurred to Mr. Ingham and Delamotte. They utterly disapproved of Mr. Töltschig’s judgement, and in the evening went, as I desired they would, and talked largely with him and Antone (the Moravian Bishop Seifart) about it. It was midnight when I went to them; but even then they did not seem to be fully assured. Mr. Ingham still insisted I had not sufficient proof of her sincerity and religion, since the appearance of it might be owing partly to an excellent natural temper,

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*Thur. 3.*—At six Miss Sophy came for her lesson in French. Hickes’s *Reformed Devotions* was the book used.



partly to her desire of marrying me. I asked, 'How he could reconcile such a desire with what she had said on Thursday.' He said, 'Very well; she would soon recall those words, if I made a direct proposal.' He added that I could not judge coolly of these things while I saw her every day, and therefore advised me 'to go out of town for a few days.' I clearly saw the wisdom of this advice, and accordingly went to Irene the next day, four miles from Savannah. But first I writ two or three lines which I desired Miss Bovey to give Miss Sophy. They were, I think, in these words: '*Feb. 6.* I find, Miss Sophy, I can't take fire into my bosom, and not be burnt. I am therefore retiring for a while to desire the direction of God. Join with me, my friend, in fervent prayer, that He would show me what is best to be done.'

[When I came to Irene, I did not care to ask counsel of God immediately, being 'a man of so unclean lips.' I therefore set aside *Monday* the 7th for self-examination; adding only that general prayer, whenever thoughts arose in my heart concerning the issue of things, 'Lord, Thou knowest! If it be best, let nothing be allowed to hinder; if not, let

*Fri. 4.*—In spite of a troubled mind he resolutely went through the day's devotions and tutorial and pastoral work. At Miss Bovey's, where he called in the afternoon to give a French lesson, he found Miss Sophy, and broke his Friday fast by drinking a cup of coffee. Returning home, Mr. Burnside came to talk about the banns of marriage. Wesley's only note on the subject is, 'Got no good.' Later he discussed 'banns' with Miss Bovey, and 'Got little good.' So he prayed privately for them.

*Sat. 5.*—Every morning this week, directly after five-o'clock prayers, he read Owen to Miss Sophy—John Owen, the great Puritan, whose writings were not entertaining. Little wonder if this half-dazed girl felt that 'clergymen should not marry.' It was on this day, after much meditation and prayer (he carefully notes the hour, 10.45), that he consulted Mr. Töltschig and another German friend. He dined with them, and afterwards went visiting and catechizing. At 5.15 he consulted Ingham and Delamotte. They all prayed together, and in the end gave judgement against Miss Sophy. Then he returned to the Germans, who were much more sympathetic. Still later he prevailed upon Ingham and Delamotte to return with him to the Germans, who, after much prayer and godly talk, cast lots and declared themselves 'for it.'

*Sun. 6.*—The 'note to Miss Sophy' was written after dinner; he then went with Mrs. Musgrove to Irene.

From this to Feb. 11 the Diary is a half-intelligible record of unrest. The interesting fact is that he strove against himself, not only by help

nothing be allowed to affect it.' And this exercise I continued for several hours with some measure of cheerfulness. But towards evening God hid His face, and I was troubled. My heart sank in me like a stone. I felt how bitter a thing it is for a spirit of an unbounded appetite to be left a prey to its own desires. But it was not long. For I no sooner stretched forth my hands to Heaven and bewailed my having departed from Him, than God sent me help from His holy place, and my soul received comfort.

[*Tues. 8.*—The next morning I was obliged to go down to Savannah. There I stayed about an hour; and there again I felt, and groaned under the weight of, an unholy desire. My heart was with Miss Sophy all the time. I longed to see her, were it but for a moment. And when I was called to take boat, it was as the sentence of death; but believing it was the call of God, I obeyed. I walked awhile to and fro on the edge of the water, heavy laden and pierced through with many sorrows. There One came to me and said, 'You are still in doubt what is best to be done. First, then, cry to God, that you may be wholly resigned, whatever shall appear to be His will.' I instantly cried to God for resignation. And I found that and peace together. I said, 'Sure it is a dream.' I was in a new world. The change was as from death to life. I went back to Irene wondering and rejoicing; but withal exceeding fearful, lest my want of thankfulness for this blessing, or of care to improve it, might occasion its being taken away.

[I was now more clear in my judgement every day. Beside that I believed her resolve, never to marry, I was convinced

of prayer and meditation, but also by more mundane devices. He was now at Irene, and now at home. An Indian, Mrs. Musgrove, Peter, the boat, felling trees, 'blazing' in the woods for pathways, reading aloud, singing, and other distractions are named. One reason why his retreat to Irene failed to restore perfect self-control, and therefore did not save him from sorrow and humiliation, was the fact that at intervals he continued the writing of the 'Account of Miss Sophy'—the *Account* transcribed at Oxford, to which we are indebted for such clear information respecting this case of love and conscience. The Diary shows that during these days he again and again added to the written story, thus letting his mind dwell upon a series of experiences that, for his own sake, had better have been forgotten.

it was not expedient for me, for two weighty reasons: (1) because it would probably obstruct the design of my coming into America, the going among the Indians; and (2) because I was not strong enough to bear the complicated temptations of a married state.<sup>1</sup>

[Sat. 12.—Of this I informed my friends at my return to Savannah.

[Mon. 14.—About seven in the morning, I told her in my own garden, 'I am resolved, Miss Sophy, if I marry at all, not to do it till I have been among the Indians.'

Sat. 12.—Shortly after five o'clock Peter, his boatman and companion during his journey to Irene, joins him. He breakfasts on rice, and continues the writing of his account of Miss Sophy. At seven he sets out for the Cowpen, where he prays, drinks tea, and converses with Mrs. Musgrove, who listens 'seriously.' On the return journey he spends two hours or more 'mending the way,' Peter, no doubt, helping.<sup>2</sup> It was after dinner that he 'informed' his 'friends—Burnside, Delamotte, and the German brethren.' The rest of the day he spent as usual.

Sun. 13.—Five times before preaching he prayed, alone or with Delamotte, and twice sang. Thomas à Kempis and meditation were his only other helps in preparing the sermon. After dinner 'John<sup>3</sup> came.' At prayers in the afternoon he spoke on the rubric. Eighty were present. At half-past three 'the people came,' and he held one of his class- or band-meetings: 'Sung, read, sung, read, sung, prayer.' Then he visited.

Mon. 14.—After prayers he treated Mrs. M——, Delamotte, and Miss Sophy to 'Owen, tea, and conversation.'

8 Explained with Miss Sophy, private prayer; uneasy.

9 In talk with Delamotte, diary; more uneasy. Κύριε βοήθει!

10 Answered Charles's letter.

The excitement from which he was suffering shows itself in errors, one of which he himself corrects.

<sup>1</sup> A third volume of the Georgia Diary now comes into use. Like others of the series, it already contained transcriptions and fragmentary notes when Wesley determined to utilize its spare pages for the Diary. Among these are copies of two letters written to Dr. Burton, Sept. 30 and Oct. 10, 1735. There is also the first of a series of *Discourses concerning Sacrifice in General*, entitled, *The Primitive Communicant*, Heb. x. 8. Wesley's stock of note-books is nearly exhausted, for he crowds the last days of July 1735, and the whole of August, into the spaces at the foot of the Diary pages.

<sup>2</sup> Wesley dreaded idleness, especially in time of trouble and anxiety. It was one of the sins he most frequently referred to in his first Oxford Diary. (See p. 54.) Whatever his anguish of heart, he resolutely clung to his duty as a minister—prayers, preaching, visiting, catechizing, and meeting the society and preparation classes. And the greater his weakness and suffering, the more he sang and made verses.

<sup>3</sup> The French doctor (Reinier), who owed much to Wesley and loved much, always coming to him in times of stress or sickness.



[*Tues.* 15.—The next morning she told me, ‘People wonder what I can do so long at your house; I am resolved not to breakfast with you any more. And I won’t come to you any more alone.’

[*Wed.* 16.—She said, ‘I don’t think it signifies for me to learn French<sup>1</sup> any longer.’ But she added, ‘My uncle and aunt, as well as I, will be glad of your coming to our house as often as you please.’ I answered, ‘You know, Miss Sophy, I don’t love a crowd, and there is always one there.’ She said, ‘But we needn’t be in it.’

*Tues.* 15.—Miss Sophy’s final breakfast at the parsonage was accompanied with another reading from John Owen and ‘close’ conversation. He wrote to the Trustees, Dr. Bray’s Associates, the rector of Lincoln College, and Dr. Cutler. He then wrote his Diary, walked, thought on a sermon, read Kempis, dined, and gave two hours to pastoral visitation. In the evening Miss Sophy heard a reading from Haliburton’s *Life*, and they sang.

*Wed.* 16.—According to the Diary it was on this day that Miss Sophy declared her intention not to breakfast with Wesley and Delamotte any more. As this was a critical moment in Wesley’s life, it will be interesting to note exactly what happened. Miss Sophy came as usual to the five-o’clock morning prayers, but ‘would not stay.’ From seven to eleven Wesley wrote letters to Burton, Hutchings (see *Works*, vol. xii. p. 45), ‘Mon.,’ and Whitefield; posted his Diary, went into the garden for meditation and singing, and visited. At one he held a devotional meeting, at which Mr. Campbell, Mrs. Gilbert, and Miss Sophy were present. It was a fast-day, and there was no dinner, or any other refreshment, except tea at six in the morning and three in the afternoon. The whole day was given to letter-writing and devotional exercises.

<sup>1</sup> Mr Campbell, Mrs Gilbert, Miss Sophy, sung, prayed, sung, prayed, sung.

<sup>2</sup> Garden, conversed, she quite open; got no good; meditated. She would breakfast with me no more.

That she had no intention then to abandon the religious life is evident from the fact that after evening prayers she and the members of her little company, or class, remained for reading, conversation, and singing.

*Thur.* 17.—Miss Sophy came for early prayers, but did not remain for the parsonage breakfast. Wesley went to the Germans, wrote ‘for them’ a long letter to Mr. Causton, and transcribed it. After tea in her own home Miss Sophy had a French reading, and again attended the evening society-meeting.

*Fri.* 18.—She was one of the eighteen who came for prayers. Wesley wrote letters to Chapman,<sup>2</sup> Horn, Hervey, Sarney, and Mr. Jones of Beau-

<sup>1</sup> The French lessons were still continued.

<sup>2</sup> This probably is the beginning of the letter on cheerfulness and holiness written to his friend Mrs. Chapman

(App. XIX. vol. vi.), one of the finest letters of this period. Or it may have been a letter to the Rev. William Chapman, one of the less-known members of the Holy Club.

[*Sat. 19.*—I called upon her at Mr. Causton's, and we walked together in the garden. She did not seem to be affected with anything I said, but was in such a temper as I never saw her before, sharp, fretful, and disputatious. Yet in an hour she awaked as out of sleep, told me she had been very ill all day, and indeed scarce in her senses, and feared she had given a sufficient proof of it in her behaviour, which she begged I would not impute to her, but solely to her disorder.]

*Thur. 24.*—We agreed that Mr. Ingham should set out for

fort. Instead of dinner he read to the boys. Except this, his only reading for the day was the Greek Testament, and, after the evening class, of which Miss Bovey was leader, Machiavelli (Wesley always spells *Machiavel*).

*Sat. 19.*—The hour hitherto given to Miss Sophy and French he spent in reading Machiavelli and in writing a long letter to his brother Samuel. The rest of the day he gave to visiting, catechizing, and devotion. On his talk with Miss Sophy the only note is, 'She not affected.' Mr. How's class met after evening prayers.

*Sun. 20.*—Before morning service he had a conversation with Christie the Recorder, who a few months later became one of his bitterest enemies. At the afternoon prayers and catechizing 100 were present. Before the service he read the *Canons*. At four he conversed with Miss Sophy in the garden, and at five met Mrs. Gilbert's class or band. They sang, read, sang, prayed, sang. They drank tea together and conversed. At 7.15 Miss Sophy went home, and Wesley went to the Germans. Later he had a consultation with Ingham and Delamotte.

*Mon. 21.*—A boat was about to sail for Frederica. He seized the opportunity to write to Mr. Horton. After dinner he went to Miss Sophy's Acre Lot, where he had an interview with Mr. Causton, and afterwards with Mrs. Causton. He drank tea with them, they talked together; he wrote to Mr. Hird, of Frederica, visited in the neighbourhood, and at four o'clock set out for home, reading his Greek Testament. At home he saw Mr. Ellis, and had a serious conversation with Ingham on business. His note after evening prayers is 'very heavy.' But he met Miss Bovey's class, in which he read, prayed, sang.

*Tues. 22.*—He spent some hours writing 'for Miss Sophy.' Töltschig called. At Mr. Causton's there was 'company, talk, and tea.' Otherwise the day was without incident.

*Ash Wednesday, 23.*—In the early morning he had an interview with Watson,<sup>1</sup> on which his note is 'Strange!' He seems to have seen him with Causton, who examined the case. The day was spent as Sunday.

*Thur. 24.*—For his sermon to-day he made unusual preparation, writing

<sup>1</sup> Probably the Captain Watson whose imprisonment is before referred to, and whose release is noted later. He owned

a plantation adjoining the Cowpen, and not far from Captain Williams's. See Georgia letters, Record Office.

England; chiefly that he might confer with our friends there, and endeavour to bring over some of them to help us.<sup>1</sup>

Sat. 26.—[A passage offering to Pennsylvania, where he was to call on Mr. Spangenberg to go with him, he embraced the opportunity, and embarked about three in the afternoon. May God give him a happy return!]

By Mr. Ingham I writ to the Founders of Parochial Libraries (Dr. Bray's Associates<sup>2</sup>), who sent a library to Savannah in the

fully. It was St. Matthias's day, and the appointed lessons were Wisdom xix. and Luke vii. He preached at eleven and administered the Communion. This is the first place in the Georgia Diary in which he uses the word, writing it out in shorthand fully. After dinner he wrote the letter to Oglethorpe which is published in his *Works*, vol. xii. p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> Mr Causton's, within.

<sup>4</sup> Talked together of going to England: Miss Sophy much affected.

Again in the evening,

<sup>7</sup> Prayers, Miss Bovey et cetera.

<sup>8</sup> Read, sung  $\frac{3}{4}$ , within with Miss Sophy; she owned her friendship.

<sup>9</sup> Writ to my brother Charles.

Fri. 25.—The greater part of the day was absorbed in the writing of a sermon, transcribing the letter 'writ' to Charles, and writing hymns. In the afternoon, at Miss Bovey's, there was conversation with Delamotte, Ingham, and Miss Sophy. It was their last meeting before Ingham's departure.

Sat. 26.—Again Wesley worked at a sermon. At two 'Ingham went.' Apparently he took with him all the letters which his friend had for some time been diligently writing.

<sup>1</sup> Ingham wrote to Charles Wesley (Oct. 22, 1737), 'I have no other thoughts but of returning to America. My heart's desire is that the Indians may hear the gospel. For this I pray both night and day.' But his return was not to be; his own countrymen needed him. He arrived in London in July, saw Charles Wesley (July 30), was at his own house in Ossett in Sept., and commenced in that part of Yorkshire a ministry of remarkable power and usefulness. His after-history is interwoven with the Evangelical Revival. The Inghamite societies still surviving are not, as some have supposed, 'off-shoots' of Methodism.

<sup>2</sup> The official title of the Society was *The Associates of the late Dr. Bray for instructing the Negroes of the British*

*Plantations*. Dr. Thomas Bray (born 1656, died 1730) was Commissary of Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, for organizing the English Church in Maryland, and one of the founders of the S.P.G. He raised a fund for the distribution of small parochial libraries at home, and especially on the plantations. Whitehead, in his *Life of John Wesley*, gives a full account of Dr. Bray, whose work for the colonies, for prisoners, and for foreign missions was one of the remarkable facts in the religious history of the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Its influence on Wesley and early Methodism, especially in relation to popular Christian literature, was considerable. The Journal of the Trustees (Record Office) shows the importance attached to Dr. Bray's work.



latter end of last year. It is expected of the ministers who receive these to send an account to their benefactors of the method they use in catechizing the children and instructing the youth of their respective parishes. That part of the letter was as follows<sup>1</sup>:

Our general method is this: A young gentleman,<sup>2</sup> who came with me, teaches between thirty and forty children to read, write, and cast accounts. Before school in the morning, and after school in the afternoon, he catechizes the lowest class, and endeavours to fix something of what was said in their understandings as well as their memories. In the evening he instructs the larger children. On Saturday, in the afternoon, I catechize them all. The same I do on Sunday, before the evening service. And in the church, immediately after the Second Lesson, a select number of them having repeated the Catechism, and been examined in some part of it, I endeavour to explain at large, and to enforce that part, both on them and the congregation.

Some time after the evening service, as many of my parishioners as desire it meet at my house (as they do also on Wednesday evening), and spend about an hour in prayer, singing, and mutual exhortation. A smaller number (mostly those who design to communicate the next day) meet here on Saturday evening; and a few of these come to me on the other evenings, and pass half an hour in the same employment.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Diary shows that the society-meetings were much more numerous than Wesley states in the account which he gives to Dr. Bray's Associates of the parochial work of Savannah.

<sup>2</sup> The 'young gentleman' was Delamotte, whose charges were included in Wesley's £44 drawn from the Trustees. The S.P.G. sent out schoolmasters as well as clergymen. There is no evidence that Delamotte was maintained as the educational agent of the Society in Georgia; but it is clear from this letter that he acted as such, and that Wesley reported his work to the Associates, who practically were a department of the S.P.G. (See below, p. 353.)

<sup>3</sup> In the Colman Collection there is a letter in Delamotte's handwriting, which, though belonging to a period a few months later, will be of service in this connexion, because it reveals Delamotte's personality, and shows how desperate

were the attempts to destroy the advanced religious life of Methodism in Georgia. The meetings for fellowship and religious instruction were the especial objects of malicious slander. There were the strongest reasons of self-interest accounting for the unscrupulous attacks made upon the Methodists. Negro slavery, white slavery, rum-drinking, and promiscuous dancing were opposed by the Wesleys and their friends. Delamotte's letter in the Appendix is abridged. It was necessary that Wesley should know exactly what were the lies told about the members of society, so that he might defend them before the Trustees and the public. The lie in detail cannot be printed. It must be remembered that those attacked were children of the State, and were in part maintained by Government grants and public subscription. App. XX. vol. vi. (See Minutes and Correspondence of the Trustees.)

[When, on *Thursday* the 24th, I mentioned to Miss Sophy that either Mr. Ingham or I must go to England, she fixed her eyes upon me all the time I spoke, changed colour several times, and then broke out, 'What, are you going to England? Then I have no tie to America left.' Mrs. Causton said, 'Indeed I think I must go too. Phiky, will you go with me?' Miss Sophy answered, 'Yes, with all my heart.' Mrs. Causton added, 'Last night you said you would not.' She said, 'True; but now all the world is alike to me.'

[Walking home with her from my house in the evening, I asked her, 'Miss Sophy, what did you mean this afternoon by saying if I went to England, you had no tie to America left? She answered with tears, 'You are the best friend I ever had in the world. You showed yourself a friend indeed at a time when no one else would have afforded me any more than common pity.' I said, 'You would hardly confess this if the Trustees should be set against me, and take away all I have here.' She replied with much earnestness, 'Indeed I would; and you or your friends can never want while I have anything.'

[Calling at Mrs. Causton's (*Saturday* 26th), she was there alone. This was indeed an hour of trial. Her words, her eyes, her air, her every motion and gesture, were full of such a softness and sweetness! I know not what might have been the consequence had I then but touched her hand. And how I avoided it I know not. Surely God is over all!

[*Sun.* 27.—After all the company but Miss Sophy was gone, Mr. Delamotte went out and left us alone again. Finding her still the same, my resolution failed. At the end of a very serious conversation, I took her by the hand, and, perceiving she was not displeased, I was so utterly disarmed, that that hour I should have engaged myself for life, had it not been for the full persuasion I had of her entire sincerity, and in consequence of which I doubted not but she was resolved (as she had said) 'never to marry while she lived.'

[A moment's reflection when she was gone convinced me that I had done foolishly. And I once more resolved by God's help to be more wary for the future. Accordingly, though I

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*Sun.* 27.—This morning he married Mr. Neale and Mrs. Amatus. In the evening he conversed with Captain Hermsdorf 'of the Germans.'

saw her every day in the following week, I touched her not. Yet on Thursday evening (March 3), after we came from her, Mr. Delamotte was deeply concerned. I had never seen him in such uneasiness before. He said, with many tears, 'He found we must part, for he could not live in that house when

*Mon. 28.*—After morning prayers he 'read Resolutions,' no doubt to fortify himself in this time of severe temptation. He then 'writ one,' i.e. a new resolution; or it might mean that he signed his name to the resolutions already written, thus reaffirming them. These probably are the brief series, a copy of which is transcribed (partly in shorthand) on a spare page in the second Georgia Diary.

Dec. 19. 1736.

In the Name of God.

1. To be more watchful, before and in prayer.
2. To strive more to be thankful in eating.
3. Not to touch even her clothes by choice: think not of her.
4. Every hour, Have I prayed quite sincerely? Pray that you may, watch, strive.
5. Look into no book but the Bible till Christmas.
6. From 12 to 4 o'clock, prayer, meditation, or parish, no writing or reading.
7. At Miss Bovey's, start up the moment you end the paragraph. No word afterward.
8. Speak no untended or unintended word.<sup>1</sup>
  - 8 *The Lurid Logic.*
  - 9, 11 *Logic.*
  - 12 Walked, meditated, sung.
  - 1 *Drest, Fleury.*

The rest of the day passes in rigid attention to the routine of his office.

*MARCH 1, Tues.*—Greek Testament, Hebrew, and German occupied most of the morning. There is again no mention of dinner. In the afternoon he walked with Miss Bovey to Miss Sophy's Acre Lot, where he gave lessons in French and Logic.

8 *The Hero*, read examinations.

9 Mr Causton's, conversed, Boltzius there.

*Wed. 2.*—With the exception of coffee at six in the morning and tea at three in the afternoon, the day was kept as a strict Lenten fast. Its hours were given chiefly to German.

*Thur. 3.*—He wrote to Laserre, of Charlestown, and to the Bishop of London. In the dinner hour he walked, and read Wake's *Epistles*.

5 Williamson, tea together.

6 Together,  $\frac{1}{2}$  at home, meditated, German.

7 Conversed with Telchig,  $\frac{1}{2}$  Prayers.

8 Miss Bovey et cetera, read Tilley's Sermon, prayer, sung. Diary.

9 Talk with Delamotte of Miss Sophy, he sad; private prayer.

<sup>1</sup> This is not a corrected sentence, but a remarkable example of Wesley's sententious phrasing. He means—no careless

unwatched word, and no insincere word: a fine exposition of the 'idle word.'



I was married to Miss Sophy.' I told him, 'I had no intention to marry her.' He said, 'I did not know my own heart; but he saw clearly it would come to that very soon, unless I broke off all intercourse with her.' I told him, 'This was a point of great importance, and therefore not to be determined suddenly.' He said, 'I ought to determine as soon as possible; for I was losing ground daily.' I felt what he said to be true, and therefore easily consented to set aside the next day for that purpose.

MARCH 4, *Fri.*—[Having both of us sought God by deep consideration, fasting, and prayer, in the afternoon we conferred together, but could not come to any decision. We both apprehended Mr. Ingham's objection to be the strongest, the doubt whether she was what she appeared. But this doubt was too hard for us to solve. At length we agreed to appeal to the Searcher of hearts. I accordingly made three lots. In one was writ 'Marry'; in the second, 'Think not of it this year.' After we had prayed to God to 'give a perfect lot,' Mr. Delamotte drew the third, in which were these words, 'Think of it no more.' Instead of the agony I had reason to expect, I was enabled to say cheerfully, 'Thy will be done.' We cast lots once again to know whether I ought to converse with her any more; and the direction I received from God was, 'Only in presence of Mr. Delamotte.'<sup>1</sup>

[I saw and adored the goodness of God, though what He required of me was a costly sacrifice. It was indeed the giving up at once whatever this world affords of agreeable—not only honour, fortune, power (which indeed were nothing to me, who despised them as the clay in the streets), but all the truly desirable conveniences of life—a pleasant house, a delightful

*Fri.* 4.—Mr. Lacy, of Thunderbolt, present at morning prayers. They conversed. After half an hour's conversation in the garden Wesley wrote to the Trustees. 'He (Lacy) quite melted.'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Conversed with Delamotte of Miss Sophy,  $\frac{1}{2}$  writ words, private prayer.

<sup>5</sup> Private prayer, 20, prayer with Delamotte, lots, prayer, talk of it no more.

<sup>6</sup> Sung with boys; Germans, sung, et cetera, conversed.

<sup>1</sup> On Wesley's practice of sortilege, learnt from devout Moravians, see Tyerman's *Whitefield*, vol. i. p. 11. Illustrations abound in the devotional letters

and diaries of the times.

<sup>2</sup> It may have been during this visit that Mr. Lacy told Wesley the story of David Jones. See p. 344.

garden, on the brow of a hill at a small distance from the town; another house and garden in the town; and a third a few miles off, with a large tract of fruitful land adjoining to it.<sup>1</sup> And above all, what to me made all things else vile and utterly beneath a thought, such a companion as I never expected to find again, should I live one thousand years twice told. So that I could not but cry out: *O Lord God, Thou God of my fathers, plenteous in mercy and truth, behold I give Thee, not thousands of rams or ten thousands of rivers of oil, but the desire of my eyes, the joy of my heart, the one thing upon earth which I longed for! O give me Wisdom, which sitteth by Thy throne, and reject me not from among Thy children!*]

To-day I writ to the Trustees<sup>2</sup> an account of our year's expenses, from March 1, 1736, to March 1, 1737; which, deducting extraordinary expenses such as repairing the parsonage house, and journeys to Frederica, amounted, for Mr. Delamotte and me, to £44 4s. 4d.<sup>3</sup> [At the same time I accepted of the £50 a year sent by the Society for my maintenance; which indeed was in a manner forced upon me, contrary both to expectation and desire.]

Sat. 5.—From six to eleven he read Wake, then visited and catechized. At 12.30 he dined—the first dinner for six days. He went to the Lot and gave a lesson in logic; Mellichamp came. After prayers Mr. How's class met. They read, sang, prayed.

<sup>1</sup> Miss Sophy possessed property in her own right. Her 'lot' is frequently referred to. She had assured Wesley that, as long as she had means, neither he nor any of his friends should want. She was also heiress (presumptive) to the Caustons, who held an estate, or lot, at Hogstead, a few miles from Savannah, and also a large town house.

<sup>2</sup> The Trustees for Georgia numbered twenty-one. Men of high rank and spotless integrity were enrolled. Their duties were to appoint officers, regulate the concerns of the colony, and collect subscriptions for fitting out the colonists and supporting them until they could clear the land and earn their own livelihood. The Trust was straitened (*Gent.'s Mag.* 1739, p. 23); nevertheless,

whilst the Bishop of London complained of the cost of the Mission, the Trustees did not. Wesley received, reluctantly and under protest, £50 from the S.P.G., and £20 for outfit. In his letter to the Trustees, Wesley refers to one who has charged him with embezzling the goods of the Trustees, and demands the name of his accuser. In their reply (June 15, 1737), they state that they had never heard of such a charge, nor do they entertain the slightest suspicion. In the national charges for 1744 is included the item: 'Extraordinary charges in Georgia from Sept. 1738, to Sept. 29, 1743, £66, 109 13s. 10d.'

<sup>3</sup> In the Georgia papers (Record Office, C.O. 5, 639, No. 75) is the original letter. See p. 398, and App. XXI. vol. vi.

From the directions I received from God this day touching an affair of the greatest importance, I could not but observe, as I had done many times before, the entire mistake of those who assert, 'God will not answer your prayer, unless your heart be wholly resigned to His will.' My heart was not wholly resigned to His will. Therefore, not daring to depend on my own judgement, I cried the more earnestly to Him to supply what was wanting in me. And I know, and am assured, He heard my voice, and did send forth His light and His truth.

[*Mon. 7.*—Mr. Causton asked me to ride with him to his plantation, four miles from Savannah. I was quite struck with the pleasantness of the situation: the hill, the river, the woods, were delightful, and shot a softness into my soul which had not left me when at our return he asked me to drink a dish of tea at his house. Soon after I came in, Miss Sophy went out, and walked to and fro between the door and the garden. I saw she wanted to speak to me, but remembered my resolutions, especially that to converse with her only in Mr. Delamotte's presence. Yet after a short struggle, the evil soul prevailed in me, and I went. Immediately she caught hold of both my hands, and with the most engaging gesture, look, and tone of voice said, 'You never denied me anything that I desired yet, and you shall not deny me what I desire now.' I said, 'Miss Sophy, I will not; what is it?' She answered, 'Don't say anything to her that offered me the letter the other day. My refusing it has given her pain enough already.' I replied, 'I will not. And if you had told me of it before, I would not have told your

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*Sun. 6.*—The day was as usual. In the evening he wrote to Hird, Mr. Weston, and Mr. Robinson, of Frederica; also to Mr. Causton.

*Mon. 7.*—This morning he went with Mr. Causton to the 'Five-Hundred-Acre Lot,' where they cut trees and felled.

This must have been the estate to which Causton retired after his deposition from office as store-keeper and chief magistrate.

12 Walked with him, good time.

1 He blessed, Delamotte came, dinner.

2 Walked, he directed the workmen.

3 Walked.

4 Set out. Lost.

5 Walked.

6 At Mr Causton's, within, with Miss Sophy.



uncle of it, as Mr. Williamson did.' She said, 'Did he? Well, I find what you have often said is true. There is no trusting any but a Christian. And for my part, I am resolved never to trust any one again who is not so.' I looked upon her, and should have said too much had we had a moment longer. But in the instant Mr. Causton called us in. So I was once more 'snatched as a brand out of the fire.'<sup>1</sup>

[*Tues. 8.*—Miss Sophy and Mr. Delamotte breakfasting with me, I asked her what she now thought of Mr. Mellichamp. She said, 'I thank God I have entirely conquered that inclination.' After some serious conversation interposed, I said, 'I hear Mr. Williamson pays his addresses to you. Is it true?' She said, after a little pause, 'If it were not I would have told you so.' I asked, 'How do you like him?' She replied, 'I don't know; there is a great deal in being in the house with one. But I have no inclination for him.' I said, 'Miss Sophy, if you ever deceive me, I shall scarce ever believe any one again.' She looked up at me and answered with a smile, 'You will never have that reason for distrusting any one; I shall never deceive you.' When she was going away, she turned back and said, 'Of one thing, sir, be assured: I will never take any step in anything of importance without first consulting you.'

[She went, and I saw myself in the toils. But how to escape I saw not. If I continued to converse with her, though not alone, I found I should love her more and more. And

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*Tues. 8.*—Miss Sophy came to prayers, remained to breakfast, and heard Wesley read Wake and Clemens. After a visit to Mr. Montagu's, he spent many hours in writing 'the Psalm.' There is nothing to indicate which was the psalm he wrote, or sang, except the fact that it was the eighth morning of the month. He enters brief and not very intelligible remarks on the Diary page: 'That not worthy of her!' 'She [Mrs. Causton] very angry at Miss Sophy; read letter from me.' The final entry on the page is:

II Miss Sophy engaged. Alas!

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<sup>1</sup> From his childhood, schooled by his mother and afterwards by a mysterious Providence, Wesley believed himself to be, in more senses than one, 'a brand snatched out of the fire.' This was the prophetic word inscribed on the MS. he

transcribed in Oxford (March 9, 1738), and it appears as a legend, together with a drawing of a burning house, on one of the engraved portraits published during his life. (See *Weise MSS.* in the Wesleyan Conference Office.)

the time to break it off was past. I felt it was now beyond my strength. My resolutions indeed remained. But how long? Yet a little longer, till another shock of temptation, and then I well knew they would break in sunder as a thread of tow that has touched the fire. I had many times prayed that if it was best our intercourse should break off, and that if I could not do it she might. But this too I saw less and less reason to expect. So that all these things were against me, and I lay struggling in the net; nay, scarcely struggling, as even fearing to be delivered.

[After evening prayers, Miss Bovey came (as usual) to my house, with Miss Sophy, who was in the utmost consternation. She begged me to go and pacify her aunt. I went and found Mrs. Causton in great disorder, with an open letter in her hand, which she gave me to read, telling me she had just intercepted it. It was writ by Mr. Mellichamp to Miss Sophy. I told her I hoped things were not so ill as she apprehended; and when she was a little more composed, I went at her desire to make some further inquiries. In half an hour I returned and found Mrs. Causton chiding Miss Sophy very sharply. Some of her expressions were, 'Get you out of my house; I will be plagued with ye no longer.' And turning to me she said, 'Mr. Wesley, I wish you would take her; take her away with ye.' I said, 'Miss Sophy is welcome to my house, or anything that I have.' Miss Sophy answered only with tears. About ten I went home, though with such an unwillingness and heaviness as I had scarce ever felt before.

[Wed. 9.—About ten I called on Mrs. Causton. She said, 'Sir, Mr. Causton and I are exceedingly obliged to you for all the pains you have taken about Sophy. And so is Sophy too; and she desires you would publish the banns of marriage between her and Mr. Williamson on Sunday.' She added, 'Sir, you don't seem to be well pleased. Have you any objection to it?' I answered, 'Madam, I don't seem to be awake. Surely I am in a dream.' She said, 'They agreed on it last night between themselves after you was gone. And afterwards Mr. Williamson asked Mr. Causton's and my consent, which we gave him; but if you have any objection to it, pray speak. Speak to her. She is at the Lot. Go to her. She will be very glad to hear any-

thing Mr. Wesley has to say. Pray go to her and talk to her yourself.' I said, 'No, madam; if Miss Sophy is engaged, I have nothing to say. It will not signify for me to see her any more.' I then offered to (leave); but she pressed me to stay, at least till the rain was over. The burden of her conversation was still, 'Why are you uneasy?' and 'Go and talk with her yourself.'

[I doubted whether all this were not artifice, merely designed to quicken me. But though I was uneasy at the very thought of her marrying one who, I believed, would make her very unhappy, yet I could not resolve to save her from him by marrying her myself. Besides, I reasoned thus, 'Either she is engaged or not; if she is, I would not have her if I might: if not, there is nothing in this show<sup>1</sup> which ought to alter my preceding resolution.'

[Thus was I saved purely by my ignorance; for though I did doubt, I would not believe. I thought it unkind and unjust to believe an artifice of which I had not full proof. Oh, let no one ever fear the being lost by thinking no evil! Had I known the snare, I had perished thereby. All the world could not have saved me. Had I then seen the real case to be this—'She is engaged, but conditionally only. Mr. Williamson shall marry

*Wed. 9.*—The page (see opposite) reveals Wesley's distress. He always regarded this as one of the most sorrowful days of his life. The following is the transliteration:

- 4 Private prayer, prayer, diary,  $\frac{3}{4}$  private prayer.
- 5 Meditation, Prayers.
- 6 Coffee, conversed,  $\frac{1}{2}$  Clement.
- 7 Within with Mrs. Ann,  $\frac{3}{4}$  with Mrs. Bush.
- 8 Within,  $\frac{1}{2}$  Clement.
- 9 Clement  $1\frac{3}{4}$  logic.
- 10 Mrs Causton's, in talk with her. Miss Sophy to be married; meditation.
- 12 At the Lot, within with her, quite distressed!
- 1 Within. Confounded!
- 2 Took leave of her,  $\frac{1}{2}$  at home. Could not pray!
- 3 Tried to pray, lost, sunk!
- 4 Bread, conversed with Delamotte. Little better!
- 5 Mr Causton came, in talk, tea.
- 6 Kempis; Germans. Easier!
- 7 Prayers.
- 8 Miss Sophy et cetera,  $\frac{1}{2}$  within with her,  $\frac{3}{4}$  with Delamotte, prayer.  
No such day since I first saw the sun!  
O deal tenderly with Thy servant!  
Let me not see such another!

<sup>1</sup> The word thus used is found in Shakespeare, Milton, Addison, &c.







her, if you will not'—I could not have stood that shock. I should have incurred any loss rather than she should have run that hazard, of losing both her body and soul in hell.<sup>1</sup>

[From Mrs. Causton I went home full of perplexity. After some time spent in prayer, I desired Mr. Delamotte to go to the Lot, and ask if my company would be agreeable. In the meantime, seeing nothing but clouds before me, I had recourse to the oracles of God. I received two answers. The first was, 'Blessed be thou of the Lord, my daughter; for thou hast showed more kindness at the latter end than at the beginning.' The other (which was part of the Morning Lesson on Saturday, August 27, following the Court-day on which I expected my trial) was in these words: 'If I be an offender or have committed anything worthy of death, I refuse not to die. But if there be none of these things whereof they accuse me, no man may deliver me unto them.'

[Soon after Mr. Delamotte came back I went. Mr. Williamson and she were together. She began with her usual sweetness, 'Why would you put yourself to the trouble of sending? What need of that ceremony between us? You know your company is always welcome to me.' Then silence ensued, which Mr. Williamson broke thus: 'I suppose, sir, you know what was agreed on last night between Miss Sophy and me.' I answered, 'I have heard something; but I could not believe it, unless I should hear it from Miss Sophy herself.' She replied, 'Sir, I have given Mr. Williamson my consent—unless you have anything to object.' It started into my mind, 'What if she means, unless you will marry me?' But I checked the thought with, 'Miss Sophy is so sincere: if she meant so, she would say so'; and replied, 'If you have given your consent, the time is past; I have nothing to object.' Mr. Williamson desired me, if I had, to speak, and then left her and me together. 'Tis hard to

<sup>1</sup> Two things are clear: (1) the Caustons and Miss Sophy desired a perfectly regular marriage, after banns were duly published, and in their own church at Savannah. The hasty marriage within four days of the engagement, at Purrysburg, without banns, and by a notorious violator of law and usage, was practically forced. The girl (she was not

nineteen) was terrified by a designing, unscrupulous man, just as, a little while before, she had been nearly frightened, by threats of murder, into a marriage with Mellichamp, who was also a scoundrel. (2) Williamson was a man of no character. He had everything to gain by a marriage with Causton's niece. The result justified Wesley's apprehensions,



describe the complication of passions and tumult of thought which I then felt: fear of her approaching misery, and tender pity; grief for my own loss; love shooting through all the recesses of my soul, and sharpening every thought and passion. Underneath there was a faint desire to do and suffer the will of God, which, joined to a doubt whether that proposal would be accepted, was just strong enough to prevent my saying plainly (what I wonder to this hour I did not say), 'Miss Sophy, will you marry me?' As soon as I could speak, I reminded her of her resolution, 'If she married at all, to marry none but a religious man,' and desired her to consider whether Mr. Williamson was such. She said, 'She had no proof to the contrary.' I told her, 'That was not enough. Before she staked so much upon it, she ought to have full, positive proof that he was religious.' She said again, 'I no otherwise consented, than if you had nothing to object.' Little more was said, tears in both supplying the place of words. More than an hour was spent thus. About two Mr. Williamson came again. I think it was just as he came she said, 'I hope I shall always have your friendship.' I answered, 'I can still be your friend, though I should not stay in America.' She said, 'But I hope you won't leave us.' I said, 'I can't at all judge how God will dispose of me.' She added, 'However, you will let me have your correspondence?' I replied, 'I doubt it cannot be.' I then exhorted them both to 'assist each other in serving God with all their strength'; and her in particular 'to remember the many instructions and advices I had given her.' I kissed them both, and took my leave of her as one I was to see no more.

[I came home and went into my garden. I walked up and down, seeking rest but finding none. From the beginning of my life to this hour I had not known one such as this. God let loose my inordinate affection upon me, and the poison thereof drank up my spirit. I was as stupid as if half awake, and yet in the sharpest pain I ever felt. To see her no more: that thought was as the piercings of a sword; it was not to be borne, nor shaken off. I was weary of the world, of light, of life. Yet one way remained, to seek to God—a very present help in time of trouble. And I did seek after God, but I found

Him not. I forsook Him before : now He forsook me. I could not pray. Then indeed the snares of death were about me ; the pains of hell overtook me. Yet I struggled for life ; and though I had neither words nor thoughts, I lifted up my eyes to the Prince that is highly exalted, and supplied the place of them as I could : and about four o'clock He so far took the cup from me that I drank so deeply of it no more.

[Soon after I writ a note to Mr. Causton,<sup>1</sup> who came to me about five o'clock and told me, 'I don't approve of this match. Mr. Williamson asked my consent this morning ; but I have neither denied nor given it. Indeed I have often promised Sophy, so she would not have Mellichamp, she should have whom she would beside. But what passed between her and you at the Lot?' I told him without any disguise. He said, 'If you loved her, how could you possibly be so overseen as not to press her when she was so much moved?' He added, 'I will tell her my thoughts of it once more, and, if you please, so may you. But if she is not then convinced I must leave her to herself.'

[Had he then said plainly, 'If you please, you may have her still ; but if you won't, another will,' I know not what might have been the event ; or had Mr. Delamotte left us alone, when she came to my house after evening prayers. Mr. Williamson begged her not to stay after the rest of the company. But she did very readily. He walked to and fro on the outside of the house, with all the signs of strong uneasiness. I told her, 'Miss Sophy, you said yesterday you would take no steps in anything of importance without first consulting me.' She answered earnestly and many times over, 'Why, what could I do? I can't

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<sup>1</sup> Assuming Causton to have been the contemptible rogue described by Tyerman and others, it must nevertheless be confessed that he was not without foresight and insight. It was to his interest to stand well with the Trustees and Oglethorpe and the S.P.G., and therefore with the Wesleys and their friends. He evidently admired Wesley, both trusting and fearing him. There is every reason to believe that he sincerely desired to see him married to Miss Sophy. In

judging of Causton at this time, we should not forget that the enemies who so grossly slandered Wesley were the persons on whom we depend ultimately for the information that blackened Causton's character. That he played the tyrant in prosecuting Wesley there can be no doubt ; nor can he be exonerated from deceit and fraud : but all else against him comes, let it be remembered, through tainted sources (see Journal of Trustees, Record Office).

live in that house. I can't bear these shocks. This is quite a sudden thing. I have no particular inclination for Mr. Williamson. I only promised if no objection appeared. But what can I do?' Mr. Williamson, coming in abruptly, took her away, and put a short end to our conversation.

[However, in the morning<sup>1</sup> I called once more at Mr. Causton's and desired to speak with her. Mr. Williamson told me, 'Sir, you shall speak with her no more till we are married. You can persuade her to anything. After you went from the Lot yesterday, she would neither eat nor drink for two hours; but was crying continually, and in such an agony she was fit for nothing.' I said, 'To-morrow, sir, you may be her director, but to-day she is to direct herself.' I desired a piece of paper and writ these words, 'Miss Sophy, will you see me or not?' Mr. Causton bade Mrs. Causton carry it up, and Miss Sophy immediately came down. We went into the garden and I asked, 'Are you fully determined?' She said, 'I am.' I replied, 'Take care you act upon a right motive. The desire of avoiding crosses is not so. Beside, you can't avoid them. They will follow and overtake you in every state.' Mr. Williamson then coming to us, I advised them to have the banns regularly published, exhorted them to love and serve God, told them they might always depend on my friendship and assistance, and went home easy and satisfied.

[In the afternoon Mr. Delamotte and I went to the Lot, where I read them Bishop Hall's *Meditation on Heaven*; during which Miss Sophy fixed her eyes on Mr. Williamson and me alternately for above half an hour, with as steady an observation as if she had been drawing our pictures. Mr. Williamson afterwards told me, 'He should always be glad of my advice, and hoped I would still favour them with my conversation, which he should look upon as a particular happiness both to her and him.' I answered, 'I hope we shall all be happy in the place we have been reading of.' Of which indeed I had so strong a persuasion that I returned rejoicing and wondering at

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*Thur.* 10.—The Diary page adds nothing of importance to the narrative.

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<sup>1</sup> Thursday, March 10, 1737.



myself. The next morning<sup>1</sup> she set out for Purrysburg, and on Saturday, March 12, 1737, was married there; this being the day which completed the year from my first speaking to her!

[Transcribed, March 12, 1738.]

*Fri. 11.*—He began the day with prayer and singing. 'Pain.' He read prayers, drank coffee twice, conversed with Mr. How and Mr. Causton, and found some relief in the 'German Dictionary' which he was compiling. 'Light came!' At ten he had 'much more pain.' At eleven, in 'much pain,' he began Job, and was 'easier.' Instead of dinner he read Kempis and talked to his boys. His old friend Mr. Brownfield, who had been his comrade in so many anxieties, came, and remained some time. He found help among the Germans, with whom he spent the evening, talking to them 'of Miss Sophy,' who by this time was in Purrysburg with Miss Bovey.

*Sat. 12.*—He was still in 'much pain,' and seems to have feared (or hoped) that his days were numbered, for he wrote his will. 'To-day Miss Bovey and Miss Sophy were married at Purrysburg!!!'<sup>2</sup>

*Sun. 13.*—At three in the morning Mr. and Mrs. Burnside and Mr. and Mrs. Williamson returned from Purrysburg. At early morning prayers forty were present, among them 'Miss Sophy.' At the public worship and sermon sixty were present, but neither of the bridal parties. 'Miss Sophy,' however, came as usual with her small company for the after-

<sup>1</sup> Friday, March 11.

<sup>2</sup> A question arises as to the strict legality of Miss Sophy's marriage. On Wednesday, March 9, Mrs. Causton asked him, on behalf of her niece, 'to publish the banns of marriage between her and Mr. Williamson on Sunday.' On Saturday, March 12, before banns could be published, they were married at Purrysburg. In the subsequent pages of the Diary Miss Bovey is always called by her married name—'Mrs. Burnside'; but Miss Hopkey is always 'Miss Sophy,' and rarely, if ever, 'Mrs. Williamson.' In the Journal, however, and apparently in all public references to her, she is 'Mrs. Williamson.' To himself he refused to admit the absolute validity of the marriage. He protested, and rightly, against the carelessness and illegality of the Purrysburg minister's proceedings. We shall hereafter find that his appeal to the Bishop of London's Commissary bore fruit, and for the future marriages without banns were forbidden. Miss Bovey's

marriage was deliberate, and probably after due publication of banns in the church at Purrysburg. Burnside and his affianced bride did not ask Wesley to marry them, probably because, for some unknown reason, he did not altogether approve of the marriage. They were both his friends, and he had a great regard for them; but he thought their marriage imprudent, perhaps premature. Still, it was perfectly regular. Miss Sophy's was hurried. Engaged on Tuesday night, the 8th, they were married on Saturday, the 12th, in the teeth of Wesley's entreaty that they would put up the banns in due and legal form. Wesley's insistence on the proper formalities may have irritated many, but of course it was right, and in the interests of the women and their unborn children.

It was on this day, twelve months later, that Wesley, in his own rooms at Lincoln College, transcribed the 'Account of Miss Sophy' here printed for the first time (see Weise MSS. in W.M. Conf. Office).

[*Tues.* 15.—I invited Mr. Williamson to my house, whom I was surprised to find exceedingly angry. He told me (among many other warm things) that I hated both him and his wife; that he had looked upon her as his wife for above six weeks; that she herself had not only declared she would never come within my house, but begged of him not to do it, nay, not to go out alone, for she believed if Mr. Delamotte or I caught him we should murder him. I desired to talk with her myself; but he said, 'She would never consent to it.' So we parted as we met.

[*Sat.* 19.—He told me, 'I should talk with her if I would.' Accordingly in the evening I met her at Mrs. Burnside's. Only we three were present. I taxed her with insincerity before and ingratitude since her marriage. As to the first she said, 'I was never insincere to you. On the noon of that day when the letter was taken, I told Mr. Williamson

noon class. At the close of afternoon prayers Wesley conversed with his friend Mr. Burnside. He also met Mr. How's class in the usual manner, catechized the children, walked with Delamotte, visited the Germans, and had a conversation with Hermsdorf. All day until night-fall he suffered pain. Fleury's *Manners of the Ancient Christians* was with him in all his preparation for a trying service. He again read Job.

*Mon.* 14.—He awoke at four, easier of his pain. At nine he had a conversation with Mrs. Burnside. The day as usual. 'Miss Sophy' appeared at evening prayers. The marked distinction between *Mrs.* B. and *Miss* S. is preserved in the Diary henceforth. His reading to-day was *Kempis*, Greek Testament, and Pope's *Epistles*.

*Tues.* 15.—He notes that at prayers neither Miss Sophy nor her husband was present. The interview with Williamson took place at five in the parsonage garden. He wrote to Mr. Kimberley and the Bishop of London; also read an account of the Danish Mission.

*Wed.* 16.—He wrote to Mrs. Burnside, with whom the former friendly relations are resumed, except that for a while the French lessons are discontinued.

*Thur.* 17.—He returns to his work on 'hymns,' 'transcribing'; also the Mission, the account of which he had read, and seems now, after his manner, to be condensing for Mr. Burnside. The Creek Indians again engaged his attention; he visited the Cowpen, which was near one of their settlements. Returning home he read prayers, fifty being present, and afterwards read Worthington to Mr. and Mrs. Burnside.

*Fri.* 18.—He resumes the normal routine. After evening prayers Mr. Burnside's class meets in the usual manner.

*Sat.* 19.—It was after morning prayers that he conversed with Mr. Williamson, and in the evening with 'Miss Sophy' at Mrs. Burn-

I should be glad to serve him as a friend, but now resolved never to admit him as a lover.' After more to the same effect, she said, 'I own, I could not have denied you had you pressed me to marriage at any time when my temper was ruffled.' As to the second, she said, 'It was not you but Mr. Mellichamp's friends who, I feared, might hurt Mr. Williamson. Indeed, many instances of your anger and resentment have been related to me since my marriage, but I could hardly believe them. Nor could they ever provoke me to say anything disrespectful of you. The most I have ever said was, "Well, whatever he may say or do, now or hereafter, I will always own the man has been my friend and done me more service than any person living."'

[I believed what she said, and received her as a communicant the next day.

[*Sun. 20.*—The Communion ended, I spoke to her in the street, and exhorted her 'not to be weary of well-doing.' Before we parted she told me plainly, 'Mr. Williamson thinks it makes me uneasy, and therefore desires me to speak to you no more.'

side's. More important is the fact that during this day, at intervals, he worked on 'hymns' and 'made verses.'

7 Hymns.

9 Made Verse.

8 Hymns.

10 Verse.

11 Writ verse,  $\frac{1}{2}$  Mrs Woodruff's, within, Mrs Burnside's, within.

12 Dinner, in talk,  $\frac{3}{4}$  Verse.

1 Visited. They seemed affected.

2 Catechized,  $\frac{1}{2}$  Verse.

3 Verse.<sup>1</sup>

*Sun. 20.*—He notes that 'Miss Sophy' came to the Communion. Another line is important:

7  $\frac{1}{4}$  Mr Causton's, in talk, read Watts.

*Mon. 21.*—'Writ' to Mr. Kimberley. He spent some hours in writing to 'Miss Sophy.' He and Delamotte drank tea with Mrs. Burnside, afterwards walking with them to her lot.

*Tues. 22.*—This is also an important page, because it shows that the 'verses' he made were 'hymns,' and illustrates his manner of hymn-

<sup>1</sup> As soon as Wesley found an absorbing occupation, his mind, and even his hand, recovered tone and firmness. These hymns and verses were his salvation from despair, as they were destined to be

in the lives of his suffering followers. The handwriting is again beautiful, and the shorthand clear and free from mistakes. He always differentiates between translation and original composition.



*Thur.* 24.—About nine in the morning a fire broke out in the house of Mr. Robert Hows<sup>1</sup> [a tithing-man], which in less than an hour consumed it [and all that was in it, except two saws. The wind carried the flame from the neighbouring houses, so that it spread no farther]. The next day a collection was made for him in the town, and the generality of the people showed a surprising willingness to give a little out of their little for the relief of a necessity greater than their own. [Only one gentleman (so called by the courtesy of England)

writing (see opposite). The hymns were for use, therefore as made they were tested by singing.

- 8<sup>1</sup> Walked, verse, sung.
- 9 Made verse, sung.
- 10 Verse, sung.
- 11 Verse, writ them.
- 12 Writ them, drest,  $\frac{3}{4}$  visited.
- 1 Visited.
- 2 Visited,  $\frac{3}{4}$  transcribed.
- 3 Tea, conversed, 40 Logic.
- 4 Transcribed,  $\frac{3}{4}$  walked, sung.
- 5 Walked, sung, private prayer, Greek Testament.

*Wed.* 23.—He wrote 'verse' and the 'Account,' and at two in the afternoon gave Mr. Burnside a lesson in French. It is interesting to note that Mr. How's class, with its usual reading, singing, and prayer, met in the evening. The next day the class-leader's house was burnt down.

*Thur.* 24.—The hymns are introduced in the early-morning devotions with Delamotte. He tested them, first on himself, and then on his friend, before using them in pastoral visitation, in public worship, and in the classes. Whilst Mr. How's house<sup>2</sup> was burning Wesley was reading, walking, and making new verses. Hymns claimed his attention at intervals until the close of the day, when he met Mr. Burnside's class.

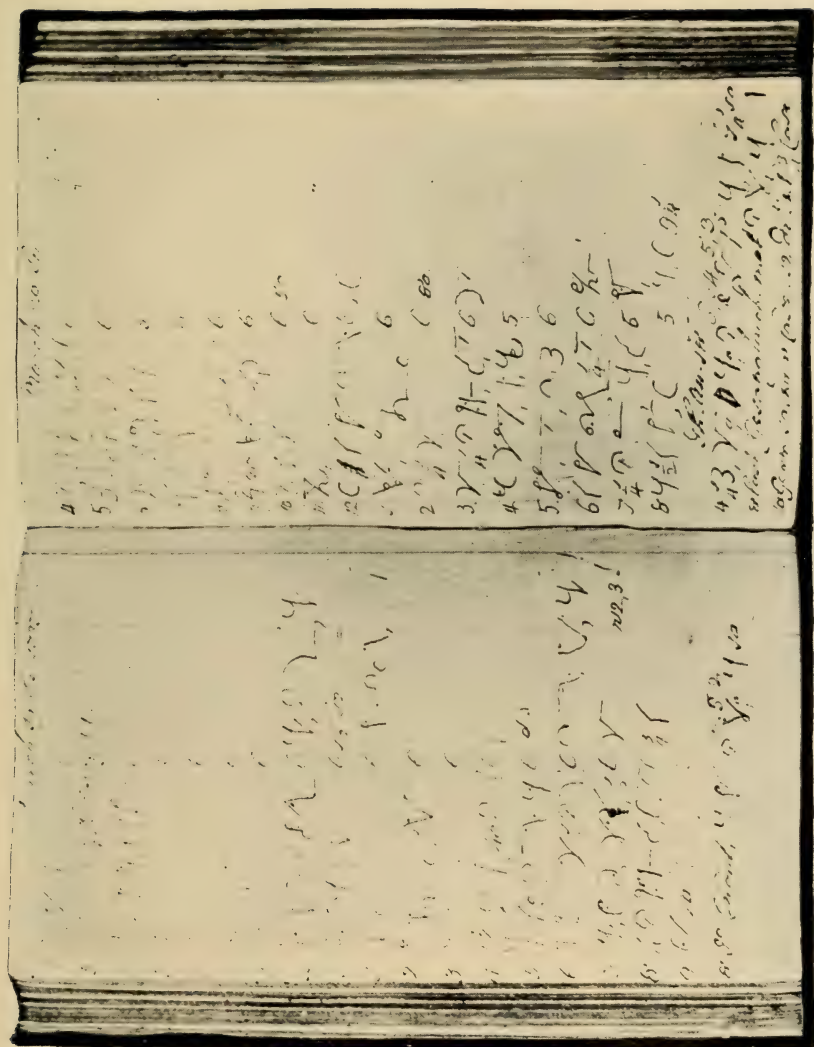
*Fri.* 25.—Most of this day was spent in making a collection for Mr. How. It was the Feast of the Annunciation, with Sermon and Communion. Wesley himself collected the money from house to house.

*Sat.* 26.—Hymns and the collection still occupied his attention. At eleven o'clock he read to Mrs. Burnside the 'Account of Miss Sophy.' Mr. How's class met in the evening. This Saturday class, as Wesley himself explains, was specially a preparation for Holy Communion. It was conducted like the other classes—with singing, reading, and prayer.

<sup>1</sup> In the Diary the name is always spelt 'How.' How was parish clerk under Mr. Quincy Wesley supported his application for assistance, and the Trustees agreed that the cost of rebuilding his house should be defrayed out of the 'Fund for religious uses.' Georgia

Correspondence, Record Office (App. XXII. vol. vi.).

<sup>2</sup> Charles Wesley describes the burning down of other houses. Each had a frame of timber, measuring 16 ft. by 24, its sides consisting of unplanned boards, its floor of rough deals, and its roof of shingles.







said, 'He thought the helping one another was giving a bad example, and therefore he would not be concerned in it.'

[*Thur.* 31.—At his own repeated desire, I visited one (Mr. Young) who had long sat in the seat of the scorner: I am not without hopes that one of that character will at length find the wisdom he seeks.

[*APRIL 1, Fri.*—Once a day from this time I visited a young gentleman<sup>1</sup> who, by a happy misfortune, had gained both leisure and inclination to think more deeply on Christianity than he had before done. Oh fair blossoms!

*Sun.* 27.—He married Patrick at eight o'clock, entertained afterwards at breakfast, and 'gave a Bible.' After dinner he wrote hymns in the garden, meditated, and then catechized. At 3.45 Mr. How's class or band<sup>2</sup> met. They read, prayed, sang, read, sang, conversed till half-past five, when they had tea and conversation.

*Mon.* 28.—He wrote to Mrs. Hutton, to James Hutton, to Mr. Macquin, and Bailey; to Mr. Wogan—a long letter; to Brother Samuel. This letter was probably the one in which he gave Samuel an account of the disastrous ending of his 'love affair.' In his reply Samuel says, 'I am sorry you are disappointed in one match, because you are very unlikely to find another.'

4 Visited.

5 Read hymns. 25 Greek Testament, sung.

6 Meditated, sung, Germans.

At eight o'clock he met Mrs. Vanderplank's class, to which he seems to have read Fleury's *Manners of the Ancient Christians*.

*Tues.* 29.—He was reading Fleury in the early morning when Mrs. Vanderplank joined the parsonage company at breakfast. From seven to eleven o'clock he was engaged in writing the famous letter to Mrs. Chapman on Christian Cheerfulness (App. XIX. vol. vi.).

*Wed.* 30.—He continued the transcription of the letter written on Tuesday. Wrote to the Society (S.P.G.); also to Sir Erasmus Phillips. These letters he transcribed. In the afternoon he resumed his French lesson with Mrs. Burnside, and Logic with her and Delamotte.

*Thur.* 31.—He wrote to the Trustees and 'for the People.' This was evidently a petition of considerable length and importance. He spent two hours in pastoral visitation.

*APRIL 1, Fri.*—He wrote to Mr. Horton, of Frederica, and to Mr. Hird. The 'young gentleman' whom he to-day began to visit was Mr. Grant. Usually he paid the visit in the early morning. Apparently

<sup>1</sup> See Delamotte's letter to Wesley, App. XX. vol. vi.

<sup>2</sup> It is Wesley himself who draws the distinction, more than once, between the wider week-day meeting and the more

select Sunday-afternoon meeting. Phraseology of a later date is used in these annotations, but only because no other words so aptly or so accurately describe their nature.

But who can tell whether any fruit will be brought to perfection?]

About this time Mr. Lacy, of Thunderbolt, called upon me; when, observing him to be in a deep sadness, I asked what was the reason of it. And a terrible one indeed he gave, in the relation following:<sup>1</sup>

In 1733 David Jones, a saddler, a middle-aged man, who had for some time before lived at Nottingham, being at Bristol, met a person there, who, after giving him some account of Georgia, asked whether he would go thither; adding, his trade (that of a saddler) was an exceeding good trade there, upon which he might live creditably and comfortably. He objected his want of money to pay his passage and buy some tools, which he should have need of. The gentleman (Capt. W.) told him he would supply him with that, and hire him a shop when he came to Georgia, wherein he might follow his business, and so repay him as it suited his convenience. Accordingly to Georgia they went; where, soon after his arrival, his master (as he now styled himself) sold him to Mr. Lacy, who set him to work with the rest of

the pastoral attention given to the man was, on this first visit, repeated to the wife or mother.

7 Visited Mr Grant, conversed, prayed; ditto Mrs.

He called at Causton's, and wrote to Mr. Weston, of Frederica, to whom he had married Miss Fosset. The day was kept as a strict Lenten fast. Coffee at six, bread at nine, tea at three. At eleven he conversed with W. W. (Williamson). He then read Kempis and spent an hour in private prayer for 'Miss Sophy' and others, and in conversation and prayer with the Burnside's.

1 Writ heads of divinity.

2 Mrs. Burnside's, within, French.

<sup>1</sup> The evidence is not sufficiently decisive to warrant the removal of this narrative to an earlier date, but the Diary indications point to Friday, March 4, as the day on which Mr. Lacy 'called' and gave Wesley an account of David Jones. It was in Bristol that Jones met 'Capt. W.' It is probable that this Captain W. was the notorious Captain Williams who owned a large plantation not far from the Cowpen, and was himself connected closely with Bristol. The Trustees forbade negro slavery. The planters urged the impossibility of profitable colonization except by forced labour. If they could not have negroes,

they would have compulsory white labour. This, as in the case of David Jones and Rachel Ure, was as cruel as negro slavery. Wesley denounced slavery, whether coloured or white, and was hated accordingly. Hence the famous Bristol affidavit, sworn by Captain Williams, which precipitated the publication of the Journal. Whitefield's popularity was not hindered by denunciations of slavery. He not only sympathized with the planters in their demand for coloured slave-labour, but himself owned slaves at the Bethesda Orphan House. The Trustees' notes and letters on slavery are instructive.

his servants in clearing land. He commonly appeared much more thoughtful than the rest, often stealing into the woods alone. He was now sent to do some work on an island three or four miles from Mr. Lacy's great plantation. Thence he desired the other servants to return without him, saying he would stay and kill a deer. This was on Saturday. On Monday they found him on the shore, with his gun by him, and the fore part of his head shot to pieces. In his pocket was a paper book; all the leaves thereof were fair, except one, on which ten or twelve verses were written, two of which were these (which I transcribed thence from his own handwriting):

Death could not a more sad retinue find;  
Sickness and pain before, and darkness all behind!

*Sun.* 3.—This and every day in this great and holy week we had a sermon and the Holy Communion, [and at least twelve communicants].

*Mon.* 4.—I began learning Spanish, in order to converse

*Sat.* 2.—Between four and five he read German and hymns. After prayers he saw Mr. Hunt, drank tea, and for more than an hour 'writ heads of divinity.' During his morning visit to Mr. Grant he read and prayed. The rest of the morning he wrote heads of divinity. After dinner he set out, praying privately all the way to Thunderbolt. The rest of the day's Diary is written in plain words, with but slight abbreviation.

2  $\frac{1}{2}$  Thunderbolt, within.

3 Coffee, within,  $\frac{3}{4}$  set out, private prayer.

4 Private prayer, made verse.

5 Conversed with Fitzwalter, 40, at home, on business.

6 Tea, Germans.

7 Read Prayers. Mr. How and company, read, sung. Transcribed verse for Miss Sophy.

8 Mr Causton's, he out, conversed with Miss Sophy, Mrs Causton, Mr Williamson, 10.

10 Could not sleep. 11 Mrs Brownfield came. Could not sleep. 12.

#### 'THE GREAT AND HOLY WEEK' (in Greek)

*Sun.* 3.—At four he awoke for private prayer, but slept till five, when he dressed and read prayers. At seven he wrote verse; he gave two hours to sermon preparation. In the evening, at Mr. Causton's, 'company came,' wasting the hours in talk until after supper, when Wesley succeeded in leading a serious conversation.

*Mon.* 4.—Mr. Finlay to early breakfast. He transcribed the Journal, prepared and preached a sermon, and administered Holy Communion.

5 Walked, Greek Testament, sung, meditated.

6 Sung with Delamotte, in talk with Dr Nunes,<sup>1</sup> Germans.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Nunes, a Spanish Jew, was engaged to give Wesley lessons in Spanish. He already had learned enough to read and translate the hymn, by an unknown Spanish mystic (possibly

Molinos) 'O God, my God, my all Thou art' (see p. 240). What he now 'began' to learn was how to preach and converse in Spanish.



with my Jewish parishioners; some of whom seem nearer the mind that was in Christ than many of those who call Him Lord.

[*Good Friday*, 8.—I had told Mr. and Mrs. Burnside God would expect at their hands the service which I could perform for her (Mrs. Williamson) no longer. And from this time to the 8th of April I conveyed by them the several advices she seemed to stand the most in need of; for which they had always thanks at least, and fair promises.

[Finding little effect from them, I spoke to her myself under Mr. Causton's shed. This was our third conversation since her marriage, and lasted near half an hour; but no private one, four or five persons being in the house within sight of us, and, if they pleased, hearing too. She professed large obligations to me: I exhorted her to fulfil all righteousness. And before we parted, in consequence of a conversation I had had with Mrs. Burnside concerning her, I gave her that much controverted advice, which, fairly represented, I will avow before all the world, 'In things of an indifferent nature you cannot be too obedient to your husband; but if his will should be contrary to the will of God, you are to obey God rather than man.' It may be observed that this day, of her own free choice, she fasted till the evening.

[*Sat.* 9.—After the Communion I spake to her again in the street to the same effect, which was our fourth conference. She now told me in so many words, 'Mr. Williamson is not unwilling I should talk with you because he thinks it makes

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*Tues.* 5.—He again worked on his Journal.

*Wed.* 6.—The days pass without breach of the routine—prayers, Journal, Grant, sermon, Communion, Spanish, one or another of the classes, hymns.

*Thur.* 7.—After the Communion he gave three hours to French and Spanish alone, taking his lesson from Dr. Nunes as usual.

*Good Friday*, 8.—This was a day of disturbance with reference to the Caustons, and on public grounds. After a conversation with 'Miss Sophy,' he asks, 'Is all well?' At one o'clock Mr. Causton sent for him, 'alarmed.' At four o'clock he was again at Mr. Causton's, making the following significant note: 'Captain Gray and Indians.' There was evidently some anxiety in the colony with reference to the Indians.

*Easter Eve*, *Sat.* 9.—After the Communion he had the conversation with 'Miss Sophy' to which he refers in the Journal. At the close of

me uneasy, but because he is afraid it would make me too strict.']

*Tues. 12.*—Being determined, if possible, to put a stop to the proceedings of one in Carolina, who had married several of my parishioners without either banns or licence, and declared he would do so still, I set out in a sloop for Charlestown.<sup>1</sup> [We passed the bar on Wednesday.] I landed there on Thursday, and related the case to Mr. Garden, [the minister of Charlestown and] the Bishop of London's Commissary, who assured me he would take care no such irregularity should be committed

the Spanish lesson he read Hicke's *Reformed Devotions* with Delamotte and had an interview with Rachel Ure, the doctor's daughter, whom he had rescued from slavery.

*Easter Sunday, 10.*—At eight Paustoobee came. In the evening, apparently in the German quarters, he had a talk with 'Agnes,' and afterwards wrote an account of her.

*Mon. 11.*—At six o'clock, whilst in talk with Mr. Causton, Tomochachi, &c., came. Later he had an interview with Töltschig and others.

*Tues. 12.*—Preparing for a journey to Charlestown, he packed, transacted business with a number of people, preached and administered the Communion, and at three o'clock embarked on the sloop. With a fair wind he set out. Several persons are named as fellow passengers.

5 Private prayer, singing.

6 Singing.

7½ Tybee Bar, slept.

*Wed. 13.*—He sang and read. On Charlestown Bar the wind was contrary.

*Thur. 14.*—At half-past six in the morning he landed at Charlestown, called on Mr. Eveleigh, talked with Mrs. Matthews and company, and from eight to half-past nine had an interview with Mr. Timothy, the publisher of the Charlestown *Collection of Psalms and Hymns*. He then saw Mr. and Mrs. Laserre,<sup>2</sup> and, after transacting business, called on Mr. Garden, the Bishop of London's Commissary, with whom he dined. In the afternoon he was at Jeremy Trot's, and at four drank tea with Mr. Braithwaite and company, where he 'saw the silkworms,' probably a

<sup>1</sup> Charlestown, the capital, was also the key of the colony. Great irregularities were practised on the plantations generally, and not merely at Purrysburg. For the whole of North Carolina, at this time, there was only one itinerant missionary—the Rev. J. Boyd.

For further particulars see Tyerman's *Whitefield's Life and Letters*, vol. i. p. 207, and the *Digest of S.P.G. Records*. South Carolina was favoured with noble

missionaries. (*Digest of S.P.G. Records*, pp. 1–18.)

On the strange mortality and good report of these missionaries, see *W.M. Mag.*, 1856, p. 426.

<sup>2</sup> Laserre and Eveleigh seem to be distinct persons, but elsewhere one and the same. Was 'Mr. Eveleigh' the father and 'Mr. and Mrs. Laserre' son and daughter-in-law? Mr. Samuel Eveleigh was a leading merchant in Charlestown.

for the future. [He said that he believed no other clergyman in the province would be guilty of such irregularity, but that howsoever he would caution them against it at the general meeting of the clergy, which was to be the week following.

[*Fri.* 15.—I walked over to Ashley Ferry, twelve miles from Charlestown, and thence, in the afternoon, went to Mr. Guy, the minister of Ashley, and to Colonel Bull's seat, two miles farther. This is the pleasantest place I have yet seen in America; the orchard and garden being full of most of those sorts of trees and plants and flowers which are esteemed in England, but which the laziness of the Americans seldom suffers them to raise.]

*Sun.* 17.—Mr. Garden<sup>1</sup> (to whom I must ever acknowledge myself indebted for many kind and generous offices) desiring me to preach, I did so, on these words of the Epistle for the day: 'Whatsoever is born of God overcometh the world, and this is the victory which overcometh the world, even our faith.'<sup>2</sup> To that plain account of the Christian state which these words naturally led me to give, a man of education and character seriously objected (what is indeed a great

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new colonial industry. He complains that he 'got no reading.' He does not refer to the purpose, or purposes, of his visit to Charlestown. The Diary is very much condensed, and little more than a record of persons visited, with here and there a few slight personal touches.

*Fri.* 15.—He read Kidd's *Demonstration of the Messiah*, called on Mr. Guy, saw Mr. Belinger, had a pleasant time at Colonel Bull's with Dr. and Mrs. Bull and the young ladies. They walked in the garden, and Miss Charlotte played on the spinet. After supper he had the satisfaction of 'close conversation,' and they were 'seriously affected.' He returned to Mr. Guy's.

*Sat.* 16.—After talking with Mr. Guy, he set out, reading Kidd, until, at eight o'clock, he reached Mr. Lloyd's. He was able to render some service in writing for Thicken, one of his fellow passengers on the sloop. At noon he returned to Mr. Garden's. He again saw Jeremy Trot and Mr. Braithwaite.

*Sun.* 17.—He wrote to his brother Charles, read prayers in Mr. Garden's church, dined with Mr. Laserre, heard Mr. Garden preach, and, at J. Trot's, conversed with the ladies and had tea. In the evening he wrote to his mother at Mr. Laserre's.

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<sup>1</sup> For an account of the Rev. A. Garden, whose character Wesley greatly appreciated, see p. 254.

<sup>2</sup> The sermon he afterwards sent to Mr. Garden. (*Jackson's Life of Charles Wesley*, p. 113.)



truth), 'Why, if this be Christianity, a Christian man must have more courage than Alexander the Great.'

[*Mon.* 18.—I had a conversation of some hours with Mr. Garden, whom I found (very different from the representation I had heard) to be a man of extensive knowledge, both as to things, books, and men, and, as far as I can judge, of an excellent spirit.]

*Tues.* 19.—We left Charlestown; but meeting with stormy and contrary winds, after losing our anchor and beating out at sea all night, on *Thursday*, the 21st, we with some difficulty got back into Charlestown harbour.

[I was now resolved to use more freedom of speech than before, and not be ashamed of the gospel of Christ. And this by God's assistance I did this evening as well as the remaining days I spent here, whatever company I was in.]

*Fri.* 22.—It being the time of their annual Visitation, I had the pleasure of meeting [at Mr. Garden's] the clergy of South Carolina; [who severally assured me they would never interfere with me in anything, nor (in particular) marry

*Mon.* 18.—He spent three hours in the early morning 'transcribing hymns,' had the long conversation with Mr. Garden to which he refers in the Journal, read an account of Christian Indians at Mr. Eveleigh's, where he dined, and at nine in the evening he 'corrected proof.'<sup>1</sup>

*Tues.* 19.—He sang at five o'clock, 'transcribed a German grammar,' wrote his Journal, and saw the fort.

- 9 Mr Timothy's; Garden and company.
- 10 *Clavisae Linguae St.*
- 11 On board. Read Italian Grammar.
- 12 Italian,  $\frac{1}{2}$  dinner, diary. 1 Italian.
- 3 At Sutherland Fort, company, meditated. 4 Tea together.
- 5 On board, ended Italian Grammar.
- 6 Supper,  $\frac{1}{2}$  private prayer, singing, 8 lay down.

*Wed.* 20.—He spent the day of storm in reading Gother and singing.

*Thur.* 21.—Read Gother until they landed. At noon he dined at Jeremy Trot's. At six there was a gathering at Mr. Lloyd's, which included Mr. Guy, Mr. Jones, and Mrs. Laserre, the result being that they were 'affected.'

*Fri.* 22.—In connexion with the meeting of the clergy at Mr. Garden's, other names are introduced.

<sup>1</sup> There can be no doubt that this refers to the Charlestown Hymn-Book which Mr. Lewis Timothy was printing. (App. XVII. vol. vi.)

any persons of our province without a letter from me desiring them so to do. At eleven we all went to church together. Nor was I ever more sensible of the comfort of joining with the assembly of the faithful, than now that I had been some days secluded from it.] In the afternoon we met again, where was such a conversation for several hours, on Christ our Righteousness [and our example, with such seriousness and closeness] as I never heard in England in all the visitations I have been present at.

*Sat. 23.*—Mentioning to Mr. Thompson,<sup>1</sup> minister of St. Bartholomew's, near Ponpon, my being disappointed of a passage home by water, he offered me one of his horses if I would go by land, which I gladly accepted of. He went with me twenty miles, and sent his servant to guide me the other twenty to his house. Finding a young negro there, who seemed more sensible than the rest, I asked her how long she had been in Carolina. She said two or three years; but that she was born in Barbados, and had lived there in a minister's family from a child. I asked whether she went to church there. She said, 'Yes, every Sunday, to carry my mistress's children.' I asked what she had learned at church. She said, 'Nothing; I heard a deal, but did not understand it.' 'But what did your master teach you at home?' 'Nothing.' 'Nor your mistress?' 'No.' I asked, 'But don't you know that your hands and feet, and this you call your body, will turn to dust in a little time?' She answered, 'Yes.' 'But there is something in you that will not turn to dust, and this is what they call your soul. Indeed, you cannot see your soul, though it is within you; as you cannot see the wind, though it is all about you. But if you had not a soul in you, you could no more see, or hear, or feel, than this table can. What do you think will become of

*Sat. 23.*—Wrote his Journal. 'Mrs. Delegal sent. I could not go with her.' Talked with Mr. Thompson and Mr. Guy on business, and with Mr. Garden privately. The name of the negro woman with whom he conversed was 'Nanny.'

<sup>1</sup> The question has been raised whether this was the Mr. Thompson of St. Genny's to whom Wesley ministered in after years. The Cornish vicar had been a chaplain in America. The fact that he was at

St. Genny's in October 1738 is no bar to this theory. He was sufficiently interested in Whitefield's mission to Georgia to send him £6 19s. towards the cost of the enterprise.

your soul when your body turns to dust?' 'I don't know.' 'Why, it will go out of your body, and go up there, above the sky, and live always. God lives there. Do you know who God is?' 'No.' 'You cannot see Him, any more than you can see your own soul. It is He that made you and me, and all men and women, and all beasts and birds, and all the world. It is He that makes the sun shine, and rain fall, and corn and fruits to grow out of the ground. He makes all these for us. But why do you think He made us? What did He make you and me for?' 'I can't tell.' 'He made you to live with Himself above the sky. And so you will, in a little time, if you are good. If you are good, when your body dies your soul will go up, and want nothing, and have whatever you can desire. No one will beat or hurt you there. You will never be sick. You will never be sorry any more, nor afraid of anything. I can't tell you, I don't know how happy you will be; for you will be with God.'

The attention with which this poor creature listened to instruction is inexpressible. The next day she remembered all, readily answered every question; and said she would ask Him that made her to show her how to be good.

*Sun. 24.*—I preached twice at Ponpon chapel, on the [former part of the] thirteenth chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, [and before the morning sermon (as Mr. Thompson had desired, great part of the congregation being Dissenters) used an extempore prayer.] Oh, how will even the men of Carolina rise up in the judgement against this generation and condemn it! They come, many of them, eight, ten, or twelve miles to hear the gospel. Ye hear it not when it is preached at your own doors!

[*Mon. 25.*—Mr. Thompson sent his servant with me to Mr. Belinger's, at Ashepoo Ferry, who the next day went with

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*Sun. 24.*—The congregation at Ponpon numbered 70. He dined at Mr. Edy's.

*Mon. 25.*—After early breakfast he set out with Mr. Edy. At eight Mr. Webster joined them. At nine he was at Mr. Belinger's. At twelve at Mr. Gerardeau's, where he slept and dined, and read 'Paradise Regained.' He reached Ashepoo at five o'clock, still reading Milton. At six Mr. Belinger came; at 7.30 Mr. Gerardeau,



me himself to one Mr. Palmer's, five miles short of his own plantation at Chulifinny.]

*Wed. 27.*—I came to Mr. Belinger's plantation, where the rain kept me till Friday. Here I met [an old negro<sup>1</sup> who was tolerably well instructed in the principles of Christianity, and who, as well as his fellow negroes and] a half Indian [woman] (one that had an Indian mother and a Spanish father) seemed earnestly desirous of further instruction. One of them said, 'When I lived at Ashley Ferry, I could go to church every Sunday, but here we are buried in the woods. Though if there was any church within five or six miles, I am so lame I cannot walk, but I would crawl thither.'

Mr. Belinger sent a negro lad with me [on Friday, who conducted me safe] to Purrysburg [in the evening; a town the most without the appearance of a town I ever saw, with no form or comeliness or regularity]. Oh, how hath God stretched over this place 'the lines of confusion and the stones of emptiness'! Alas for those whose lives were here vilely cast away, through oppression, through divers plagues and troubles! O earth! how long wilt thou hide blood? How long wilt thou cover thy slain?

This lad<sup>2</sup> too I found both very desirous and very capable of

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*Tues. 26.*—He set out with Mr. Belinger, in hard rain, and at 11.30 reached Combee. At three they dined at Hugh Brian's, who went with them to Mr. Palmer's, where they encountered a storm.

*Wed. 27.*—Wesley had an attack of sickness, which compelled him to rest and live on a milk diet.

*Thur. 28.*—During these days he read Milton, wrote his Journal, sang, walked out whenever possible, and conversed with negroes on the plantation, who were 'seriously affected.'

*Fri. 29.*—He resumed his journey, reaching Chulifinny Creek at eight o'clock, but could not pass. Conversed with a negro, and sang until ten minutes past ten, when he set out and reached Purrysburg at 7.15. There he was entertained at Mr. Nutman's.

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Burton wrote to Wesley: 'One end for which we were associated was the conversion of negro slaves.' Oglethorpe asked Zinzendorf to send more Brethren as missionaries among the negroes of South Carolina.

It is said that Purrysburg was the first place in the province to introduce slavery. This crime against humanity and other 'irregularities,' ecclesiastical and moral,

among which the unlawful marriage of Miss Sophy was prominent, explains Wesley's strong feeling about the place.

<sup>2</sup> Wesley was always deeply interested in the negroes. See a letter from a gentleman in Virginia describing the work of a clergyman (the Rev. W. Davies) on their behalf, and noting their natural gift for music, quoted in Journal, July 27, 1755.

instruction. And perhaps one of the easiest and shortest ways to instruct the American negroes in Christianity would be, first, to inquire after and find out some of the most serious of the planters. Then, having inquired of them which of their slaves were best inclined and understood English, to go to them from plantation to plantation, staying as long as appeared necessary at each. Three or four gentlemen at Carolina I have been with that would be sincerely glad of such an assistant, who might pursue his work with no more hindrances than must everywhere attend the preaching of the gospel.

*Sat. 30.*—I [took boat, and before noon] came safe to Savannah. Here I found my little flock in a better state than I could have expected, God having been pleased greatly to bless the endeavours of my fellow labourer<sup>1</sup> while I was absent from them. [Those who desired to be followers of Christ had not made my absence an excuse for the neglect of assembling themselves together; and by the blessing of God on their endeavours, most of them were more steadfast and zealous of good works than when I left them.

[MAY 3, *Tues.*—I walked to the three hundred acres of land

*Sat. 30.*—Leaving Purrysburg at six o'clock, at 9.15 he arrived at Mrs. Matthews's (late Musgrove). At noon he reached Mr. Causton's, and at one o'clock resumed his ordinary routine of pastoral work, reading Fleury and catechizing, walking with Delamotte and reciting his adventures in Carolina. At four he was at Mr. Brownfield's. At five he prayed with Delamotte and read the Greek Testament. At seven he read prayers and expounded, afterwards meeting Mr. How's communicants' class, reading Brevint, praying, and singing. At nine he was at Mr. Burnside's.

MAY 1, *Sun.*—He had hitherto regarded himself as only temporarily in pastoral charge of the church at Savannah, and had therefore not complied with all the formalities legally connected with the induction of an incumbent. But now, probably as the result of a consultation with the Bishop of London's Commissary, Mr. Garden, he publicly 'subscribed the Prayers.'

*Mon. 2.*—He 'writ Prayers.' 'Writ' to Charles, to Mr. Laserre, to Mrs. Laserre and Miss Molly. He visited some of his Spanish parishioners, and, twice, Mr. Grant.

*Tues. 3.*—Sitting in his garden, he spent two or three hours writing the

<sup>1</sup> Ingham had already sailed for England. Delamotte was the only 'fellow labourer' left. Both at Frederica and Savannah, Wesley was driven by stress of circumstances to employ a layman as his substitute. The Minutes

and Accounts of the Georgia Trustees show that Delamotte's voluntary services were recognized, though not with any payment in the nature of a salary. (See above, p. 322.)

which were set apart for glebe: and believed it would be worth while to make a small garden upon a part of it, which would enable either me or my successor, without any expense, to give many of these poor people a sort of relief which in summer especially is very acceptable to them.

[*Sat. 7.*—I took a walk to Hampstead, a little village of ten families about five miles south of Savannah. But I found no

Journal. At one he had a conversation with William Williamson. At three o'clock he walked with Mr. Johnson and Mr. Bradley round the glebe. They did not finish their work until after six o'clock, when Mr. Bradley drank tea with him.

[*Wed. 4.*—One of the most interesting letters that has survived from these Savannah days is the one Wesley wrote to Mrs. Chapman (App. XIX. vol. vi.) on 'Christian Cheerfulness.' In the early Oxford days John Wesley was one of the brightest ornaments of university society. But for this letter and a few stray hints in the Diary, we should infer an entire change from cheerfulness to austerity. This morning, in the usual conversation following prayers, at which Captain Hermsdorf and his friends were present, there occurs in the Diary the rare word 'jocularity.' The Journal and the Italian Grammar divide interest to-day. The latter he was carefully studying. He also read Wheatley *On Common Prayer*. A domestic anxiety appears to have arisen in which Mrs. Anne, Rachel, and others figure. It seems probable that Mrs. Anne was housekeeper at the parsonage, and that Rachel, the Edinburgh doctor's daughter whom Wesley rescued, lived in the house as servant. It must be remembered that, during the greater part of his residence at Savannah, the parsonage, which was a larger house than any other in the town except Mr. Causton's, was utilized by Wesley as an orphanage or refuge for the distressed. Visitors from Frederica, Irene, Ebenezer, and other places, lodged there. We have many illustrations of this in the Diary. A housekeeper and servant were therefore necessary.

[*Thur. 5.*—Mr. Grant, whom he had so diligently visited, was so far improved in health that he could attend morning prayers. For many hours Wesley worked at his Journal, writing and transcribing. An hour he gave to Italian, and then visited. The last entry has a special interest:

9 Played upon the flute for half an hour.

[*Fri. 6.*—Again he devoted several hours to the Journal. The discarded hourly ejaculatory prayer reappears, and is continued at intervals for some time. Weary of writing, he took a walk and read Bedford on Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology. There follows at noon a mysterious shorthand writing that seems to mean 'the time for dinner,' i.e. he regarded noon of the day as the most appropriate time for dinner. In the afternoon he walked with Delamotte to the glebe. They had a long talk, probably on the project to which reference is made in the Journal.

[*Sat. 7.*—He wrote to Laserre, Mark Hird, and Mrs. Dalton; read Beresford; and, after dinner, set out for Hampstead and Highgate, reading



one there with whom I could talk, they not understanding mine, nor I their Dutch. From thence I went to Highgate, a mile west of Hampstead, having the same number of families. But neither could I converse with these, who spoke French only, except one family. Till the inhabitants of these villages have learned English, that objection does not affect them which lies so strong against the rest, viz. that by placing them so distant from any other minister, and in so small numbers that they cannot expect one of their own, you compel them to be without public worship, and in effect to be without God in the world.

[I was in doubt whether I could admit Miss Sophy to the Communion<sup>1</sup> till she had, in some manner or other, owned her

on the way, to and fro, the *Account of Hutcheson's Works*. He sang occasionally, and at Highgate seems to have had a pleasant time with Mr. Brown. Two Communion Preparation classes—Mr. How's and Mrs. Gilbert's—he met after morning prayers.

*Sun. 8.*—More than once at this time he entered an exact account of the order of morning and evening prayers. A suggested interpretation of the letters and signs used is the following :

5 Drest, diary, private prayer, 4. Read Collect, Proper Psalms, Sung Hymn, said Creed, 1. 2. 3. 4. Collects: Tate and Brady.

Mr. Delamotte had the ague. At the close of the afternoon catechizing, prayers, band- or class-meeting, Wesley sang twice and prayed with his invalid friend. Later he had prayer again with him, and talk as he lay in bed. Wesley always felt specially responsible for Delamotte's health, education, and religious life.

*Mon. 9.*—The Diary is kept at this time with minute care. Much attention is given to the Journal, to pastoral visitation, to the regulations of the Holy Club, and to the order of public devotion. This afternoon he walked with Delamotte and also with the boys (apparently of Delamotte's school) to the glebe, where they felled trees for two hours, cheering one another with song. Ground at the glebe was being prepared for cultivation with a view to the employment of the poor. He came home for a funeral and prayers. Afterwards, at Mr. Grant's, 'Verse, prayer, death verse.'

*Tues. 10.*—His Journal, the boys, Mr. Grant, and the *Apparatus Biblicus* filled the day. He wrote a letter to 'Mr. Marg.'

*Wed. 11.*—This differed little from the previous day except that he again felled trees with the boys, reading the *Apparatus Biblicus* on his way to and from the glebe, ending the book at home.

*Thur. 12.*—'Miss Sophy' was present at morning prayers, also Mr. Grant, who stayed for tea and conversation. After three hours with the Journal he sorted papers, and, dinner over, 'writ Miss Sophy's case' until

<sup>1</sup> The rules of the S.P.G. required the missionaries to be careful as to whom they admitted to the Lord's Table,

fault and declared her repentance. I doubted the more, because I was informed she had left off fasting, and because she neglected all the morning prayers, though still acknowledging her obligation to both, which made a wide difference between her neglect and that of others. But after much consideration, I resolved to take Mr. Delamotte's advice, and to bear with her till I had spoken with her once more.

[My journey to Charlestown delayed this for a while. But on *Monday, May 16*, I did speak to her under the shed at Mr. Causton's from seven till evening prayers. This was our fifth conversation, in which I earnestly exhorted her to avoid all insincerity as she would avoid fire; to hold fast all the means of grace; and never to give way to so vain a thought as that she could attain the end without them. I hoped my labour was not in vain, for she promised fair and appeared deeply serious.]

*Wed. 18.*—I discovered the first convert to Deism that, I five o'clock. It is important to note that the question of fasting figures conspicuously, and that in the evening, possibly with reference to this disciplinary case, he again read Wheatley *On Common Prayer*.

*Fri. 13.*—The 'case of Miss Sophy' is again in the forefront, occupying the whole morning. In this connexion he reads *Irenaeus on Sacrifice* and *Stillingfleet*. He discusses the case with the Germans, continues writing, and in the afternoon reads *Herbert*. In the evening he talks with Mr. Williamson. After evening prayers he is still engaged in the study of 'the case.'

*Sat. 14.*—This was a somewhat similar day; but Delamotte and the Germans interposed, and the whole afternoon was spent in felling trees.

*Sun. 15.*—Nothing exceptional occurred, save a conversation with William Williamson and the reading of letters.

*Mon. 16.*—After two hours' work he ended 'the case.' During a long interview with Mr. Causton 'Miss Sophy came.' He remembered her in private prayer, and had an interview with her before evening prayers. 'She very serious.'

*Tues. 17.*—He read Hopkins's *Sermons*. In the early morning he accompanied Mr. Causton and Mr. Grant to Hogstead, the Causton lot, where he had late breakfast with Mrs. Causton and conversation with Agnes—apparently a friend, or possibly servant, of the Caustons. She is frequently named. They fished, while Wesley read *Kempis*. In the afternoon he and Grant returned, partly by water, for Fitzwater the boatman is named. More than once, as on previous occasions, Wesley complains that he 'got no reading.' At home he read the Greek Testament, and at prayers expounded.

*Wed. 18.*—He transcribed Fleury (probably the *Catechism*), afterwards

believe, has been made here. He was one that for some time had been zealously and exemplarily religious. But indulging himself in harmless company, he first made shipwreck of his zeal, and then of his faith. I have since found several others that have been attacked. They have, as yet, maintained their ground; but I doubt the devil's apostles are too industrious to let them long halt between two opinions.

*Wed. 25.*—I was sent for by one who had been a convert to the Church of Rome, but desired to return to the Church of England; being deeply convinced (as were several others), by what I had occasionally preached, of the grievous errors the Church of Rome is in, and the great danger of continuing a member of it.

Upon this occasion I cannot but observe the surprising infatuation that reigns in England, and especially in London. Advice upon advice did we receive there, to beware of the

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published; had interviews with Brownfield, Rachel, Fitchet, Dr. Garrett (probably 'the Deist'), and others; and wrote an account of Savonarola. After meeting Mr. How's class he played the flute from 8.50 to 9.15.

*Ascension Day, 19.*—The day was spent, according to the law of the colony, as a church festival.

*Fri. 20.*—Journal-writing, tree-felling, and reading (Clarke's *Lives*) occupied the day. The persons named are Brownfield, Delamotte, Grant, and the Burnside.

*Sat. 21.*—The Journal, a Bible-reading with the Germans, catechizing, and Mr. How's Communion Preparation class, were his main pursuits.

9 Sung.  $\frac{1}{4}$  Writ Scheme of Sermon.  
10 Sermon.

*Sun. 22.*—The day passed without exceptional event.

*Mon. 23.*—At eight he married Mr. Foster. All the marriages were in the morning, and the burials in the evening. At 9.15 he left for Thunderbolt, reading Clarke's *Lives* as he walked. At 11.15 he arrived, but Mrs. Lacy was out. So he set out again, still reading, and came round to Mr. Causton's lot, where Mrs. Causton gave him dinner. In the afternoon Fitzwater came. With him he returned, conversing and reading all the way. In the evening Boltzius came.

*Tues. 24.*—The day passed without special event.

*Wed. 25.*—The person to whom reference is made in the Journal seems to have been a Mrs. Fallowfield. He had a long conversation, 'she serious, open and affected'; immediately after he wrote the interesting passage in the Journal. The whole section, though to some extent given in the printed extract, is here reproduced from Wesley's MS., and is more forceful and graphic than the printed version.



increase of Popery ; but not one word do I remember to have heard of the increase of Infidelity. [Now this overgrown zeal for Protestantism, quite swallowing up zeal for our common Christianity, I cannot term anything better than infatuation.] This was quite surprising, for these very plain reasons : (1) because as bad a religion as Popery is, no religion at all is still worse ; a baptized Infidel being twofold more a child of hell than the [fiercest] Papist in Christendom ; (2) because as dangerous a state as a Papist is in, with regard to eternity, a Deist is in a far more dangerous state, if he be not (without repentance) an assured heir of damnation ; and (3) because as difficult as it is to recover a Papist, 'tis far more difficult to recover an Infidel. This I speak from the strongest of all proofs, experience. I never yet knew one Deist reconverted<sup>1</sup> ; whereas, [even in this place, I do not know of more than one Papist remaining, except an Italian or two whom I cannot yet speak to.]

[*Fri.* 27.—Hearing just before evening prayers that Mrs. Causton was taken dangerously ill at Hogstead, as soon as prayers were over Mr. Delamotte and I walked thither. We found her something better, with Mr. Causton and all her family about her : all of whom took the visit as it was intended, and professed much obligation to us.]

*Sun.* 29.—Being Whit Sunday, four of our scholars, after having been instructed daily for several weeks, were, at their earnest and repeated desire, admitted to the Lord's Table. I trust their zeal hath stirred up many to remember their Creator

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*Thur.* 26.—The Journal, pastoral visitation, and the felling of trees are again the most important events of the day.

*Fri.* 27.—He wrote to Hird and Mr. Hutcheson. It was immediately after evening prayers that he set out with Delamotte to visit Mrs. Causton at Hogstead, who was better before Wesley left.

*Sat.* 28.—He administered Holy Communion to Mr. Turner and again visited Mrs. Fallowfield.

*Whit Sunday,* 29.—Early in the morning he had a conversation with William Williamson, and later with Bishop Anton and Töltschig. The event of the day was the admission of four children to Holy Communion. John Dudd seems to have been the leader of the young communicants. Wesley had a private conversation with them before the service, and we

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<sup>1</sup> But Lampe, Walsh, and other Deists he afterwards saw converted.

in the days of their youth, and to redeem the time, even in the midst of an evil and adulterous generation.

Indeed, about this time we observed the Spirit of God to move upon the minds of many of the children. They began more carefully to attend to the things that were spoken both at home and at church, and a remarkable seriousness appeared in their whole behaviour and conversation. Who knows but some of them may 'grow up to the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ'?

[JUNE 4, *Sat.*—God showed me yet more of the greatness of my deliverance, by opening to me a new and unexpected scene of M. S.' dissimulation. O never give me over to my own heart's desires, nor let me follow my own imaginations!

[Going to speak to Mr. Brownfield, and not finding him at home, I fell into a conversation with Mrs. Brownfield upon Mrs. Williamson. She told me, 'Mr. Brownfield warned me of her

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may infer, from a note in the Diary, that they afterwards dined with him at the parsonage, and that he again conversed with them. One boy (probably Gilbert) he specially catechized before the afternoon service. Wesley's constant and minute care for the boys is repeatedly emphasized in the Diary. In the evening, after prayers, he read *The Song of the Three Children*—a book of the Apocrypha which from early Oxford days was a special favourite of his. He used to read it in the church and at the rectory during his visits to Stanton.

*Mon. 30.*—It is significant that this morning, at six o'clock, Mr. How, to whom Wesley was indebted for assistance in training the boys who the day before had taken their first Sacrament, had an hour's conversation with him. Fleury, catechizing, and another celebration of the Holy Communion are noted.

*Tues. 31.*—Mrs. Manley came to breakfast this morning. At eight he had a talk with Dr. Canon. At nine Wesley visited the school and catechized. He dressed, read prayers, preached the sermon, and again administered the Communion. The afternoon was devoted to visitation and Spanish.

JUNE 1, *Wed.*—Wesley now devoted his attention to Grammars, of which he more or less completely prepared several before leaving Savannah.

*Thur. 2.*—Grammars, visitation, and Spanish occupied the day.

*Fri. 3.*—Grammars, Spanish, and French. A special visit to Mrs. Fallowfield—'she very seriously convinced.'

*Sat. 4.*—In addition to the Grammars, he meditated verses during his walk to Mr. Causton's in the country. At this time 'Agnes and Rachel' were with Mrs. Causton. Returning home in the evening, he continued his verse-making, and at night wrote the verses he had made.

long ago in words to this effect: "Polly, have a care of Miss Sophy; she is above your match." She went on, 'On Sunday se'night, before the stir about your letter was, I dined at Mr. Causton's; and being after dinner in the garden with Miss Sophy, I taxed her with inconstancy to Tom Mellichamp. She said she was not inconstant to him, but loved him as well as ever, and would come to my house to speak to me about him. On Tuesday she came, and desired me to send a letter for her to Dolly Mellichamp, to give poor Tommy an opportunity of clearing himself. I told her I would not do it for the world without first asking Mr. Brownfield's advice, which I did. His advice was to have nothing at all to do with it. The next day she came to me crying and saying, "I am ruined; my uncle says they have put Tommy in jail again."'

[What could I do now? Go, and tell her of her fault between me and her alone? So I should have chosen, either as a friend or a pastor; but being cut off from this, all that remained was to inquire of others as diligently as I could whether this were not a false accusation. First, then, I asked Mr. Brownfield to tell me frankly how far one might depend on Mrs. Brownfield's word? He answered, 'Perhaps she may not tell you all the truth she knows; but be assured she will tell you nothing but the truth.' I asked him next if he had ever advised her to have a care of Miss Sophy. He said he had, and repeated the words. I inquired further if she had ever asked his advice about sending a letter from Miss Sophy to Dolly Mellichamp. He said, 'Yes; and he had advised her to have nothing at all to do with it.'

[I could think of but one thing more, which was to hear what Mrs. Causton, who knew her best, had to say in her defence. I went therefore to Hogstead, where she was, and told her so much of my objections against Mrs. Williamson as I could without betraying my authors to the resentment of the family. She strenuously maintained that Mrs. Williamson had never said anything false, or dissembled with me at all. Some of the words she spoke, leaning her head back and lifting up both hands, were, 'By the Lord God, Sophy is as innocent as a new-born child; and I know she has as great a value for you as for any person alive, except Mr. Williamson.'



[I related this to Mr. Delamotte, and at his instance consented still to admit her to the Holy Communion. But a new hindrance now occurred. She would not admit herself. Looking over the Register, I found she had absented herself five times in April and May only; and in this month, June, four times more, viz. the 11th, 12th, 24th, and 29th. To clear up all difficulties at once, I determined to speak to her yet again.

[*Sun. 5.*—I baptized Richard Turner, aged forty, and his son Thomas, aged fourteen. About this time we observed the Spirit of God to move upon the minds of many of the youth of this place. Who knoweth but some of them may work together with Him till they come to the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ?

[*Tues. 7.*—I writ to my sister Kezzy and made her an offer of living with me here. But upon reflection, I was in doubt whether I had done well, considering the slippery ground on which I stand. However, I leave the whole matter in God's hands. Let Him order for us what is best!

[*Fri. 10.*—I buried the only child of a fond parent, who had been snatched away from him in a moment, falling into a well, and being stifled there before those with whom he had been just

*Trinity Sunday, 5.*—At early-morning prayers Richard T. Turner was baptized. Special attention seems to have been devoted to individuals and to 'the boys.'

*Mon. 6.*—Whilst engaged on the Grammars letters were received from England.

*Tues. 7.*—He wrote to his sister Kezia and to Mr. Butler. After much business with Causton and others, he made verses in the garden, dined and visited. He added to his Spanish work with Dr. Nunes a lesson in Hebrew. In the evening 'read letters from England.'

*Wed. 8.*—He sorted books, probably received by that mail for the parochial library. After Dr. Nunes's lesson in Spanish, Wesley gave a lesson in English to 'Miss Zipporah,' who probably was Dr. Nunes's daughter.

*Thur. 9.*—During these days 'on business' is one of the most frequent entries. The 'business,' as we now know from the Journal, was the case of Mrs. Williamson (Miss Sophy). Mr. Boltzius again came to Savannah and Wesley read his Journal.

*Fri. 10.*—Conversed with Boltzius of Count Zinzendorf. Wrote to Mr. Hird, Mark Hird, Mr. Mason, Mr. Verelist, Mr. Horton, and Charles (probably Jacques Charles). In the evening he buried Mr. West's son, and, later, 'sung verses,' i.e. a hymn he had made.

playing could help him. A happy misfortune, I trust, to his father, who sees and adores the hand of God therein, and

Humbled in the dust,  
Now owns with tears the punishment was just.

[*Sat.* 11.—Having been desired some time before by Mr. Causton to hear what the people had to say against him, that he might have an opportunity either of clearing himself or removing the complaint, I told him plainly some of the things they complained of. He could not bear it, but turned full upon me, said he was surprised I of all people should join with his enemies, and said many other warm things, to my great surprise, though I had been warned before that thus it would be. I was first prompted to say in my heart, Now I may be excused from speaking on this head any more. But I soon recollected that my commission is to speak, 'whether men will hear or whether they will forbear.']

*Sat.* 11.—'John came.' We have a glimpse of other anxieties of the times.

7 In talk, Mr Causton's, in talk of the people's accounts, he (Mr C) very affected  
8 In the Store, in talk. 9 At home, Telchig and Antone, explained with them.  
10 Drest, meditated on sermon;  $\frac{3}{4}$  read Prayers. 11 Preached, Communion.

St. Barnabas's Day; the Lessons were *Ecclus.* x. and *Acts* xiv. After catechizing the children he walked with Mr. Burnside to the Lot and felled trees.

*Sun.* 12.—Wesley had a conversation with Mr. Williamson, Mr. Delamotte, and Mr. Griffiths. At night he read the account he had written of Miss Sophy.

*Mon.* 13.—He gave three hours to verses, walking as he composed. During the day he sang with various persons whom he visited.

*Tues.* 14.—He read Watts after prayers, as he had done the night before; wrote to Clayton, to Charles, to Mr. Hall (who had married his sister). He then went to the Caustons'. They 'were not open.' At night he buried Mrs. Bradley.

*Wed.* 15.—He had another conversation with Dr. Garrett, the Deist. 'Business' and a conversation with Mr. Williamson and others relate, no doubt, to the 'Case.' Another burial is noted.

*Thur.* 16.—He wrote to James Hutton, and, at length, to his old friend 'Selima' (Miss Anne Granville, the sister of Mrs. Delany). He then visited Mr. Bradley, whose wife he had buried two days before; also Mr. Fallowfield. In the afternoon he drank tea with Mrs. Fallowfield, whom he found very zealous. During these days 'singing' is frequently named, also 'verses.'

*Fri.* 17.—Singing and verses are the most prominent features of the day.

*Sat.* 25.—Mr. Causton,<sup>1</sup> the store-keeper and chief magistrate of Savannah, was seized with a slow fever. I attended him every day (as I did any of my parishioners who were in any painful or dangerous illness), and had a good hope from [the

*Sat.* 18.—After prayers 'John came.' Wesley is still composing verses. He has little time for reading. There is evidently much sickness in Savannah, and burials are almost daily. He himself is in doubtful health. He frequently 'sleeps.'

*Sun.* 19.—Verses and prayer are his preparation for preaching. At the afternoon service he read the appointed Psalms, sang from a hymn-book, said the Athanasian Creed, prayed, and closed the service with Tate and Brady. When Mr. How and his select class came, a verse was made, read, or sung.<sup>2</sup>

*Mon.* 20.—At six he began an English Grammar, but was interrupted by a call to visit the sick. He returned to the Grammar, and was again interrupted. Visiting Mr. West, he walked with him to his lot, conversing. In the afternoon he found Dr. Nunes in talk with Miss Zipporah.

*Tues.* 21.—English Grammar, with an interruption involving a visit to Mr. Causton's, then 'talk, tea, and Miss Sophy.' Returning home, he meditated before resuming his work on the Grammar. At eleven he sang for three-quarters of an hour. After dinner, he visited.

*Wed.* 22.—Grammar, French, Spanish, and singing occupy his time.

*Thur.* 23.—He walked to the Lot with Mr. Griffith, visited, wrote, sang; the last entry for the day is 'Watts's hymns.'

*Fri.* 24.—To-day he worked for several hours on a sermon which he preached, administered the Communion, and dined with the French missionaries. Twice reference is made to Watts, and persons are indicated whose abbreviated names cannot be identified.

*Sat.* 25.—Grammar, verse, visitation filled the hours of the day. He goes with Mr. Bradley to visit Highgate, where the French had their settlement. After prayers he calls on Mr. Causton and finds him better.

*Sun.* 26.—The day was without unusual event except a visit to Mr. Causton, who was again very ill. Another burial is noted.

*Mon.* 27.—He secures four hours for work on grammar, but otherwise the day is spent with the sick and in burying the dead. Twice he records against himself that his visits were 'too long.'

<sup>1</sup> Fr. Moore, who sailed in the *Simmonds*, became store-keeper too, and in 1744 published an account of his voyage. Before he left England Causton was detected robbing the revenue. Oglethorpe, who appointed him bailiff, deposed him for misapplying public funds. See Anderson's *History of the Colonial Church*. Williamson, who succeeded

Causton, fled the colony to escape punishment on a still more serious charge.

<sup>2</sup> Often it is impossible to say which is meant. Hymns and singing were taking a more and more prominent place in his personal devotions, in his pastoral visitation, and in the social means of grace. Nor were they excluded from public worship.



manner wherein he bore it, and] the thankfulness he showed for my attending him, that it would be a blessing [both to him and his dependents].

JULY 3, *Sun.*—Immediately after the Holy Communion, [as we returned from church, I said,] ‘Mrs. Williamson, [have you any reason to believe that from the day I first saw you till this hour, I have dissembled with you?’ She answered, ‘Indeed, I don’t believe you have. But you seem to think I have dissembled with you.’ I told her I did so,] and began to explain

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*Tues. 28.*—An entry of special interest occurs to-day :

9 Collected Hymns.  
10 Hymns.

This strengthens the belief already suggested by many notes, that having published one *Collection of Psalms and Hymns*, he was preparing a second series. The last entries for the day are :

8 Prayers ; sung, conversed,  $\frac{1}{2}$  verse.  
9 Prayer, lay down. Buried.

*Wed. 29.*—It was St. Peter’s Day. The service consisted of three collects, a sermon, singing, and the Communion. More verses were written, and again, in the evening, there was a burial, after which Mr. How’s class met.

*Thur. 30.*—There are six entries of verses at intervals through the day. Delamotte accompanied him to the Lot and assisted in opening a new school. Wesley wrote the names. The Diary at this time bears little if any trace of the disciplinary turmoil through which he was passing.

JULY 1, *Friday.*—Twice he notes the ‘great heat.’ This morning he was called at four—an unusual circumstance except when on travel. He drank coffee, began Archbishop Wake, called early to see Mr. Causton, who was now convalescent, and then began a long round of pastoral visits. At half-past twelve, in place of dinner, he slept for a quarter of an hour and immediately resumed his round of visitation. But at two he fulfilled an appointment, and Mrs. Burnside had her lesson in French. The tea she gave him at three was his first meal since the five-o’clock coffee. In half an hour he was at work again. Mrs. Fallowfield and some unnamed person at Dr. Nunes’s were affected by his earnest conversation. At Mr. Causton’s he transacted ‘business for the priest.’ Another burial awaited him at eight. This record may give some idea of how Wesley worked in time of sickness and death.

*Sat. 2.*—He conversed privately with the boys, and afterwards prayed with their teacher, Mr. Delamotte. He wrote to Mr. Baker, visited, saw the Germans, catechized, slept, visited, sang and walked, praying or reading the Greek Testament.

*Sun. 3.*—Fleury and Kempis, with singing and prayer, prepared him for the sermon. After Holy Communion, at which fifty-five were present, he conversed with ‘Miss Sophy.’ This is the sixth conversation referred

with her upon it. But the more I spoke the more angry she appeared, till after a few minutes she turned about and went abruptly away ; [thus putting an end to our sixth and last conversation.

[Being unwilling to trust my own judgement, I went to Mr. Burnside, told him the case, and asked how he thought I ought to act. He answered plainly, 'Sir, the case is clear. While things appear to you as they do now, you cannot admit her to the Holy Communion. The consequences of rejecting her you know ; but be they what they will, that does not alter your duty.' Hereon I determined to do what I judged my duty, but with all the mildness and prudence God should give me.

[*Mon. 4.*—I went once more to Mr. Causton's, to give Mrs. Williamson another opportunity either of clearing herself or owning her fault. But she said nothing at all.] Mrs. Causton indeed, [desiring me to take a walk in the garden, talked largely of Sophy's innocence ;] told me she was exceedingly grieved for what had passed the day before, and added more than once, 'Cannot you write and tell her what you dislike ?' I answered, 'Yes, I will.'

But first, [on Tuesday] I writ the following note to Mr. Causton :

SIR,

To this hour you have shown yourself my friend ; I ever have and ever shall acknowledge it. And it is my earnest desire that He who hath hitherto given me this blessing would continue it still.

But this cannot be, unless you will allow me one request, which is not so easy an one as it appears. *Do not condemn me for doing in the execution of my office what I think it my duty to do.*

If you can prevail upon yourself to allow me this, even when I act without respect of persons, I am persuaded there will never be, at least

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to in the Journal. His consultation with the Burnside is noted, also the extreme heat.

*Mon. 4.*—He now read Clement. But visitations still encroached on the time usually devoted to study. This evening he had a consultation with Mrs. Causton respecting 'Miss Sophy.'

*Tues. 5.*—At seven o'clock he wrote to Mr. Causton, and at eight to 'Miss Sophy,' transcribing both letters. He talked with Mr. Brownfield, the Germans, and Mrs. Burnside of 'Miss Sophy.' The Diary bears traces of agitation.

not long, any misunderstanding between us. For even those who seek it, shall, I trust, find no occasion against me, except it be concerning the law of my God.

*July 5, 1737.*

I am, &c.

[An hour or so after, I sent the following note to Mrs. Williamson, which I wrote in the most mild and friendly manner I could, both in pursuance of my resolution to proceed with all mildness, and because Mrs. Williamson told me she was so much grieved already.

[If the sincerity of friendship is best to be known from the painful offices, then there could not be a stronger proof of mine than that I gave you on Sunday: except that which I am going to give you now, and which you may perhaps equally misinterpret.

[Would you know what I dislike in your past or present behaviour? You have always heard my thoughts as freely as you asked them. Nay, much more freely; you know it well, and so you shall do, as long as I can speak or write.

[In your present behaviour I dislike (1) your neglect of half the public service, which no man living can compel you to; (2) your neglect of fasting, which you once knew to be a help to the mind, without any prejudice to the body; (3) your neglect of almost half the opportunity of communicating which you have lately had.

[But these things are small in comparison of what I dislike in your past behaviour. For, (1) You told me over and over you had entirely conquered your inclination for Mr. Mellichamp. Yet at that very time you had not conquered it. (2) You told me frequently, you had no design to marry Mr. Williamson. Yet at the very time you spoke you had the design. (3) In order to conceal both these things from me, you went through a course of deliberate dissimulation. Oh how fallen! How changed! Surely there was a time when in Miss Sophy's life there was no guile.

[Own these facts, and own your fault, and you will be in my thoughts as if they had never been. If you are otherwise minded, I shall still be your friend, though I cannot expect you should be mine.

To Mrs. Williamson, July 5.]

*Wed. 6.*—Mr. Causton came to my house with Mr. Parker<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Recorder. [He complained I had sent him a letter he could not understand, and added with much warmth,] ‘How

<sup>1</sup> Charles Wesley calls Mr. Bailiff Parker ‘the first tribune of the people.’

Whatever his faults, the Trustees reposed confidence in him.



could you possibly entertain such a thought of me as that I should oppose you in executing any part of your office?' I said bluntly, 'Sir, what if I should think it the duty of my office to repel one of your family from the Holy Communion?' [He made large reply, one part of which was,] 'If you repel me or my wife, I shall require a legal reason. But I shall trouble myself about none else. Let them look to themselves.'

[*Thur. 7.*—I was unawares engaged in a dispute with Dr. Nunes, a Jew, concerning the Messiah. For this I was afterwards much grieved, lest the truth might suffer by my weak defence of it.]

[*Sat. 9.*—Meeting with a Frenchman of New Orleans<sup>1</sup> on the Mississippi [who had been taken prisoner by the Chicasaws, and had lived several months among them], he gave us a full and particular account of many things which had been variously related. And hence we could not but remark, What is the religion of nature, properly so called? or, that religion which flows from natural reason, unassisted by revelation, even in those who have the knowledge of many truths, and who converse with their beloved ones day and night? But too plainly does it appear by the fruits, 'that the gods of these heathen too are but devils.'

[*Wed. 6.*—A long walk in the early morning to Thunderbolt, making verse as he journeyed, or reading Archbishop Usher, relieved the tension. He drank tea with the Lacys. Read prayers and preached to the family. Returning home, he made verses all the way, and then wrote them. It was at four o'clock that Mr. Causton, Recorder Christie, and Deputy Parker called.

[*Thur. 7.*—He spent the morning in reading Clemens.<sup>2</sup> Visited, saw Dr. Nunes, read with him, and notes the fact, 'could not answer him.' Mrs. Mouse of Skidoway came at six o'clock. Delamotte and Mrs. Anne made her welcome.

[*Fri. 8.*—He wrote to Mr. Garden and a Mr. P——.

[*Sat. 9.*—He was in court from seven until 10.30 a.m. He catechized as usual, and at three visited. At Mr. Emery's he met the Frenchman referred to in the Journal.

<sup>1</sup> The *Scots Magazine* gives a long account of the cruelties of the French in Carolina (1754, p. 71).

<sup>2</sup> Clemens Romanus. On the 11th

he was reading Polycarp. 'Clement' before named was Clement of Alexandria. He devoted much attention at this time to the early Fathers,

The substance of his account was this :

Some years past the Chicasaws and French were friends. The French were then mingled with the Nautchee Indians, whom they used as slaves ; till the Nautchees made a general rising, and took many of the French prisoners. But soon after, a French army set upon them, killed many, and carried away the rest. Among those that were killed were some Chicasaws, whose death the Chicasaw nation resented ; and, soon after, as a French boat was going through their country, they fired into it, and killed all the men but two. The French resolved on revenge ; and orders were given for many Indians and several parties of white men to rendezvous on the 26th of March, 1736, near one of the Chicasaw towns. The first party, consisting of fifty men, came thither some days before the time. They stayed there till the 24th, but none came to join them. On the 25th they were attacked by two hundred Chicasaws. The French attempted to force their way through them. Five or six and twenty did so ; the rest were taken prisoners. The prisoners were sent two or three to a town to be burned. Only the commanding officer and one or two more were put to death on the place of the engagement.

'I,' said he, 'and one more were saved by the warrior who took us. The manner of burning the rest was, holding lighted canes to their arms and legs, and several parts of their bodies, for some time, and then for a while taking them away. They likewise stuck burning pieces of wood into their flesh all round, in which condition they kept them from morning till evening. But they commonly beat them before they burn them. I saw the priest that was with us carried to be burned ; and from head to foot he was as black as your coat with the blows which they had given him.'

I asked him what was their manner of life. He said, 'They do nothing but eat, and drink, and smoke, from morning till night ; and, in a manner, from night till morning. For they rise at any hour of the night when they wake, and after eating and drinking as much as they can, go to sleep again.' See *the religion of Nature truly delineated* !<sup>2</sup>

[*Mon. 11.*—Mrs. Williamson miscarried, as Mrs. Causton told one, because of my chiding her eight days before ; as she told

*Sun. 10.*—The day was spent as usual.

*Mon. 11.*—He read Polycarp, the Psalms, and Fleury. 'Ch. Charles' (he means Jacques Charles) came. French.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Probably he was now taking lessons in conversational French, so that he might be able to preach to the settlers at Highgate. A while before he discovered, on a visit there, that his knowledge did

not qualify him so to preach that the people could understand.

<sup>2</sup> Earlier editions show that this sentence is a comment, and not the title of a book.

another, because of my unkind letter ; as she herself said, because of the hurry and concern which Mr. Williamson's illness threw her into.

[*Tues. 12.*—I read Dr. Humphrey's account of the proceedings of the Society for Propagating the Gospel ; concerning which I could not but observe : (1) that nine out of ten of the missionaries sent into America have died before the end of the fourth year ; (2) that out of the vast number not above two (or three at most) are mentioned who were not well spoken of by all men. 'If these then were the disciples of Christ, the scandal of the cross is ceased !' Concerning the conversion of the heathen, I could not but add in my letter to Dr. Humphrey :

[Where is the seed sown, the *sanguis martyr* ? Do we hear of any who have sealed the faith with their blood in all the vast continent ? Or do we read of any Church flourishing in any age or nation without the seed first sown there ? Give me leave, sir, to speak my thoughts freely. When God shall put it into the hearts of some of His servants, whom He hath already delivered from earthly hopes and fears, to join hand in hand in this labour of love ; when out of these He shall have chosen one or more to magnify Him in the sight of the heathen, by dying not with a stoical or Indian indifference, but blessing and praying for their murderers, and praising God in the midst of the flames with joy unspeakable and full of glory,—then the rest, 'waxing bold by their sufferings, shall go forth in the name of the Lord God, and by the power of His might cast down every high thing that exalteth itself against the faith of Christ. Then shall ye see Satan, the grand ruler of the new world, as lightning fall from heaven ! Then shall even these lands be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the seas.'

*Tues. 12.*—Polycarp, the Psalms, Fleury, and another French lesson, filled the morning hours.

*Wed. 13.*—

- |  |                                      |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 4½ Private prayer, prayer.                           | 5 Prayers, ¾ coffee, conversed (25). |
| 6 Writ hymns.  | 7 Spanish, ½ hymns.                  |
| 8 Hymns, Mrs Anne in talk.                           | 9 Sung with Delamotte, hymns.        |
| 10 Jacques Charles, French, ½ visited.               | 11 Visited, ¾ Germans.               |
| 12 Visited.  | 1 Drest, ¼ Germans.                  |
| 2 Mrs Burnside's, French.                            | 3 Tea, good time.                    |
| 4 At home, eat, ½ walk.                              |                                      |
| 5 Private prayer, ½ Lot ; conversed, private prayer. |                                      |
| 6 In talk, private prayer, ½ sung, meditated.        |                                      |
| 7 Meditated, ½ Prayers.                              | 8 Mr How, &c., within, diary.        |

This is a fair specimen of the Diary pages at this time. The hourly



[*Sun.* 17.—I had occasion to make a very unusual trial of the temper of Mr. Boltzius, pastor of the Saltzburghers, in which he behaved with such lowliness and meekness as became a disciple of Jesus Christ.]

*Sat.* 23.—[The strange esteem which Mr. Causton seemed to show for us, by which means we had nothing without but ease

minutes of devotion are always given, and the special marks in connexion with the regulations of the Holy Club.

*Thur.* 14.—Ten times the word 'hymns' occurs on this page. Boltzius, the Saltzburgher chief minister, was with him at nine and all the evening. Probably he was a guest at the parsonage. Wesley dined with the Germans, continuing his hymnal work, which, we may infer, was that of 'collecting,' or compiling. The presence of Boltzius, and Wesley's intimate relations at this time with the Germans, would lead one to assume that German hymns for the most part were being read, translated, or transcribed.

*Fri.* 15.—Boltzius, Jacques Charles, and Dr. Nunes are all named in connexion with hymns. At noon he read with the boys, prayed and apparently read hymns to them.

*Sat.* 16.—At five-o'clock prayers, instead of expounding the Second Lessons as he usually did, he expounded the Psalms, ending with prayer and Tate and Brady. The Psalms for the morning were the 79th to the 81st. Jacques Charles again came. Tutor and pupil talked together. Mrs. Gilbert's class met at noon, with much singing, prayer, and conversation. At one he catechized, and at two worked on hymns. Late in the evening he went to the Cowpen.

*Sun.* 17.—This, doubtless, was the day on which Boltzius was refused the Communion :

6 Tea, conversed ; garden, within with Boltzius.

7 Within. 8. Conversed of the Communion.

9 Conversed  $\frac{1}{2}$ , meditated.

*Mon.* 18.—Fleury, whose *Catechism* he was translating and preparing for publication, occupied his attention ; but the Williamson business was becoming more and more acute, and not Brownfield, the Burnsides, Delamotte, the Caustons, nor the Germans could hold him back from that which he conceived to be his duty. Late in the day 'verses' are again named.

*Tues.* 19.—He again devoted his attention to hymns.

*Wed.* 20.—Nothing out of the ordinary way occurred. He is still working on hymns.

*Thur.* 21.—Jacques Charles came and talked French with him. Hymns, visiting, French, German, and Spanish constituted the principal work of the day.

*Fri.* 22.—He wrote to Dr. Humphrey. (See Tyerman's *Wesley*, vol. i. p. 141.)

*Sat.* 23.—He wrote to Dr. Cutler (see App. XXIV. vol. vi.) and to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

and plenty,] occasioned my expressing myself thus in a letter to a friend : 'How to attain to the being crucified with Christ, I find not; being in a condition which I neither desired nor expected in America—in ease and honour and abundance. A strange school for him who has but one business, *Γυμνάζειν ἑαυτὸν πρὸς εὐσέβειαν*.'<sup>1</sup>

*Wed. 27.*—[In the evening,] I rejoiced to meet once more that good soldier of Jesus Christ, August Spangenberg.

[*Sat. 30.*—I began taking a more exact account of my parishioners by going from house to house. By the best computation I can make, there are now in the town of Savannah five hundred and eighteen souls, one hundred and forty-nine of whom are under sixteen years of age. About one hundred and eighty of the adults are, or are called, of the Church of England.

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*Sun. 24.*—Did not differ from other Sundays of the same period.

*Mon. 25.*—He wrote names twice in the day. Mrs. Fallowfield, the ex-Roman Catholic, being seriously impressed herself, brought friends to the parsonage with whom also Wesley conversed. A Mrs. Ash is named.

*Tues. 26.*—He transcribed a letter, and saw Mr. Causton, who was still more or less an invalid. With him he had a good talk and reading. Frequently he enters 'writ name.' This probably refers to an addition to his roll of communicants, to his list of persons to be visited, or to the members of the various classes he organized. Wesley throughout life attached great importance to the writing of such lists of names.

*Wed. 27.*—At 9.30 in the evening Mr. Spangenberg junr. came. So strict is Wesley in the observance of fasts that he notes the fact if, earlier than nightfall, he eats on those days.

*Thur. 28.*—He began the translation of Fleury's *Mœurs des Chrétiens*. He dined with the Germans, and spent an hour with Spangenberg.

*Fri. 29.*—He worked on Fleury, and spent some time among the Germans with John (Reinier), with Spangenberg, and with Töltschig.

*Sat. 30.*—He began the account of his parish at six in the morning. The Germans are frequently named, and once he 'wrote for' one of them. In the evening he made Mr. Bradley's will.

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<sup>1</sup> The words are slightly altered from 1 Tim. iv. 7. In Mill's text, which probably Wesley used, they read *γυμναζε δὲ σεαυτὸν*, &c., 'And exercise thyself unto godliness.' The ease and honour did not long continue; but Wesley's impressions were so favourable that he wrote to his mother saying he should be heartily glad

if any poor and religious men or women of Epworth or Wroot could come over to him; inviting them with a promise of land enough, and of provisions till they could live upon its produce. Contrast this with his words to the poor Switzers (Journal, Sept. 2, 1738).

[*Sun.* 31.—Having been long in doubt concerning the principles of the Moravian Brethren, at Mr. Spangenberg's desire I proposed to them the following queries, to each of which is subjoined the substance of their answer.

[1. What do you mean by conversion ?

'The passing from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God' (Acts xxvi. 25-33).

2. Is it commonly wrought at once, or by degrees ?

'The design of passing thus from darkness unto light is sometimes wrought in a moment (Acts xvi. 25-34); but the passage itself is gradual' (Acts ii. 37, &c.).

3. Ought we so to expect the Holy Ghost to convert either our own or our neighbour's soul as to neglect any outward means ?

'Many things are mentioned in Scripture as helps to an entire conversion. So reading the Scripture (2 Chron. xxxiv. 14), hearing it (Acts xvi. 14), fasting (Joel ii. 12), self-examination (Lam. iii. 40), the instructions of experienced persons (Acts ii. 37), fervent prayer. None therefore ought to neglect any of these, when it is in their power to use them.'

4. Ought we so to expect the Holy Ghost to interpret Scripture to us as to neglect any outward means ? Particularly, inquiring into the sense of the ancient Church ?

'The Scripture is clear in all things necessary to be known. And the more obscure parts of it will be made plainer by prayer, meditation, temptation, and experience, and by comparing them with the plain parts. We wish the writings of the ancient Church, especially of the apostolic age, were more valued, and (we) neither despise nor neglect them, where there is opportunity of reading them and comparing them with the Scripture.'

5. What is the visible Church ?

'Where there is a society of men united together in apostolical order and discipline and endued with the Spirit of Christ, there is a visible Church. Such was once that of Rome, Corinth, and others.'

6. What is faith ?

'*Ἐλπίζομένων ὑπόστασις, πραγμάτων ἔλεγχος οὐ βλεπομένων.*'

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*Sun.* 31.—He again wrote for Germans. In the evening there was a burial.

During July the sickness, involving at first so much pastoral visitation and mournful duty in the churchyard, seems to have gradually abated. All the routine of work—prayers and expositions twice a day, sermons and Communion on Sundays and holy-days, tutorial work, and the meeting of various classes—is strictly observed, and also private devotions.



7. Does it precede or follow the use of the means of grace?  
'It ordinarily cometh by hearing.'
8. Is faith perfected by good works or only shown thereby?  
'By works faith is made perfect.'
9. Do you believe those called the Athanasian, the Nicene, and the Apostles' Creed to be agreeable to Scripture?  
'We do, if they are rightly understood.'
10. Do you believe the Mosaic precepts concerning unclean meats to be binding?  
'No further than is expressed, Acts xv.'
11. Is it lawful to bear arms, or to defend one's life by force? 'No.'
12. To put offenders to death? 'Yes.'
13. To go to law? 'No.'
14. To be a magistrate? 'Yes.'
15. To swear when required by a magistrate?  
No answer. (Their judgement is, No.)
16. Is celibacy a state more advantageous for holiness than marriage?  
'Yes, to them who are able to receive it.'
17. Are the ministrations of a man not episcopally ordained valid?
18. Does the wickedness of a man episcopally ordained make his ministrations invalid?  
'I dare neither affirm nor deny either of these questions universally.'
19. About what age do you commonly begin to instruct children in religion?  
'From their mothers' womb.'
20. And what age do you commonly confirm and begin to instruct and prepare them for the Lord's Supper?  
'We instruct children in Christianity from their infancy, but so as to regard their understanding rather than memory. I have known a child of eight years old admitted to communicate and a man of seventy not yet admitted.'
21. Is the Lord's Supper a means of grace? 'Yes.'
22. About what age do you commonly admit children to join with you in public prayer?  
'We do not so much regard the natural as the spiritual life.'
23. What qualifications do you require in them before you admit them to communicate?  
'To know, to love, and to follow Christ.'
24. Are all the brethren and sisters constant in attending the public prayers?  
'Every one may be present at the daily prayers, but is not compelled.'

25. When any are absent, are they themselves, or the rulers of the Church, judges of the cause of their absence?

'The overseers of the Church inquire the cause of them, and admonish them if they suspect slackness.'

26. Do you prefer extempore to set forms of prayer in public?

'Our hymns are forms of prayer. For the rest, every one speaks as he is moved by the Holy Ghost.'

27. How do you interpret that commandment of our Lord, 'Ye, when ye pray, say, Our Father'?

'As a command to avoid vain repetitions in prayer.'

28. Do your public prayers contain the four parts required by St. Paul, 1 Tim. ii. 1?

'No.'

29. Have you any joint intercession for enemies?

'No; but we pray daily for all men.'

30. Of the few prayers recorded in the New Testament, are the greater part addressed to Christ, or to the Father through Christ?

'We believe the Son equal with the Father.'

31. Have you any fixed or joint fasts?

'No; but we appoint them frequently.']

AUG. 1, *Mon.*—I set out with Mr. Spangenberg on my long-intended journey to Ebenezer.<sup>1</sup> In the way, I told him the calm we had so long enjoyed was now drawing to an end; that I hoped he would shortly see I was not, as some had told him, a respecter of persons; but was determined, God being

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AUG. 1, *Mon.*—At 8.30 he set out with Spangenberg and his friends, landing at Fort Augustine at 10.30. Thence they walked to Old Ebenezer, where the first Saltzburghers had settled. At nine in the evening they arrived at New Ebenezer, the more recent settlement.

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<sup>1</sup> When the first company of Saltzburghers arrived at Savannah under Baron von Reck, the choice of a situation was offered them, and they selected one the scenery of which bore some resemblance to that of their own country. Here they knelt down before God, in grateful acknowledgement of all His mercies to them in their extensive and perilous wanderings. With the Bible in their hands, they then marched up to the place which they deemed the most suitable as the site of a town; they then sang a hymn, and one of the pastors

pronounced the usual benediction. To the town which they intended forthwith to build they gave the name of Ebenezer. The 'poor Saltzburghers' were a remnant of the 25,000 driven from their homeland by the Roman Catholics; £33,000 was raised for them in London. Whitefield greatly admired the piety and industry of the settlers whom he visited at New Ebenezer. See an account published by the S.P.C.K.; Tyerman's *Wesley*, vol. i. p. 113; and Introduction to Jackson's edition of *Charles Wesley's Journal*, p. 29.

my helper, to behave indifferently to all, rich or poor, friends or enemies. I then asked his advice as to the difficulty I foresaw ; and resolved, by God's grace, to follow it.

In the evening we came to [the Old Town, which is more pleasantly situated than any settlement I have yet seen in Georgia. But the soil is exceeding barren, and likewise liable to be overflowed upon any sudden or violent rain.]

New Ebenezer, where the poor Saltzburghers are settled, [is about six miles distant from it, lying upon a high bluff close to the river. Here is some fruitful land, but not much, the pine-land bearing scarce anything.] The industry of this people is quite surprising. Their sixty huts are neatly and regularly built, and all the little spots of ground between them improved to the best advantage. One side of the town is a field of Indian corn ; on the other are the plantations of several private persons—all which together one would scarce think it possible for a handful of people to have done in one year.

[I was much pleased with the plainness of dress of Mrs. Boltzius and Mrs. Gronau, but more with what little I saw of their behaviour. It appeared to be their delight as well as their custom to be the servants of all. The hospitality, openness, and piety of their husbands could not be less agreeable.<sup>1</sup>

[They proposed to Mr. Spangenberg, in the most mild and friendly manner, the objections they had against him. Most of them fall in with the preceding questions. The rest, relating chiefly to the Count's exposition of Scripture and method of public prayer, fully convinced me that he likewise is but a man.

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*Tues. 2.*—He walked with Boltzius, the chief minister of the Saltzburghers, and conversed. Later, he sang with Gronau, the assistant minister, and listened to a conversation between Boltzius and Spangenberg. He returned home by way of Purrysburg, supping there, and leaving by boat at midnight. He steered until 1.15, when he slept until half-past three ; then he again steered, crossing the Sound at four. At six he arrived at home, drank tea, conversed with Delamotte, and immediately began visiting. But at ten he slept, in his Diary acknowledging weariness. At noon he was with the Germans, fulfilling all the ordinary duties of the after-part of the day.

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<sup>1</sup> See interesting particulars in a letter of one of their two ministers in *The Arminian Mag.* 1789, p. 148.



O Thou Giver of every good and perfect gift, how will men so full of faith and love adorn the gospel of Thy Christ, when Thou shalt give them a due reverence for the good old paths, and the openness and plainness of speech which He used in whose lips was no guile !]

*Wed.* 3.—We returned to Savannah.

[*Fri.* 5.—I gave Mr. Causton an account of our journey.]

*Sun.* 7.—I repelled Mrs. Williamson from the Holy Communion [for the reasons specified in my letter of July 5, as well as for not giving me notice of her design to communicate after having intermitted it for some time. I foresaw the consequences well, but remembered the promise in the Epistle for the day, 'God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able ; but will with the temptation also make a way to escape, that ye may be able to bear it.'

[In the evening Mrs. Williamson, in conversation with Mrs. Burnside, expressed much anger at my repelling her from the Holy Communion. Mrs. Burnside told her, 'You was much to blame, after receiving that letter from Mr. Wesley, to offer yourself at the Table before you had cleared yourself to him. But you may easily put an end to this by going to Mr. Wesley now, and clearing yourself of what you are charged with.' She replied, 'No, I will not show such a meanness of spirit as to speak to him about it myself, but somebody else shall.']

*Thur.* 4.—To-day he frequently read the Greek Testament.

*Fri.* 5.—There are several references to work ; and as they usually occur in connexion with walking, they probably indicate labour bestowed upon the new garden in the glebe.

*Sat.* 6.—He wrote to Mr. Spangenberg, whose name occurs thrice in the day.

*Sun.* 7.—After early prayers he spent an hour with Spangenberg and Eckstein, meditated, prayed, and prepared his sermon. Then came the act of discipline upon which he had so long thought, prayed, consulted—the act destined to revolutionize his life, eventually driving him from America back to his own country. This is the simple entry :

10  $\frac{1}{4}$  Prayers, sermon.

11  $\frac{1}{2}$  Eucharist, Miss Sophy repelled.

The rest of the day, with its catechizing, prayers, select society-meetings, and conversation, passed as usual, except that there was the burial of the dead.

*Mon. 8.*—Mr. Recorder of Savannah issued out the warrant following :

GEORGIA, SAVANNAH SS.

*To all Constables, Tithingmen, and others, whom these may concern :*

You, and each of you, are hereby required to take the body of John Wesley, Clerk :

And bring him before one of the bailiffs of the said town, to answer the complaint of William Williamson and Sophia his wife, for defaming the said Sophia, and refusing to administer to her the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in a public congregation, without cause ; by which the said William Williamson is damaged one thousand pounds sterling : And for so doing, this is your warrant, certifying what you are to do in the premisses. Given under my hand and seal the 8th day of August, *Anno Dom. 1737.*

THO. CHRISTIE.

[After evening prayers, we joined with the Germans in one of their lovefeasts. It was begun and ended with thanksgiving and prayer, and celebrated in so decent and solemn a manner as a Christian of the apostolic age would have allowed to be worthy of Christ.]

*Tues. 9.*—[I was apprehended by virtue of a warrant from the Recorder, and carried before the magistrates, Mr. Bailiff Parker and Mr. Recorder. Mr. Jones, the constable, served the warrant. Mr. Williamson's charge against me was : (1) that I had defamed his wife ; (2) that I had causelessly repelled her from the Holy Communion. The first article I denied.] As to the second, being purely ecclesiastical, I could not acknowledge their power to interrogate me. Mr. Parker told me, 'However, you must appear at the next Court, holden for Savannah.' Mr. Williamson,<sup>1</sup> who stood by, said, 'Gentlemen, I desire Mr. Wesley may give bail for his appearance.' But

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*Mon. 8.*—Two lines may be quoted from the evening record :

6 Within,  $\frac{1}{2}$  Mrs Turner, talk of Mrs Causton, they very angry !

8 Germans, Agape, sung, prayer, eat, sung, prayer.

*Tues. 9.*—The day, which must have been one of unusual excitement, was, if anything, fuller of pastoral duties than usual. At seven in the

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Williamson, it is said, arrived in the colony soon after Wesley. He was associated with Dr. Tailfer and

Anderson in the scurrilous attack upon Wesley. On the deposition of Causton in 1738, he was appointed Recorder.

Mr. Parker immediately replied, 'Sir, Mr. Wesley's word is sufficient.'

[Soon after an advertisement was set up (by Mr. Williamson), forbidding any one to carry me out of the province, as being 'guilty of divers notorious offences, under the penalty of one thousand pounds.' The Evening Lesson was the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Oh may I ever have respect unto the recompense of reward, and esteem the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt!]

*Wed. 10.*—Mr. Causton (from a just regard, as his letter expressed it, to the friendship which had subsisted between us till this affair) sent me a letter, wherein he required that I would meet him in the court-house at four in the afternoon, and [before all the people] give my reasons why I repelled his niece from the Holy Communion. [I could not assent to this on several accounts, as (1) because 'all the people' were not proper judges of ecclesiastical matters; (2) because I was unwilling to expose her; and (3) because I foresaw Mr. Causton himself would probably be insulted by the people.]

I answered, 'I apprehend many ill consequences may arise from so doing. Let the cause be laid before the Trustees.'

[About seven Mr. Gough, the officer on duty, rang the bell for relieving the guard. It was soon rumoured abroad that this bell rung for my trial, which occasioned a vast concourse of people. Soon after Mr. Causton came to my house, from whose behaviour I clearly saw that whatever the most vindictive temper could contrive, and lawless power execute, that I was to expect. I determined, however, God being my helper, to follow the directions He gave in the Lesson for the day: 'Let us lay aside every weight, . . . and let us run with patience the race that is set before us, looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith; who for the joy that was set before Him endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God.']

*Thur. 11.*—Mr. Causton came again to my house. His

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morning the constables came with a warrant, 'Before the magistrates.' The presence of Spangenberg, and the friendliness of the Burnsides and others, are gratefully noted.

*Thur. 11.*—At five o'clock in the morning Mr. Causton called. 'He very



language was now rougher than before. Among many other sharp words, he said, 'Make an end of this matter. Thou hadst best. My niece to be used thus! I have drawn the sword, and I will never sheathe it till I have satisfaction.'

Soon after he added, 'Give the reasons of your repelling her before the whole congregation.' I answered, 'Sir, if you insist upon it, I will; and so you may be pleased to tell her.' He said, 'Write to her, and tell her so yourself.' I said, 'I will; and after he went, I wrote as follows:

*To Mrs. Sophia Williamson.*

AT Mr. Causton's request, I write once more. The rules whereby I proceed are these:

'So many as intend to be partakers of the Holy Communion, shall signify their names to the Curate, at least some time the day before. This you did not do.

'And if any of these . . . have done any wrong to his neighbours, by word or deed, so that the congregation be thereby offended, the Curate . . . shall advertise him, that in any wise he presume not to come to the Lord's Table until he hath openly declared himself to have truly repented.'

If you offer yourself at the Lord's Table on Sunday, I will advertise you, as I have done more than once, wherein you have done wrong. And when you have openly declared yourself to have truly repented, I will administer to you the mysteries of God.

JOHN WESLEY.

*August 11, 1737.*

Mr. Delamotte carrying this, Mr. Causton said, among many other warm sayings, 'I am the person that am injured. The affront is offered to me; and I will espouse the cause of my niece. I am ill-used; and I will have satisfaction, if it be to be had in the world.'

Which way this satisfaction was to be had I did not yet conceive. But on Friday and Saturday it began to appear.

[In the Evening Lesson were these comfortable words: 'I will never leave thee nor forsake thee; so that we may boldly

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angry!' At five in the evening Töltschig—always a trusty friend and counsellor—came and remained an hour.

*Fri. 12.*—At six in the morning he 'writ Account of Mr. Causton *et cetera*,' and then spent an hour in 'singing with Delamotte.' In the afternoon, at Mrs. Burnside's, he read Francke's *Nicodemus*.

say, The Lord is my helper : I will not fear what man shall do unto me.'

[*Fri.* 12.—On this and the following days Mr. Causton read to as many as he conveniently could all the letters which I had writ to him or Miss Sophy, from the beginning of our acquaintance : not indeed throughout, but selecting such parts of each as might bear an ill construction, and inserting here and there a few words to make things more clear to the apprehension of the hearers. The rest of the family in the meantime were very industrious in convincing all they could speak to 'that Mr. Wesley had done this merely out of revenge because Sophy would not have him.' I sat still, and, I thank God, easy at home, having committed my cause to Him, and remembering His word which was read this night, 'Blessed is the man that endureth temptation : for when he is tried, he shall receive the crown of life, which the Lord hath promised to them that love Him.'

[*Sat.* 13.—Calling on one who knew my whole intercourse with Miss Sophy from the beginning, I found, notwithstanding, that a few conversations with Mr. Causton had convinced him that I was wholly in the wrong. I said little, believing the time was not yet come ; and indeed doubting whether it might be the will of God, inasmuch as He saw it to be best for me that I should be condemned and despised of all men.]

The words of St. James, read on Saturday, were : 'My brethren, have not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of glory, with respect of persons.'

I was only afraid lest those who were weak should 'be turned out of the way' ; at least so far as to forsake the public 'assembling of themselves together.' But I feared where no fear was. God took care of this also. So that on Sunday, the 14th, more were present at the morning prayers than had been for some months before. Many of them observed those words

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*Sat.* 13.—Wesley continued writing the account of Mr. Causton. The storm through which he was passing does not seem to have disturbed either his personal devotions or public work.

*Sun.* 14.—Mr. Dison, the chaplain of the Independent Company in St. Simon's Island, came after morning prayers. He was a man in whom the Wesleys had no confidence. At eight Wesley read the 'Last Prayer' by the side of Robert Polson.

in the first Lesson, 'Set Naboth on high among the people; and set two men, sons of Belial, before him, to bear witness against him.' [No less remarkable were those read in the afternoon, concerning Ahab and Micaiah in the Evening Lesson, 'I hate him, for he doth not prophesy good concerning me, but evil.' Oh may I ever be able to say with Micaiah, 'What the Lord saith unto me, that will I speak'; and that, though I too should be 'put in prison and fed there with bread of affliction and with water of affliction.'

[*Mon. 15.*—Mr. Causton desired Mr. Burnside, one who had been employed two years and a half in casting up and transcribing accounts for the Trustees, to sign a certificate, containing three heads: (1) that Mrs. Williamson had been for ten months last past as constant a communicant as any other; (2) that he could conceive no reason why she should be now repelled; (3) that she was and had been of an unblamable behaviour. Mr. Burnside said, 'He could not sign it with a safe conscience, knowing it to be false.' Upon which Mr. Causton, after many severe reproaches, discharged him from his employment, and told him he hoped he would never expect any more favours from him.

[Notwithstanding this example made of the first refuser, I do not hear of any more than two, out of between twenty and thirty communicants, with whom Mr. Causton had any better success. However, names of some sort or other must be had, and a good number was accordingly procured to a paper the very first article of which was shamelessly false (for she had omitted communicating nine times in three months), and which, had it been ever so true, not one of them was able to testify.

[All this week Mr. Causton employed his utmost power and art and application to prepare the persons who form the Grand Jury here against the next court day, which was Monday the 22nd instant. He was talking with some or other of them day and night. His table was open to all. Whatever they

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*Mon. 15.*—At six o'clock he set out with 'John' for the Cowpen and Irene, conversing, reading Kempis, and singing by the way. He returned home for dinner, and saw Töltschig and Bishop Anton. At five o'clock special prayer was offered for Mr. Causton and 'Miss Sophy.' The classes continued to meet.



pleased to have from the stores was delivered. Old misunderstandings were forgot. And nothing was too much to be done or promised to those who a week before could not procure a morsel of bread. This evening was the last time Mr. Causton was at church, or any of his family; Mrs. Causton declaring she would come there no more while I stayed at Savannah.]

*Tues. 16.*—[Fearing more of the communicants might be ensnared or offended by the reports so carefully propagated, I complied with the request of several of them, drew up a short relation of the case, and read it, after evening prayers were ended, in the open congregation. And this evening I suppose it was, that poor] Mrs. Williamson was induced to swear to and sign [the memorable] affidavit, insinuating much more than it asserted; but asserting that Mr. Wesley had many times proposed marriage to her, all which proposals she had rejected. [A case hitherto full as deplorable as that of Theomachus! God forbid it should have the same event!]

[*Wed. 17* (?) and the following days I possessed my soul in patience, casting all my care on God, and speaking very sparingly, lest I should speak amiss.] On Thursday or Friday the panel for the Grand Jury was delivered to the officers. But after the persons first impanelled were summoned, twenty-four more were added to the number. [This, Mr. Causton well considered, would add weight to everything transacted by them; which would then appear to be the general sense of the people: besides that so many being engaged in the same work they would encourage one another to take bolder steps than a few would dare to venture on.]

[I was now informed that Mr. Causton intended to proceed

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*Tues. 16, and Wed. 17.*—Nothing out of the ordinary course is noted.

*Thur. 18.*—The day seems to have been spent for the most part in the country. Wesley left home at 7.15. Familiar as he was with the country between Savannah and the Cowpen, he lost his way. Two entries may be quoted:

8 Lost, Gesang-buch. Mr Vel [? ister] in talk.

10 Gesang, wrote the Case. [He met Mr. and Mrs. Matthews, late Musgrove.]

The Captain whom he visited may, not improbably, have been 'Captain Williams,' who had a plantation in that neighbourhood—the Captain of Bristol notoriety.

*Fri. 19.*—He buried in the evening. Mr. Burnside's share in the suffering of persecution is the most prominent feature.

on three or four several indictments. But whether it were so or no, I was not careful, being instructed by the Lesson for the evening, 'Behold, the husbandman waiteth for the fruit of the earth, and hath long patience for it. Be ye also patient, stablish your hearts; for the coming of the Lord draweth nigh.'

[*Sat. 20.*—In the afternoon, remembering the former kindnesses of Mr. Causton and Miss Sophy, I was strongly moved to pray for them with my might, with earnest cries and many tears. 'O think not then that God hath forgotten to be gracious, or that He will shut up His lovingkindness in displeasure.'

[*Sun. 21.*—God gave us a day of rest.

[*Mon. 22.*—The Morning Lesson was the twentieth chapter of the Acts, a great part of which, by the grace of God, I could with confidence apply to myself. When the Court was met, Mr. Causton gave a long charge to the Grand Jury, to maintain their rights and privileges, and not to suffer any person to infringe their liberty or usurp an illegal authority over them. Forty-four jurors were then sworn, a great majority of whom were well prepared for their work, either by previous application from Mr. Causton or by avowed enmity to me or to the Church of England.] One was a Frenchman, who did not understand English, one a Papist, one a professed infidel, three Baptists, sixteen or seventeen other Dissenters; and several who had personal quarrels against me, and had openly vowed revenge.

Mrs. Williamson's affidavit was next read, of which I desired a copy. Mr. Causton answered that I might have one from any of the newspapers, [for it would be printed in them all immediately.

[The affidavit was as follows :

PROVINCE OF GEORGIA, SAVANNAH SS.

[*SOPHIA* Christiana Williamson, the wife of William Williamson, of Savannah aforesaid, maketh oath, that about twelve months since she was committed to the care of Mr. John Wesley, the missionary

*Sat. 20.*—A conversation on the Sacrament with Mrs. Gough is noted. Her husband received the Communion in the afternoon.

*Sun. 21.*—Nothing of special interest occurred.

*Mon. 22.*—The Case is named frequently. Between nine and twelve it was in Court. After dinner Miss Sophy 'went to the Grand Jury'; prayer for her. It may be some indication of the agitation through which Wesley was passing that here a blot fell on the page.

residing in this Province, by her relations, which care the said John Wesley discharged with a great deal of seeming fidelity for two or three months. And this Deponent further saith that, after the said three months, the said John Wesley began to use his endeavours to alienate the affections of the said Deponent from her said relations; and often in very pathetic terms urged to her the necessity of her forsaking them and leaving their house in order to cohabit with him, alleging that the said John Wesley would maintain her, and basely insinuating that she never could make so good a progress to salvation while she lived with them as she could if she lived wholly with him. And this Deponent further saith that the said John Wesley, finding all the aforesaid arguments and persuasions ineffectual, he, the said John Wesley, frequently made several overtures of marriage to the Deponent, without acquainting her relations thereof, as they have informed this Deponent. And the better to induce this Deponent thereto, he, the said John Wesley, often alleged that he could easily alter anything in his way of life that was disagreeable to her: though he, the said John Wesley, had always prescribed to this Deponent the same way of life he then led as the only means of obtaining salvation; to corroborate which he always added that he endeavoured to imitate the primitive fathers, who were strict imitators of the life of Christ. And this Deponent further saith that the said John Wesley further added that whereas he had no settled habitation, and in this regard Deponent might not like his present wandering way of life, he would procure to himself the settlement of Savannah; and used other arguments which this Deponent cannot at present recollect, whereby he gave this Deponent to understand that he would lay aside his former intentions of going among the Indians, in case this Deponent would approve of him for a husband. And this Deponent further saith that about three days before her marriage with the said William Williamson, the said John Wesley came to this Deponent and urged very much to know whether this Deponent had not been overpersuaded or forced to agree to the said marriage, and whether it might not still be prevented. Adding again that if there was anything in his way of life—by which he gave this Deponent to understand he meant fasting and the other severe mortifications which he, the said John Wesley, and she, this Deponent, by his instruction, had then strictly practised for about six months—which she, the said Deponent, had any dislike to, he, the said John Wesley, would make all these things easy to her, in case she would consent to marry him. And this Deponent further saith that ever since her marriage with the said William Williamson, he, the said John Wesley, hath taken all opportunities, in her husband's absence, to persecute this Deponent



and to force his private discourse to her, wherein he hath often terrified her with the danger her soul would be in if she did not continue to spend her time and converse with him, the said John Wesley, in the same manner she did before marriage. And this Deponent further saith that particularly about three months since the said John Wesley being at this Deponent's house among other company who were then busy with this Deponent's uncle, he, the said John Wesley, took an opportunity to follow this Deponent to the back door, and there told this Deponent that it was necessary for the benefit of her soul that he should still continue to converse with her; that she must not mind what the world said on such an occasion; and that she must contrive some opportunity or proper times for him to converse with her. To which this Deponent answered, 'She wondered he could desire any such thing, when he knew this Deponent's husband had so often forbidden him, and she had so often refused him so to do.'

Signed by Sophia Christiana Williamson. Sworn before me this 16th day of August, 1737.

HENRY PARKER.

Transcribed from the copy taken and attested by Mr. Burnside.]

Then the Court delivered to the Grand Jury the following paper, entitled :

A LIST OF GRIEVANCES PRESENTED BY THE GRAND JURY FOR  
SAVANNAH, THIS — DAY OF AUGUST, 1737

[THAT whereas the Colony of Georgia is composed of a mixed number of Christians, members of the Church of England and Dissenters, who all or most part would attend divine ordinances and communicate with a faithful pastor of the Established Church: the Rev. Mr. John Westley, who for the present serves the cure of Savannah, has not as the law directs emitted any declaration in this place of his adherence to the principles of the Church of England. We have the more reason to complain of grievances, that the said Revd. person (as we humbly conceive) deviates from the principles and regulations of the Established Church, in many particulars inconsistent with the happiness and prosperity of this Colony, as—

Prima, by inverting the order and method of the Liturgy;

2. By changing or altering such passages as he thinks proper in the version of Psalms publicly authorized to be sung in the church.

3. By introducing into the church and service at the Altar compositions of psalms and hymns not inspected or authorized by any proper judicature;

4. By introducing novelties, such as dipping infants, &c., in the Sacrament of Baptism, and refusing to baptize the children of such as will not submit to his innovations;

5. By restricting the benefit of the Lord's Supper to a small number of persons, and refusing it to all others who will not conform to a grievous set of penances, confessions, mortifications, and constant attendance of early and late hours of prayer, very inconsistent with the labour and employments of the Colony;

6. By administering the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to boys ignorant and unqualified, and that notwithstanding of their parents and nearest friends remonstrating against it, and accusing them of disobedience and other crimes, &c.;

7. By refusing to administrate the Holy Sacrament to well-disposed and well-living persons, unless they should submit to confessions and penances for crimes which they utterly refuse and whereof no evidence is offered;

8. By venting sundry uncharitable expressions of all who differ from him, and not pronouncing the Benediction in church, until all the hearers except his own communicants are withdrawn;

9. By teaching wives and servants that they ought absolutely to follow the course of mortification, fastings, and diets of prayers prescribed by him, without any regard to the interest of their private families, or the commands of their respective husbands and masters;

10. By refusing the Office of the Dead to such as did not communicate with him, or leaving out such parts of that Service as he thought proper;

11. By searching into and meddling with the affairs of private families, by means of servants and spies employed by him for that purpose, whereby the peace both of public and private life is much endangered;

12. By calling himself 'Ordinary,' and thereby claiming a jurisdiction which we believe is not due to him, and whereby we should be precluded from access to redress by any superior jurisdiction.

We do with all respect and deference to the person and character of the Revd. Mr. John Westley, present these our grievances: not from any resentment, but allarnarly that such relief may be afforded in time coming as shall be judged necessary for the interest of peace and religion in this Province.

[This odd Presentment was at first both opposed and defended with much warmth. But it was soon agreed to lay it aside; perhaps not so much for the notorious falsehood of many parts, as for the extreme uncouthness of the whole.]

[They examined Mrs. Williamson in the afternoon, and afterwards Mr. Causton, and Mrs. Causton on Tuesday. Mrs. Williamson declared she had no objection at all to my behaviour before her marriage; Mr. Causton that he should not have denied, if I had ever asked his consent to marry her, and Mrs. Causton that it was at her request I wrote the letter to Mrs. Williamson of July 5.

[*Wed.* 24.—The Grand Jury inquired into the ecclesiastical grievances. This likewise occasioned warm debates, but the majority, being sure men, prevailed at length and carried all the points; so that on Thursday Mr. Causton had the joy of a complete victory. It was now therefore time for God to arise, and to take the wise in their own craftiness. And that His hand might be the more remarkably visible therein, He chose Mr. Causton himself for His instrument; who being informed they were falling on other matters beyond his instructions, went to them, and behaved in such a manner that in one quarter of an hour he turned two-and-forty of the forty-four into a fixed resolution to inquire into his whole conduct. They entered directly upon the examination of witnesses on that head, and continued so to do all *Friday* (Aug. 26). On *Saturday* (27th), Mr. Causton, finding all his arts ineffectual, and that they were resolved to go through

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*Tues.* 23.—He wrote to Mr. Hird. His early morning devotions were taken singing. The Case occupied some hours. There was a burial in the evening. Afterwards he met Mrs. Burnside's class, and read the Case.

*Wed.* 24.—St. Bartholomew's day. After sermon and Communion, Mr. Boltzius came. They dined at Mrs. Burnside's, and read the Case.

*Thur.* 25.—A number of friends—Mr. How, Mr. West, Mr. Vanderplank, and others—are named in connexion with the Case. Wesley evidently regarded it as a matter of importance that his personal friends, who all may have been counted amongst his converts, should clearly understand the main features of a case which he instinctively seems to have regarded as one of the critical factors in his life. Hence the care with which he wrote it, and his persistence in reading what he had written to those who shared his confidence and the responsibilities of his work.

*Fri.* 26.—To-day Wesley read the Case to Mrs. Fallowfield and to Mrs. Vat.

*Sat.* 27.—At nine, walking, he made verses, and at 9.30 worked. Resuming his walk, after an hour's work, probably in the garden, he again made verses; so also in the afternoon. He seems to have sung the verses he had just made.



with their work, adjourned the Court till Thursday (Sept. 1) following, and spared no pains to bring them, in the meantime, to another mind. But the jurors he had added for my sake gave such spirit to the rest, that all his labour was in vain.<sup>1</sup>

[Thus far, however, he prevailed, that on *Thursday*, Sept. 1, the Grand Jury delivered two Presentations into Court containing ten indictments against me. They were read in Court as follows :

SAVANNAH SS.

[WHEREAS several disputes have happened within the Town and County of Savannah, concerning matters of religion and morality ; and whereas it is apprehended that many ill consequences may attend evil proceedings, in affairs of this solemn nature,

[Therefore we, the Grand Jury of the said Town and County, being duly sworn on the twenty-second of this month, think it our duty, as much as in us lies, to prevent the bad impressions which may be made upon the minds of well-disposed persons through the

*Sun.* 28.—It is characteristic of this time that, with the exception of Fleury, Kempis, and the Greek Testament, he read little, but sang and prayed much. This morning, however, before morning prayers, he read a Homily.

*Mon.* 29.—He wrote his Journal, visited the sick, and in the afternoon walked to the lot, where he worked.

*Tues.* 30.—He wrote his Journal, and read a letter from Count Zinzendorf.

*Wed.* 31.—The entry for this day is brief, and the final entry made in this Third Georgia Diary. Its transliteration may be quoted :

- 4 Private prayer, sung.
- 5 Prayers, tea, conversed (35).
- 6 Journal, J. prayer with Delamotte. Journal.
- 10  $\frac{1}{2}$  Visited.
- 11  $\frac{3}{4}$  Germans, Journal.
- 1 Fleury.
- 2  $\frac{1}{2}$  Mrs B's, within.
- 3 Tea, in talk  $\frac{3}{4}$  Nunes, Spanish.
- 4 Dispute 40.

<sup>1</sup> The scurrilous attacks made on Wesley at this time were not forgotten. They were referred to in *The European Mag.* 1789. The charges preferred against Causton by the same Grand Jury were sent to England on Sept. 1, and the next year Causton was dismissed for embezzlement. Parker had become his chief opponent. On being dis-

missed, Causton 'was obliged to make an assignment of his beautiful residence at Oakstead (Hogstead or Oxted?), was summoned to England to appear before the Trustees, who obliged him to return for the purpose of obtaining the needful vouchers, and on the return voyage found a watery grave' (see other particulars in *Gent.'s Mag.* 1739, p. 22).

artful misrepresentations of ill-designing people. And, having carefully examined several persons and papers, do upon our oaths present John Westley, clerk, of the said Town and County, for, that he the said John Westley, did after the twelfth day of March last, several (times) privately force his conversation to Sophia Christiana Williamson, wife of William Williamson, of the said Town and County, contrary to the express desire and command of him, the said William Williamson, and also the repeated promises of him, the said John Westley; and did likewise, after the date aforesaid, write and privately convey papers to the aforesaid Sophia Christiana Williamson contrary to the desire and command of him, the said William Williamson, which proceedings did occasion much uneasiness between the said William Williamson and Sophia Christiana Williamson his wife, contrary to the peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, his crown and dignity.

True Bill.

[Do also present the said John Westley, for that he did, on or about the seventh of this instant August, refuse the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to the said Sophia Christiana Williamson, and to the great disgrace and hurt of her character; from which proceeding we conceive that the said John Westley did assume an authority contrary to the laws established, and to the peace of our Lord the King, his crown and dignity.

True Bill.

*August 23, 1737.*

SAVANNAH.

[WHEREAS the Colony of Georgia is composed of a mixed number of Christian members of the Church of England and Dissenters, who all or most part would willingly attend Divine Ordinances and communicate with a faithful pastor of the Established Church: And whereas great uneasiness hath been occasioned among many well-disposed persons, being members of the Church of England and Dissenters in the Town and County of Savannah in the Colony aforesaid, by reason of sundry wrong proceedings in the form of Divine Service and administration of Sacraments in the said Town of Savannah:

[We, the Grand Jury of the Town and County, being duly sworn on the twenty-second of this month, think it our duty, as much as in us lies, to prevent the bad impression which may be made on the minds of well-disposed persons, through the artful misrepresentation of ill-designing men. And, having carefully examined several persons, do upon our oaths present John Westley, of the said Town and County, clerk, for that he, the said John Westley, hath not since his arrival at this town, emitted any Public Declaration of his adherence to the

Principles and Regulations of the Church of England, contrary to the laws established, and to the peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, his crown and dignity.

True Bill.

[Do also present the said John Westley, for that he hath, for many months past since his said arrival, divided on the Lord's Day the Order of Morning Prayer, appointed to be used in the Church of England: He, the said John Westley, only reading the said Morning Prayer and the Litany, at five or six of the clock, and wholly omitting the same between the hours of nine and eleven of the clock, the customary time of Public Morning Prayer, contrary to the peace of our, &c.

True Bill.

[Do also present the said John Westley, for that he did, on or about the month of April 1736, refuse to baptize otherwise than by dipping the child of Henry Parker, of the said Town and County, unless the said Henry Parker or his wife would certify that the said child was weak and not able to bear dipping; he, the said John Westley, adding to his refusal, that unless the said parents would consent to have their said child dipped, it might die a heathen; contrary to the peace of our, &c.

A True Bill.

[Do also present the said John Westley, for that notwithstanding his having administered the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to William Gough, of the said Town and County, sometime in or about the month of March 1736, he, the said John Westley, did within one month after the said date refuse the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to him, the said William Gough, saying he heard the said William Gough was a Dissenter, contrary to, &c.

A True Bill.

[Do also present the said John Westley, for that he did, in the latter end of June 1736, refuse reading the Office of Burial of the Dead over the body of Nathanael Polhill, only because the said Nathanael Polhill was not of the said John Westley's opinion: by means of which refusal, the said Nathanael Polhill was interred without the appointed Office for the Burial of the Dead, contrary to the peace, &c.

A True Bill.

[Do also present the said John Westley, for that on or about the tenth day of this month, he in presence of Thomas Causton did presumptuously call himself Ordinary<sup>1</sup> of this place, assuming thereby

<sup>1</sup> The title 'Ordinary' may have been used by Wesley in the Moravian sense. Zinzendorf was an 'Ordinary.' Did

Wesley's accusers suppose that the title was synonymous with 'bishop'? What, then, of the 'Ordinary' of Newgate?



an authority which we apprehend did of no right belong to him, contrary to the peace, &c.

A True Bill.

[Do also present the said John Westley, for that he did on or about the Tuesday in Whitsun week last refuse William Aglionby to stand Godfather to the child of Henry Manley, giving no other reason than that the said William Aglionby<sup>1</sup> had not been at the Communion Table with him the said John Westley, contrary to the peace, &c.

A True Bill.

[Do also present the said John Westley, for that he did, in or about the month of July last, baptize the child of Thomas Jones, having only one Godfather and one Godmother; contrary to the peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, his crown and dignity.

A True Bill.]

*August 31, 1737.*

SEPT. 2, *Fri.*—[The Court sat again. I then spoke to this effect: ‘As to nine of the ten indictments against me, I know this Court can take no cognizance of them, they being matters of an ecclesiastical nature, and this not being an Ecclesiastical Court. But the tenth, concerning my speaking and writing to Mrs. Williamson, is of a secular nature; and this therefore I desire may be tried here, where the facts complained of were committed.’ Little answer was made, and that purely evasive; in which for the present I acquiesced.

[In the afternoon I moved the Court again for an immediate trial at Savannah; that those who were or might be offended might clearly see (so I concluded what little I said) ‘whether I had done any wrong to any one, or whether I had deserved the thanks of Mrs. Williamson and Mr. Causton and all his family.’

[In Mr. Causton’s answer, which was full of civility and respect, was one very unguarded expression. ‘Perhaps things would not have been carried so far had you not said that afternoon, “You believed if Mr. Causton appeared, the people would tear him to pieces; not so much out of love to you as out of hatred to him for his abominable practices.”’

<sup>1</sup> Aglionby was an infidel—‘in all respects a disreputable fellow.’ Whitefield refused to read the Burial Service

over him. He would not allow Whitefield to pray with him on his death-bed.

[*Sat.* 3.—I was seized with a violent flux, which so weakened me before evening that I had much ado to get to church. But when I was there, God renewed my strength, so that I did not shorten the service. The next day I was much better, and in two days more it pleased God to restore me to perfect health.

[*Wed.* 7.—Mr. Dison, chaplain to the company of soldiers at Frederica, called at a house where I was, and said that he had now authority from the magistrates to perform ecclesiastical offices at Savannah, and should begin so to do the next day, by reading prayers, preaching, and administering the Sacrament. On *Thursday* the 8th, at nine, the first bell was accordingly rung; upon which I wrote and sent by Mr. Delamotte the following note:

*To the Magistrates of the Town of Savannah.*

[GENTLEMEN,

*Aug.* [*Sept.*] 8, 1737.

If you are not apprised that Mr. Dison intends this day publicly to perform several ecclesiastical offices in Savannah, and, as he says, by your authority, I do now apprise you thereof, and am, Gentlemen, your humble servant, J. W.

[Mr. Delamotte delivered it to Mr. Recorder. However, at ten the bell rung again, and Mr. Dison entered upon his office, by reading prayers and preaching in the church to Mrs. Causton (Mr. Causton being walked out of town), Mr. Williamson, Mrs. Williamson, and eight or ten more. He told the congregation he should do so every Thursday; that he had intended likewise to administer the Lord's Supper, but some of his communicants were indisposed; and that he would administer Baptism also to as many as he was desired.

[*Fri.* 9.—Mr. Delamotte believed it would be proper for me to go myself to England, chiefly to prevent or remove the misrepresentations which Mr. Williamson and his wife (who were to go in the next ship) might spread abroad. I begged advice of Him who had hitherto directed me, and received the two following answers (the one I interpreted as a personal caution, the other as foretelling the event of things), 'He went out and found one of his fellow servants which owed him an hundred pence. And he caught him by the throat, saying, Pay me that

thou owest.'—'Cast out the scorner, and contentions go out, yea strife and reproach shall cease.'

[*Sat.* 10.—Having consulted my friends, I laid aside the thoughts of going to England, thinking it more suitable to my calling still to commit my cause to God, and not to be in haste to justify myself; only to be always ready to give to any that should ask me a reason of the hope that is in me.

[*Sun.* 11.—After explaining to the congregation those words of our blessed Master, 'It must needs be that offences will come,' I read to them a paper which I had read before, on March 10, 1736, being the day I entered upon my ministry at Savannah. I had then apprised them of the offences that must needs come, and forewarned them of the occasions, as: (1) that I must admonish every one of them, not only in public, but from house to house; (2) that I could admit none to the Holy Communion without previous notice; (3) that I should divide the morning service on Sundays, in compliance with the first design of the Church; (4) that I must obey the Rubric by dipping all children who were able to endure it; (5) that I could admit none who were not communicants to be sureties in Baptism; (6) that in general, though I had all the ecclesiastical authority which was entrusted to any within this Province, yet I was only a servant of the Church of England, not a judge, and therefore obliged to keep to her regulations in all things.

[I made a short application to remind them that all the offences lately taken had sprung, directly or indirectly, from one or other of these occasions. Excepting only one, 'The not declaring my adherence to the principles and practices of the Church of England'; which being a charge I had not the least suspicion of, I could not guard against.

[*Mon.* 12.—I was desired to read over the following paper, designed to be sent to England immediately:]

*To the Honourable the Trustees for Georgia.*

WHEREAS two presentments have been made, the one of August 23, the other of August 31, by the Grand Jury for the town and county of Savannah, in Georgia, against John Wesley, clerk.

We, whose names are underwritten, being members of the Grand Jury, do humbly beg leave to signify our dislike of the said present-



ments ; being by many and divers circumstances, thoroughly persuaded in ourselves that the whole charge against Mr. Wesley is an artifice of Mr. Causton's, designed rather to blacken the character of Mr. Wesley than to free the colony from religious tyranny, as he was pleased, in his Charge to us, to term it. But as these circumstances will be too tedious to trouble your Honours with, we shall only beg leave to give the reasons of our dissent from the particular bills.

With regard to the First bill, we do not apprehend that Mr. Wesley acted against any law, by writing or speaking to Mrs. Williamson, since it does not appear to us that the said Mr. Wesley has either spoken in private, or wrote to the said Mrs. Williamson, since March 12 (the day of her marriage), except one letter of July the 5th, which he wrote at the request of her uncle, as a pastor, to exhort and reprove her.

The Second we do not apprehend to be a true bill ; because we humbly conceive Mr. Wesley did not assume to himself any authority contrary to law. For we understand, 'Every person intending to communicate should signify his name to the Curate, at least some time the day before' ; which Mrs. Williamson did not do ; although Mr. Wesley had often, in full congregation, declared he did insist on a compliance with that Rubric, and had before repelled divers persons for non-compliance therewith.

The Third we do not think a true bill ; because several of us have been his hearers, when he has declared his adherence to the Church of England, in a stronger manner than by a formal declaration ; by explaining and defending the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian Creeds, the Thirty-nine Articles, the whole Book of Common Prayer, and the Homilies of the said Church ; and because we think a formal declaration is not required but from those who have received institution and induction.

The fact alleged in the Fourth bill we cannot apprehend to be contrary to any law in being.

The Fifth we do not think a true bill ; because we conceive Mr. Wesley is justified by the Rubric, viz. 'If they' (the parents) 'certify that the child is weak, it shall suffice to pour water upon it.' Intimating (as we humbly suppose) it shall not suffice if they do not certify.

The Sixth cannot be a true bill ; because the said William Gough, being one of our members, was surprised to hear himself named, without his knowledge or privity ; and did publicly declare it was no grievance to him, because the said John Wesley had given him reasons with which he was satisfied.

The Seventh we do not apprehend to be a true bill ; for Nathanael Polhill was an Anabaptist, and desired in his life-time that he might

not be interred with the Office of the Church of England. And further, we have good reason to believe that Mr. Wesley was at Frederica, or on his return thence, when Polhill was buried.

As to the Eighth bill we are in doubt, as not well knowing the meaning of the word 'Ordinary.' But for the Ninth and Tenth, we think Mr. Wesley is sufficiently justified by the Canons of the Church, which forbid 'any person to be admitted godfather or godmother to any child, before the said person has received the Holy Communion'; whereas William Aglionby and Jacob Matthews had never certified Mr. Wesley that they had received it.

This paper, showing the sense of the minority of the Grand Jurors concerning the Presentments, was transmitted to the Trustees. It was signed by twelve of the Grand Jurors, of whom three were Constables, and six more Tithingmen; who, consequently, would have made a majority, had the Jury consisted, as it regularly should have done, of only fifteen members, viz. the four Constables and eleven Tithingmen.

[*Thur.* 15.—Mr. Bradley desired me to step with him to Mr. Causton's to be a witness to the conclusion of a conference at the beginning of which I was present, by Mr. Causton's desire, on July 18. I was very averse to such a work, but believed I could not honestly decline it, though I knew an artful man would some way turn it to my disadvantage. And so (I was some weeks after informed) he has done, by sending two or three affidavits to the Trustees; in which, I suppose (for a copy of them he refused), he has turned the tables and accused me of the incivility which I then received from him.]

*Fri.* 30.—Having ended the Homilies, I began reading Dr. Rogers's eight sermons<sup>1</sup> to the congregation; hoping they might be a timely antidote against the poison of infidelity which was now with great industry propagated among us; [it being about this time that Mr. Causton read a clause of the Trustees' Charter to the two fathers of the unfaithful, to show them that if they would hold a meeting under the name of Quakers, I could not hinder them.

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<sup>1</sup> Rogers published four volumes of sermons, as well as an able tractate on *The Visible and Invisible Church*. He held the living of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, until his death in 1729.

[OCT. 6, *Thur.*—Two of the communicants on whose account much suspicion, animosity, and dissension had arisen among the rest, gave glory to God by clearly and openly declaring what had passed between them, and referring the whole to their pastor and a select number of their brethren, whereby peace and unity were restored and established.]

*Fri.* 7.—I consulted my friends whether God did not call me to return to England. The reason for which I left it had now no force, there being no possibility, as yet, of instructing the Indians; neither had I, as yet, found or heard of any Indians on the continent of America who had the least desire of being instructed. And as to Savannah, having never engaged myself, either by word or letter, to stay there a day longer than I should judge convenient, nor ever taken charge of the people any otherwise than as in my passage to the heathen, I looked upon myself to be fully discharged therefrom by the vacating of that design. Besides, there was a probability of doing more service to that unhappy people in England than I could do in Georgia, by representing, without fear or favour to the Trustees, the real state the colony was in. After deeply considering these things, they were unanimous that I ought to go; but not yet. So I laid the thoughts of it aside for the present, being persuaded that when the time was come, God would 'make the way plain before my face.'

[*Tues.* 11.—I went to Ebenezer to inquire of Mr. Boltzius and Gronau whether I could do them any service, if God should prosper me in my journey. If 'the hand of the diligent maketh rich,' this poor people cannot be long in the present distress. On Wednesday evening I came back to Savannah.

[*Thur.* 13.—I inadvertently mentioned Mr. Causton's desiring me to write the Trustees an account of the Scotch at Savannah. A Scotch gentleman who was present acquainted his countrymen with it, who seemed at first to resent it highly. But Mr. Causton flatly denying it, they appeared pretty well satisfied.]

*Sat.* 15.—Being at Highgate, a village five miles from Savannah, consisting of (all but one) French families, who, I found, knew but little of the English tongue, I offered to read



prayers there in French every Saturday in the afternoon. They embraced the offer gladly.<sup>1</sup>

[*Thur.* 20.—A Court was held in order to pass sentence on Captain Watson, who had been two years and eleven months confined as a lunatic. But oppression had not yet made him mad. He offered to prove by witnesses then in court that the verdict on which this sentence was to be grounded had never been given, and was entirely different from that verdict which the Jury on November 20, 1734, had delivered to the Court in writing. But his witnesses were not suffered to speak, and he was remanded to his confinement.

*Sat.* 22.—I read prayers in German likewise, to the German villagers of Hampstead<sup>2</sup>; and so continued to do once a week. We began the service both at Highgate and Hampstead with singing a psalm. Then I read and explained a chapter in the French or German Testament, and concluded with prayers and another psalm.

[*Sun.* 23.—Having ended Fleury's *Manners of the Ancient Christians*, we began to instruct the children, in public as well as private, in a short paraphrase of our Lord's Sermon on the Mount.]

*Sat.* 29.—Some of the French of Savannah were present at the prayers at Highgate. The next day I received a message from them all, 'That as I read prayers to the French at Highgate, who were but few, they hoped I would do the same to those of Savannah, where was a large number who did not understand English.'

*Sun.* 30.—I began so to do; and now I had full employment for that holy-day. The first English prayers lasted from five till half an hour past six. The Italian, which I read to a few Vaudois, began at nine.<sup>3</sup> The second service

<sup>1</sup> Wesley's closing ministry in Georgia was remarkably polyglot. English, Germans, French, Spaniards, Italians heard in their own tongue, wherein they were born, the wonderful works of God.

<sup>2</sup> Highgate and Hampstead together numbered fourteen families. Oglethorpe promised the Brethren, and secured, a grant of five hundred acres for Zinzendorf

and fifty for Spangenberg. Whitefield's Journal mentions these villages.

<sup>3</sup> Wesley could not speak Italian very well. The Vaudois had been invited to the colony to assist in the tending and management of silkworms. In a poem Samuel Wesley mentions 'silks for the ladies' as one of the benefits to be gained by the founding of the colony, in

for the English, including the sermon and the Holy Communion, continued from half an hour past ten till about half an hour past twelve. The French service began at one. At two I catechized the children. About three began the English service. After this was ended, I had the happiness of joining with as many as my largest room would hold, in reading, prayer, and singing praise. And about six the service of the Moravians, so called, began; at which I was glad to be present, not as a teacher, but a learner.

[*Mon.* 31.—The Grand Jury sitting in the court-house, we had the evening prayers in the school, which held upwards of thirty persons conveniently. The rest stood without, but I hope not so far off as to fail of that blessing which God giveth to all that diligently seek Him.<sup>1</sup>

[*Nov.* 1, *Tues.*—Colonel Stephens arrived, by whom I received a benefaction of £10 sterling; after having been for several months without one shilling in the house, but not without peace, health, and contentment.]<sup>2</sup>

*Thur.* 3.—I appeared again at the Court holden on that day. [Being informed it was Mr. Hugh Anderson<sup>3</sup> who had asserted 'that I went from house to house to stir up the people to mutiny, and that I had publicly affirmed myself to be the Bishop and Ordinary of this place,' I took an opportunity this day to desire the Court he might either prove or retract these assertions. But Mr. Causton said, 'It is not a proper time.' So I acquiesced, and let the matter sleep.<sup>4</sup>

[*Fri.* 4.—Mr. Burnside having let his house in town, as resolving to remove immediately into the country so soon as he had a small hut built, I invited him and his family to stay at my house in the meantime. The next day Mr. Watson was set at liberty, after a confinement of two years, eleven months, and nineteen days. And on *Sunday* the 6th, being fully satisfied

which he took deep interest. The Common Seal of the Corporation had on one side silkworms at work, with the motto 'Non sibi, sed aliis.'

<sup>1</sup> During November Wesley continued to preach (Stephens's *Journal of the Proceedings in Georgia*).

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Burton wrote for the Trustees a

sympathetic letter: 'The V.-Prov. of Eton has given you £10 for your private use and doing works of charity' (Moore, *Life*, vol. i. p. 324). See p. 326.

<sup>3</sup> Author with Tailfer of the *History*.

<sup>4</sup> Wesley was cheered by letters. One from Dr. Cutler, of Boston, is now in the Colman Collection (App. XXIV. vol. vi.).

of his integrity as well as understanding (though he neither disguised the faults he had before been guilty of), I admitted him to the Holy Communion.]

*Tues. 22.*—[Mr. Causton<sup>1</sup> desired to have a conference with me wherein, he said, he doubted not but he should clear up all the misunderstandings which had been between us. Accordingly at three in the afternoon I went to him. He spoke many fair words, but I now knew their sterling value.] He likewise read me the affidavits made September 15, in one of which it was expressly asserted that I had assaulted<sup>2</sup> Mr. Causton in his own house, calling him liar, villain, and so forth. [But he assured me 'none of these affidavits was gone to the Trustees'; and it was true, for he had sent only the copies.] It was at this conversation, Mr. Anderson told me I had been reprimanded in the last Court, for an enemy to and hinderer of the public peace. [We all parted, in appearance, friends.]

I again consulted my friends, who agreed with me that the time we looked for was now come. The next morning I went to Mr. Causton again and told him [I did not think it proper for a hinderer of the public peace to stay in the place where he was so, and that] I designed to set out for England immediately. I posted up an advertisement in the Great Square<sup>3</sup> to the same effect, and then quietly prepared myself for the journey.

[*Wed. 30.*—I went to Mr. Causton<sup>4</sup> once more to desire money for the expenses of it (the journey to England). The same evening two children were baptized, as were three more the

<sup>1</sup> Before Oglethorpe sailed for England he said, 'Causton, whatever you do, take heed, if you regard my favour, that you do not quarrel with Mr. Wesley' (Moore's *Wesley*, p. 119).

<sup>2</sup> In Wesley's MS. the word is *assaulted*; in the first edition *abused*.

<sup>3</sup> Now re-named Percival Square.

<sup>4</sup> Jackson and Tyerman, in commenting on the prosecution of Wesley, quote from a pamphlet, published at Charlestown in 1741, written 'by P. Tailfer, M.D., H. Anderson, M.A., and others, land-owners of Georgia,' to show that Causton was guilty of dishonesty before he came

to Georgia, and in Savannah, as Keeper of the Trustees' Stores; and that, as chief magistrate, he was guilty of gross mal-administration and tyranny. He was dismissed from both offices by Oglethorpe on his return to Georgia in Oct. 1738. And yet Wesley himself never pleaded Causton's bad character, or Williamson's, as a justification of his own severe pastoral discipline. When Church, vicar of Battersea, in 1745, and Bishop Warburton, in 1746, reproached him with the finding of the Grand Jury, he defended himself without referring to the allegations against Causton, or to his penal dismissal from



day following (the youngest two years and a half, the eldest six years old) whose parents had been Anabaptists.]

DEC. 2, *Fri.*—I proposed to set out for Port Royal, Carolina, about noon, the tide then serving. But about ten the magistrates sent for me, and told me I must not go out of the province; for I had not answered the allegations laid against me. I replied, 'I have appeared at six or seven Courts successively in order to answer them. But I was not suffered so to do, when I desired it time after time.' Then they said, however, I must not go, unless I would give security to answer those allegations at their Court. I asked, 'What security?' After consulting together about two hours, the Recorder showed me a kind of bond, engaging me, under a penalty of fifty pounds, to appear at their Court when I should be required. He added, 'But Mr. Williamson, too, has desired of us, that you should give bail to answer his action.' I then told him plainly, 'Sir, you use me very ill, and so you do the Trustees. I will give neither any bond nor any bail at all. You know your business, and I know mine.'

In the afternoon the magistrates published an order, requiring all the officers and sentinels to prevent my going out of the province, and forbidding any person to assist me so to do. Being now only a prisoner at large, in a place where I knew by experience every day would give fresh opportunity to procure evidence of words I never said, and actions I never did, I saw clearly the hour was come for [me to fly for my life,] leaving this place; and as soon as evening prayers were over, about eight o'clock, the tide then serving, I shook off the dust of my feet, and left Georgia, after having preached the gospel there [with much weakness indeed and many infirmities,] not as I ought, but as I was able, one year and nearly nine months.<sup>1</sup> ['Oh that thou hadst known, at least in this thy day, the things which make for thy peace!']

office. (See Wesley's *Works*, vols. viii. and ix.) Wesley himself acknowledged that his ministerial discipline at Savannah was mistaken and unwise. (See his admission, *Journal*, Sept. 1749, on the case of Boltzius, the Saltzburgh minister whom he refused to admit to the Lord's

Table because he was not episcopally baptized.)

<sup>1</sup> Yet Whitefield says in his *Journal* (June 2, 1738): 'The good Mr. John Wesley has done in America, under God, is inexpressible. His name is very precious among the people, and he has

During this time I had frequent opportunities of making many observations and inquiries concerning the real state of this province which has been so variously represented, the English settlements therein, and the Indians that have intercourse with them. These I minuted down from time to time ; a small extract of which I have subjoined.

1. Georgia<sup>1</sup> lies in the 30th and 31st degree of north latitude. The air is generally clear, the rains being much shorter, as well as heavier, than in England. The dews are very great. Thunder and lightning are expected almost every day in May, June, July, and August. They are very terrible, especially to a stranger. During those months, from ten in the morning to four in the afternoon, the sun is extremely scorching. But the sea-breeze generally blows from ten till three or four. The winter is nearly of the same length as in England. But the midday sun is always warm, even when the mornings and evenings are very sharp, and the nights piercing cold.

2. The land is of four sorts—pine-barren, oak-land, swamp,<sup>2</sup> and marsh. The pine-land is of far the greatest extent, especially near the sea-coasts. The soil of this is a dry, whitish sand, producing shrubs of several sorts, and between them a spiry, coarse grass, which cattle do not love to feed on. But here and there is a little of a better kind, especially in the savannahs,—so they call the low, watery meadows, which are usually intermixed with pine-lands. It bears naturally two sorts of fruit,—whortleberries, much like those in England ; and Chinkapin-nuts, a dry, harsh nut, about the size of a small acorn. A laborious man may, in one year, clear and plant four or five acres of this land. It will produce, the first year, from two to four bushels of Indian corn, and from four to eight of Indian pease, per acre. The second year it usually bears half as much ; the third, less ; the fourth, nothing.<sup>3</sup>

laid such a foundation that I hope neither men nor devils will ever be able to shake.’

<sup>1</sup> Georgia was the only strip on the eastern coast of America not already parcelled out ; it was a wilderness over which England held only a nominal jurisdiction. The objects aimed at by the Trustees were fully stated by Dr. Burton in his published sermons, and in an official pamphlet issued in 1733 (see Jackson’s *Life of Charles Wesley*), Southey says : ‘No colony was ever established upon principles more honour-

able to its projectors’ (see Thomson’s *Liberty*, Part V, lines 638–46). The Royal Charter was granted in 1732. The colony contained 59,475 square miles.

<sup>2</sup> The Americans suffered in these swamps and sandy deserts, called Pine-barrens, in the War of Independence (Cassell’s *History of England*, vol. iv. p. 274).

<sup>3</sup> But, when cultivated, oranges, rice, wheat, peas, and Indian corn grew in abundance (see ‘Extract of T. Rankin’s Journal’ in *Lives of the Early Methodist*

3. Vines, mulberries, and peach-trees it bears well. The white mulberry is not good to eat. The black is about the size of a black-berry, and has much the same flavour. In fresh pine-land, Indian potatoes grow well—which are more luscious and larger than the Irish; and so do water-melons and sewee-beans, about the size of our scarlet, but to be shelled and eaten like Windsor beans.

4. Oak-land commonly lies in narrow streaks between pine-land and some swamp, creek, or river. The soil is a blackish sand, producing several kinds of oak (though none exactly like the English), bay, laurel, ash, walnut, sumach-trees, gum-trees (a sort of sycamore), dog-trees (covered in spring with large white flowers), and many hickory-trees, which bear a bad kind of walnut. In the moistest part of this land some persimmon-trees grow (which bear a sort of yellow, clear, luscious plum), and a few mulberry- and cherry-trees. The common wild grapes are of two sorts, both red. The fox-grape grows two or three only on a stalk, is thick-skinned, large-stoned, of a harsh taste, and of the size of a small Kentish cherry. The cluster-grape is of a harsh taste too, and about the size of a white currant.

5. This land requires much labour to clear; but when it is cleared it will bear any grain for three, four, or sometimes five years, without laying any manure upon it. An acre of it generally bears ten bushels of Indian corn, besides five of pease, in a year; so that this at present is justly esteemed the most valuable land in the province.

6. A swamp is any low, watery place which is covered with trees or canes. They are here of three sorts—cypress, river, and cane swamps. Cypress-swamps<sup>1</sup> are mostly large ponds, in and round which cypresses grow. Most river-swamps are overflowed every tide by the river which runs through or near them. If they were drained, they would produce good rice; as would the cane-swamps also; which in the meantime are the best feeding for all sorts of cattle.

7. The marshes are of two sorts: soft marsh, which is all a quagmire, and absolutely good for nothing; and hard marsh, which is a firm but barren sand, bearing only sour rushes. Marshes of both sorts abound on the sea islands, which are very numerous, and contain all sorts of land. And upon these chiefly, near creeks and runs of water, juniper-trees and cedars grow.

8. Savannah stands on a flat *bluff* (so they term any highland

*Preachers*, vol. v. p. 185. See also Bertram's *Travels*, *Arminian Mag.* 1793, for an account of the fertility of this territory, and *Gent.'s Mag.* 1739, p. 23).

<sup>1</sup> See 'cypress-swamp,' p. 304

(Dec. 22, 1736). Many of the British troops lost their lives in these swamps (*Ann. Register*, 1739, pp. 182-3). Rice was one of the staple commodities, and was of great service to both sides in the War of Independence.



hanging over a creek or river), which rises forty-five feet perpendicular from the river, and commands it several miles both upward and downward. The soil is a white sand for above a mile in breadth, south-east and north-west. Beyond this, eastward, is a river-swamp; westward a small wood, in which was the old Indian town. On the other side of the river is a marshy island, covered with large trees. South-west of the town is a large pine-barren, which extends backward to a branch of the Alatomahaw river.<sup>1</sup>

9. St. Simon's Island, having on the south-east the Gulf of Florida, on the other sides branches of the Alatomahaw, is about one hundred miles south of Savannah, and extends in length about twenty, in breadth from two to five miles. On the west side of it, on a low bluff, stands Frederica,<sup>2</sup> having woods to the north and south; to the east, partly woods, partly savannahs, and partly marshes. The soil is mostly a blackish sand. There is not much pine-land on the island; the greatest part being oak-land, intermixed with many savannahs and old Spanish or Indian fields.

10. On the sea-point, about five miles south-east of the town, is the

<sup>1</sup> See *Annual Register* for 1779, p. 31, for a description of the district; also Whitefield's Journal, p. 90, par. 9. The Spaniards alleged that St. Simon's belonged to them (Whitefield's Journal, p. 90), of which island Frederica was the chief town. It boasts the best, deepest, and safest harbour on the American coast below the Chesapeake.

<sup>2</sup> Of the present condition of Frederica and the island of St. Simon's, Bishop Hendrix says: (1) Frederica was of chief importance as the principal town on St. Simon's Island, and the site of the fort there, which guarded the Georgia settlement from the Spaniards of St. Augustine. There was never a town of much size, the garrison constituting the larger population. (2) There is no town called Frederica now on the site of the old town of Wesley's day, only a small settlement consisting of a few farm-houses, together with a country school-house, and church building of the Protestant Episcopal Church, near which is the Anson Dodge Home for orphan boys. This worthy institution was founded by a former rector, the Rev. Anson J. P. Dodge, in memory of his son, a little lad

who lost his life by being thrown from a buggy. Mr. Dodge left quite a sum of money for the founding of Episcopal churches in the destitute parts of Georgia. By virtue of this fact St. Simon's Island, with a population of only 720 (540 of whom are negroes), is served almost wholly by the Protestant Episcopal Church. The remaining 180 people are divided as follows: Episcopalians, 11; Methodists, 6; Baptists, 16; Roman Catholics, 13. Frederica was the second parish in Georgia, Christ Church, Savannah, being the first. Mr. Dodge left at his death in 1898 three white churches and two for negroes. Among the negroes there is a small Methodist congregation served by a local preacher. The Protestant Episcopal Church has one negro clergyman on the island. (3) Frederica was situated on the west side of St. Simon's Island, near the northern end, and was separated from the mainland by a channel not wider than the Thames at London Bridge. This information was supplied to Bishop Hendrix, of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, in November 1901, by the rector on the island the Rev. D. Walter Wynn.

fort where the soldiers are stationed.<sup>1</sup> But the storehouse in Frederica better deserves that name; being encompassed with regular ramparts of earth, and a palisaded ditch, and mounted with cannon, which entirely command the river.

11. About twenty miles north-west from St. Simon's is Darien, the settlement of the Scotch Highlanders, a mile from Fort King George, which was built about seventeen and abandoned about eleven years since. The town<sup>2</sup> lies on the mainland, close to a branch of the Alatamahaw, on a bluff about thirty feet above the river, having woods on all sides. The soil is a blackish sand. They built at first many scattered huts; but last spring (1736), expecting the Spaniards, they built themselves a large fort, and all retired within the walls of it.

12. Augusta, distant from Savannah one hundred and fifty miles, and five from old Savannah Town, is designed to stand in an old Indian field, on a bluff, about thirty feet high. A small fort of wooden piles was built there in 1737; but no house was then built, nor any more ground cleared, than Mr. Lacy and his men found so.

13. Old Ebenezer, where the Saltzburghers settled at first,<sup>3</sup> lies twenty-five miles west of Savannah. A small creek runs by the town, down to the river, and many brooks run between the little

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<sup>1</sup> Oglethorpe commissioned William Cook as engineer, with the salary of fifteen shillings a day; but, upon pretence of sickness, when the Spaniards came to invade Georgia with a fleet and an army of between four and five thousand men, he left the country (*Gent.'s Mag.* 1744, p. 336).

<sup>2</sup> The town was called New Inverness. This fort is mentioned in Oglethorpe's report on the threatened invasion of the colony by the Spaniards.

<sup>3</sup> 'Two years afterwards (1735) a large and important addition was made to the settlement by the immigration of a body of German Protestants, who were expelled from the province of Saltzburgh on account of religion. About two hundred of these exiles (who altogether amounted to 25,000, or a tenth of the whole population) embarked for Georgia in four transports, which they were enabled to equip through the liberality of the S.P.C.K., a society which continued to supply them with funds for the support of their schools till the separation of the

American Colonies from Great Britain.' (Hawkins's *Notices*.)

On the occasion of his first visit to New Ebenezer (July 10, 1738), Whitefield writes: 'They are blessed with two such pious ministers as I have not often seen. They have no courts of judicature, but all little differences are immediately decided by their ministers, whom they look upon and love as their fathers. They likewise have an Orphan House, in which are seventeen children and one widow, and I was much delighted to see the regularity wherewith it was managed. I gave Mr. Boltzius, one of their ministers, some of my poor stores for his orphans. He called them all before him, catechized, and exhorted them to give God thanks for His good providence towards them; then prayed with them, and made them pray after him; then sang a psalm; and afterwards the little lambs came and shook me by the hand, one by one. So we parted, and I scarce was ever better pleased in my life.'

In a letter to Dr. Isaac Watts, Zeigen-

hills: but the soil is hungry, barren sand; and upon any sudden shower the brooks rise several feet perpendicular, and overflow whatever is near them. Since the Saltzburghers removed, two English families have been placed there: but these, too, say that the land is good for nothing; and that the creek is of little use; it being by water twenty miles to the river, and the water generally so low in the summer-time that a boat cannot come within six or seven miles of the town.

14. New Ebenezer, to which the Saltzburghers removed in March 1736, lies six miles eastward from the old, on a high bluff, near the Savannah river. Here are some tracts of fruitful land, though the greatest part of that adjoining to the town is pine-barren. The huts, sixty in number, are neatly and regularly built; the little piece of ground allotted to each for a garden is everywhere put to the best use, no spot being left unplanted. Nay, even one of the main streets, being one more than was as yet wanted, bore them this year a crop of Indian corn.

15. About ten miles east of this, on a creek, three miles from the river, was the village of Abercorn. Ten families settled here in 1733, but it is now without inhabitant. Four miles below the mouth of Abercorn Creek is Joseph's Town, the settlement of two Scotch gentlemen.<sup>1</sup> A mile below was Sir Francis Bathurst's plantation; and a quarter of a mile from this Walter Augustine's settlement. But both these are left without inhabitant.

16. A mile below this is Captain Williams's<sup>2</sup> plantation; a mile from thence Mrs. Matthews's (late Musgrove), commonly known by the name of the Cowpen; adjoining to which is the land belonging to Captain Watson, on which is an unfinished house, swiftly running to ruin. A mile from this is Irene,<sup>3</sup> a house built for an Indian school, in the year 1736. It stands on a small round hill, in a little piece of fruitful ground, given by the Indians to Mr. Ingham. The Indian town is within a furlong of it.

17. Five miles south-west of Savannah, on a small rise, stands the

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hagen, court chaplain to the Queen Consort of George II, says of them (Nov. 1737): 'In every respect they are suffering great poverty and hardships. Their pious and indefatigable minister, the Rev. Mr. Boltzius, acquaints me that any old rag thrown away in Europe is of service to them; for instance, old shoes, stockings, shirts, or anything of wearing apparel for men or women, grown people or children' (Milner's *Life*

of Dr. Watts, p. 72, quoted by Tyerman).

<sup>1</sup> Among the settlers were persons of prosperity, who hoped to turn their capital to good account.

<sup>2</sup> For Captain Williams, see p. 85, and App. II. vol. vi.

<sup>3</sup> Irene was so called from the name of the ship that brought out the first settlers. Ingham lived there. Whitefield opened a school at Highgate. The Hampstead villagers were from Switzerland.



village of Highgate.<sup>1</sup> It has pine-land on three sides, and a swamp on the fourth. Twelve families were placed here in 1733, nine whereof remain there. A mile eastward of this is Hampstead, settled with twelve families also, a little before Highgate, five of which are still remaining.

18. Six miles south-east of Savannah is Thunderbolt. Three families are settled here, near a small, ruinous fort. Four miles south of this is the island of Skidoway<sup>2</sup>; on the north-east point whereof ten families were placed in 1734 (a small fort was built here likewise), but nine of them are either dead or removed to other places. A small creek divides Skidoway from Tybee Island, on the south-east part of which, fronting the inlet, the lighthouse<sup>3</sup> is built. Ten families were settled here in 1734; but they are part dead, and part removed, so that the island is now again without any fixed inhabitant.

19. Twelve miles southward from Savannah, by land, is Mr. Houstoun's plantation; and forty or fifty miles from him, up the Ogeechee river,<sup>4</sup> that where Mr. Stirling for some time lived. Fort Argyle stands twenty miles from this, on a high bluff, by the river Ogeechee. It is a small, square, wooden fort, musket-proof. Ten freeholders were settled near it; but eight of them are gone, and the land they had cleared, lying waste, will, in a few years, be as it was before.

20. The southernmost settlement in Georgia is Fort St. Andrew.<sup>5</sup> It stands fifty miles south of Frederica, on the south-west side of Cumberland Island, upon a high neck of land, which commands the river both ways. The walls are of wood, filled up with earth, round which are a ditch and palisade.

21. It is hard to pick out any consistent account of the Georgian Indians<sup>6</sup> from the contradictory relations of their traders. The

<sup>1</sup> Three hundred French religious refugees settled in a Virginia village in 1699. The S.P.C.K., at Dr. Woodward's instance, sent them tracts. See Whitefield's Journal for his ministrations to the French colonists of Highgate: he admired the industry of the villagers. 'There is an Italian family that had woven as fine silk as any made in Piedmont' (*Gent.'s Mag.* 1739, p. 23).

<sup>2</sup> The principal family in 1736, when John and Charles Wesley held services in the island, was that of Mr. Mouse, who seems to have been a trader. He or his wife was often in Frederica and sometimes in Savannah.

<sup>3</sup> This lighthouse is mentioned in

connexion with British operations (*Ann. Reg.* 1779, p. 30).

<sup>4</sup> On the banks of the Ogeechee the Moravians built their first settlement in 1735.

<sup>5</sup> This fort is often mentioned in the early history of the settlement. In May 1736 Oglethorpe led an expedition to Point St. George, 'within sight of the Spanish look-out,' and to Fort St. Andrews. On his return he dictated a report for the Trustees to Charles Wesley, who, in his Journal (pp. 23-25), gives an interesting account.

<sup>6</sup> These were known as the Creek Indians, numbering at this time about 25,000. They were divided into eight

following is extracted, partly from those wherein all, or the generality of them, agree; partly from the relations of such as have been occasionally amongst them, and have no interest in making them better or worse than they are.

22. Of the Georgian Indians in general it may be observed that they are not so properly nations as tribes or clans, who have wandered thither at different times—perhaps expelled their native countries by stronger tribes—but how or when they cannot tell, being none of them able to give any rational account of themselves. They are inured to hardships of all kinds, and surprisingly patient of pain. But as they have no letters, so they have no religion, no laws, no civil government. Nor have they any kings or princes, properly speaking; their meikos, or headmen, having no power either to command or punish, no man obeying them any further than he pleases. So that every one doeth what is right in his own eyes; and if it appears wrong to his neighbour, the person aggrieved usually steals on the other unawares, and shoots him, scalps him, or cuts off his ears, having only two short rules of proceeding—to do what he will, and what he can.

23. They are likewise all, except perhaps the Choctaws,<sup>1</sup> gluttons, drunkards, thieves, dissemblers, liars. They are implacable, unmerciful; murderers of fathers, murderers of mothers, murderers of their own children—it being a common thing for a son to shoot his father or mother because they are old and past labour, and for a woman either to procure abortion, or to throw her child into the next river, because she will go with her husband to the war. Indeed, husbands, strictly speaking, they have none; for any man leaves his wife (so called) at pleasure, who frequently, in return, cuts the throats of all the children she has had by him. Whoredom they account no crime, and few instances appear of a young Indian woman's refusing any one. Nor have they any fixed punishment for adultery; only, if the husband take his wife with another man, he will do what he can to both, unless speedily pacified by the present of a gun or a blanket.

24. The Choctaws<sup>2</sup> only have some appearance of an entire nation, possessing a large extent of land, eight or nine hundred miles west of Savannah, and many well-inhabited towns. They are said to have six

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tribes. Niccachumpo, 'the long chief,' in the name of these confederated tribes, conducted the first parley with the British adventurers.

<sup>1</sup> The Moravian settlers asked for a missionary to preach to these degraded people. Christian Henry Rauch, who

was sent, had many converts (see the *Christian History*, 1743).

<sup>2</sup> For the Choctaws, see p. 238. In 1903 Madison E. Jefferson, 'a full-blooded Choctaw,' was made a Methodist elder, and a minister of the same tribe took part in the ordination.

thousand fighting men, united under one head. At present they are in league with the French,<sup>1</sup> who have sent some priests among them, by whom (if one may credit the Choctaw traders) ten or twelve have been baptized.

25. Next to these, to the north-east, are the Chicasaws. Their country is flat, full of meadows, springs, and rivers. In their fields, though six or seven hundred miles from the sea, are found sea-shells in great numbers. They have about nine hundred fighting men, ten towns, and one meiko, at least, in every one. They are eminently gluttons, eating, drinking, and smoking all day, and almost all night. They are extremely indolent and lazy,<sup>2</sup> except in war; then they are the most indefatigable and the most valiant of all the Indians. But they are equally cruel with the rest, torturing and burning all their prisoners, whether Indian or European.

26. East of them, in the latitude of 35° and 36°, about three or four hundred miles from Savannah, lie the Cherokees.<sup>3</sup> Their country is very mountainous, fruitful, and pleasant. They have fifty-two towns, and above three thousand fighting men. In each town are three or more headmen, who keep up a sort of shadow of government, having power to set the rest to work, and to punish such as will not join in the common labour. They are civil to strangers, and will do anything for them, *for pay*, being always willing, for a small piece of money, to carry a message for fifty or sixty miles, and, if required, a heavy burden too; but they are equally cruel to prisoners with the Chicasaws, though not equally valiant. They are seldom intemperate in drinking but when they can be so on free cost. Otherwise, love of drink yields to covetousness—a vice scarcely to be found in any Indian but a Cherokee.

27. The Uchees<sup>4</sup> have only one small town left (near two hundred miles from Savannah) and about forty fighting men. The Creeks have been many times on the point of cutting them off. They are indeed hated by most, and despised by all the other nations, as well for their cowardice, as their superlative diligence in thieving, and for out-lying all the Indians upon the continent.

<sup>1</sup> See *Digest of S.P.G. Records*, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> 'Lazy.' In his *Appeal* Wesley writes: 'I have seen a large company of reasonable creatures called Indians, sitting in a row on the side of a river, looking sometimes at one another, sometimes at the sky, and sometimes at the bubbles on the water. And so they sat, unless in time of war, for a great part

of the year, from morning to night.'

<sup>3</sup> The Cherokees were the friends of England. (See Holmes, vol. i. p. 387; and 'Sorrows of the Cherokees,' in *W.M. Mag.* 1856, p. 802.)

<sup>4</sup> In a report to the Trustees Oglethorpe mentions the readiness of the king of the Uchees to help him against the Spaniards.



28. The Creek Indians<sup>1</sup> are about four hundred miles from Savannah. They are said to be bounded on the west by the Choctaws, to the north by the Chicasaws, to the east by the Cherokees, and to the south by the Alatamahaw river. They have many towns, a plain, well-watered country, and fifteen hundred fighting men. They have often three or four meikos in a town; but without so much as the shadow of authority, only to give advice, which every one is at liberty to take or leave. But age and reputation for valour and wisdom have given Chicali,<sup>2</sup> a meiko of the Coweta-Town, a more than ordinary influence over the nation; though not even the show of regal power. Yet neither age, wisdom, nor reputation can restrain him from drunkenness. Indeed, all the Creeks, having been most conversant with white men, are most infected with insatiate love of drink, as well as other European vices. They are more exquisite dissemblers than the rest of their countrymen. They know not what friendship or gratitude means. They show no inclination to learn anything, but least of all Christianity; being full as opinionated of their own parts and wisdom as either modern Chinese or ancient Romans.<sup>3</sup>

DEC. 3, *Sat.*—We came to Purrysburg<sup>4</sup> early in the morning. Here I endeavoured to procure a guide to Port Royal, [whither we hoped to walk before evening]. But none being to be had, we set out, [with the best directions we could procure,] an hour before sunrise. [In half an hour we lost the path; an hour after, we came to a plantation, where a lad, undertaking to guide us for a mile and a half, led us just so much out of the way, and then delivered us to an old Frenchman,] by whom we were brought into a little blind-path, running along a line of blazed trees, which he said would lead us directly to Port Royal. In this we walked, being four in all, two of whom intended to go for England

<sup>1</sup> These were the Indians among whom Ingham lived for a few months. He began a grammar of their language, or, perhaps more truly, a vocabulary.

<sup>2</sup> See Whitefield's Journal (Tyerman), vol. i. p. 135, and App. XXV. vol. vi.

<sup>3</sup> The Creek Indians are now largely a Christian people, made so by the labours of the Methodist ministers. If Wesley himself failed in his mission to the Indians, his children, who follow in their father's footsteps, owing everything to his example and teaching, and not a

little to his sufferings in Georgia, have succeeded. The present elected chief is an elder in the M.E. Church South (Dr. Hoss in *The Methodist Recorder*).

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Burton, in one of his letters, says that the people of this place began the buying of negroes. Oglethorpe said, 'Slavery is against the gospel as well as against the fundamental laws of England.' Purrysburg figures in the war of the rebellion (see *Ann. Reg.* 1779, p. 181). Locke is said to have drafted a constitution for Carolina.

with me, and the other to settle in Carolina. About eleven we came into a large swamp, without path or blaze, where we wandered up and down near three hours. About two we gat out, found a blaze, and traced it till it divided into two ; one of which we followed through an almost impassable thicket, the briers of which dealt but roughly both with our clothes and skin, till we came to the end of the blaze. We then prayed to God to direct us, and forced our way through the thicket once more, searched out the other blaze, and traced that till it came to an end too.

It now grew towards sunset ; so we sat us down on the ground, faint and weary enough. Indeed, had the day continued we could not have gone much farther, having had no sustenance since five in the morning, except [about a quarter of a pint of rum and] a cake of gingerbread [which Mrs. Burnside had persuaded me to take with me]. A third part of this we had divided among us for dinner, another third we took for our supper, and the rest we reserved for the next day. Our worst want was that of water, having met with none all day. I thrust a cane we had into the ground, and, drawing it out, found the end moist. Upon which two of our company fell to digging with their hands, and at about three feet depth found good water. We thanked God, drank, and were much refreshed. The night was sharp, [and we had no means of making a fire]. However, there was no complaining. But after we had commended ourselves to God, we lay down close together, and I at least slept till morning.

*Sun. 4.*—God renewed our strength so that we rose neither faint nor hungry, and having committed ourselves to His protection, and drank each of us a draught of water, set forward for Port Royal. We steered by the sun, as near as we could, east. But finding neither path nor blaze, and the woods growing thicker and thicker, we judged, after an hour or two's trial, it was our best course to return, if we could, by the way we came. The day before I had broke, though I knew no reason why, many young trees almost all the way we went. These we found a great help in many places, where neither blaze nor path was to be seen. At twelve we ate the remainder of our cake, and, meeting some moist ground, dug as before and found water.

Between one and two God brought us safe to Benjamin Arieu's house, the old man whom we had left the day before.<sup>1</sup>

In the evening I read French prayers to a numerous family a mile from Arieu's; one of whom undertook to guide us to Port Royal, which he said was between forty and fifty miles off. In the morning we set out, but took care to carry a good loaf of bread with us. About sunset we asked our guide if he knew where he was, who frankly answered, 'No.' However, we pushed on, sometimes in a path and sometimes out, till about seven we came to a plantation, which indeed was many miles [off] that we designed to go to. But here we got good potatoes and a lodging; by the next evening, after many difficulties and delays, we landed on Port Royal Island.<sup>2</sup>

Wed. 7.—We walked to Beaufort, [on the other side of Port Royal Island. Here we met with many of our old neighbours of Savannah, who appeared heartily glad to see us. Our interview much resembled that of persons who, having by different ways escaped out of a common shipwreck, naturally relate to each other the fears and dangers they have gone through, and the means of their deliverance from them.

[Both this and the following day the gentleman] (Mr. Jones,<sup>3</sup> the minister of Beaufort) who invited me to his house gave me a lively idea of the old English hospitality. [Yet observing the elegance and more than neatness of everything round about him, I could not but sigh to myself and say, '*Heu delicatum discipulum duri magistri!*']

Thur. 8.—Mr. Delamotte came, with whom on *Friday* the 9th I set out for Charlestown by water. [In the evening, the wind having been against us all day, we were hospitably entertained at Mr. Cockram's plantation. I cannot say so of the poor folk at whose plantation we landed the next day; who, however, at last gave us a few bad potatoes, of which they plainly told us we robbed the swine. The wind continuing contrary,

<sup>1</sup> Whitefield's friend Horton was lost in the woods.

<sup>2</sup> Port Royal Island was of great military value to the British (*Ann. Reg.* 1779, pp. 185, 208).

<sup>3</sup> For Mr. Jones see Anderson's *History of the Colonial Church*, vol. iii.

p. 640, and George Whitefield's *Letters*, vol. i. p. 241. A legacy of £100 was bequeathed by the Rev. L. Jones, of St. Helens, for the support of a free school at Beaufort (*Digest of S.P.G. Records*). Nine missionaries were sent to the plantations in 1700-1.



we could but just reach John's Island on *Monday*, the 12th, in the morning. Here we were obliged to stay till noon. Our provisions falling short, we desired of Mr. G—— a little meat or drink of any sort, either with or without price; and with much difficulty obtained some potatoes, and liberty to roast them in a fire which his negroes had made a distance from the house.]

*Tues.* 13.—Early we came to Charlestown,<sup>1</sup> where I expected trials of a quite different nature, and far more dangerous; contempt and hunger being easy to be borne: but who can bear respect and fullness of bread?

*Wed.* 14.—Being desired [by Mr. Garden's assistant] to read prayers, I was much refreshed by those glorious [prophecies and] promises which were exhibited to us both in the seventy-second Psalm and in the First Lesson, the fortieth chapter of Isaiah. ['Amen! May those who trust in the Lord renew their strength'; and 'let all the earth be filled with the glory of His majesty!']

In the afternoon, visiting a poor man who in all probability had not many days to live, we found him full of the freshest advices, domestic and foreign, and busy in settling the affairs [of Muscovy and Persia,] of the Czarina, Prince Thamas, and the Ottoman Porte. [Surely the notion of the Platonists is right:]

Quae cura nitentis(-es)

Pascere equos, eadem sequitur, tellure repostos.<sup>2</sup>

For if a soul quivering on the verge of life has still leisure to amuse itself with battles and sieges, why may not the same dreams continue, even in the sleep of death?

[*Thur.* 15.—I began to feel the effects of ease and harmless

<sup>1</sup> Whitefield was charmed with Charlestown; he also was well treated here, as his Diary shows. See *Meth. Mag.* 1798, p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> *Nitentis* is a variant form of the plural. The whole passage reads:

Arma procul currusque virum miratur inanes.

Stant terra defixae hastae, passimque soluti  
Per campum pascuntur equi. Quae gratia currum

Armorumque fuit vivis, quae cura nitentes  
*Pascere equos, eadem sequitur, tellure repostos.*

VIRGIL, *Aen.* vi. 651-5.

'He views with wonder in the distance the heroes' arms and shadowy battle-cars. Their spears stand fixed in the soil, and here and there their steeds, unharnessed, roam grazing over the plain. The same delight they took in chariots and armour when alive, and the same care they took to feed their sleek steeds, attends them still, buried though they be.'

The italicized words translate the lines quoted by Wesley. (*W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 24.)

conversation, having no spirit left in me. So that I should have fallen an easy prey to any temptation which had then attacked me. But the next day it pleased God to give me new life; and I again rejoiced in His strength, and felt a good hope that I should continue to watch and pray, and not enter into temptation.]

*Fri.* 16.—I parted from the last of those friends who came with me into America, Mr. Charles Delamotte,<sup>1</sup> from whom I had been but a few days separate since October 14, 1735.

*Sun.* 18.—I was seized with a violent flux, which I felt came not before I wanted it. Yet I had strength enough given to preach once more to this careless people; and a few 'believed our report.'

*Thur.* 22.—I took my leave of America,<sup>2</sup> though, if it please God, not for ever, going on board the *Samuel*, Captain Percy, with a young gentleman who had been a few months in Carolina, one of my parishioners of Savannah, and a Frenchman, late of Purrysburg, who was escaped thence with the skin of his teeth.<sup>3</sup>

*Sat.* 24.—We sailed over Charlestown bar, and about noon lost sight of land. The wind was fair, but high, as it was on *Sunday* the 25th, when the sea affected me more than it had done in the sixteen weeks of our passage to America. I was obliged to lie down the greatest part of the day, being easy only in that posture.

*Mon.* 26.—I began instructing a negro lad in the principles of Christianity. The next day I resolved to break off living delicately, and return to my old simplicity of diet; and after I did so, neither my stomach nor my head much complained of the motion of the ship.

*Wed.* 28.—Finding the unaccountable apprehensions of I

<sup>1</sup> Delamotte sailed for England on June 2, 1738, the poor people deeply regretting his departure. Whitefield lent him £15, which the Trustees refunded, to pay his passage. See *Meth. Mag.* 1798, p. 359, and *W.H.S. Proceedings*.

<sup>2</sup> Both John and Charles Wesley cherished the hope of returning. When again in England, Charles Wesley said to James Vernon, one of the Trustees,

'That is my desire and design,' that is, to return. John Wesley, in a letter to Whitefield many years later, seriously planned another visit to the New World.

<sup>3</sup> The Frenchman is mentioned on p. 367. Eleanor Hayes also returned (see Tyerman, vol. i. p. 165). She became one of the first London Methodists. Of her an interesting notice may be found in the *W.M. Mag.* 1867, p. 147.

know not what danger (the wind being small and the sea smooth), which had been upon me several days, increase, I cried earnestly for help; and it pleased God, as in a moment, to restore peace to my soul.

Let me observe hereon, 1. That not one of these hours ought to pass out of my remembrance, till I attain another manner of spirit, a spirit equally willing to glorify God by life or by death. 2. That whoever is uneasy on any account (bodily pain alone excepted) carries in himself his own conviction, that he is so far an unbeliever. Is he uneasy at the apprehension of death? then he believeth not 'to die is gain': at any of the events of life? then he hath not a firm belief that 'all things work together for' his 'good.' And if he bring the matter more close, he will always find, beside the general want of faith, every particular uneasiness is evidently owing to the want of some particular Christian temper.

1738. JAN. 1, *Sun.*—All in the ship, except the captain and steersman, were present both at the morning and evening service, and appeared as deeply attentive as even the poor people of Frederica did, while the word of God was new to their ears. And it may be one or two among these likewise may 'bring forth fruit with patience.'

*Mon. 2.*—Being sorrowful and very heavy, though I could give no particular reason for it, and utterly unwilling to speak close to any of my little flock (about twenty persons), I was in doubt whether my neglect of them was not one cause of my own heaviness. In the evening, therefore, I began instructing the cabin-boy; after which I was much easier.

I went several times the following days, with a design to speak to the sailors, but could not. I mean, I was quite averse from speaking; I could not see how to make an occasion, and it seemed quite absurd to speak without. Is not this what men commonly mean by 'I could not speak'? And is this a sufficient cause of silence, or no? Is it a prohibition from the Good Spirit? or a temptation from nature or the Evil One?

*Fri. 6.*—I ended the 'Abridgement of Mr. de Renty's Life.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This was published by Wesley in *Life of Monsieur de Renty, a late Nobleman of France.* Green, in his *Wesley* 1741, with the title *An Extract of the*



Oh that such a life should be related by such an historian! who, by inserting all, if not more than all, the weak things that holy man ever said or did, by his commendation of almost every action or word which either deserved or needed it not, and by his injudicious manner of relating many others which were indeed highly commendable, has cast the shade of superstition and folly over one of the brightest patterns of heavenly wisdom.

*Sat. 7.*—I began to read and explain some passages of the Bible to the young negro. The next morning, another negro who was on board desired to be a hearer too. From them I went to the poor Frenchman, who, understanding no English, had none else in the ship with whom he could converse. And from this time I read and explained to him a chapter in the Testament every morning.

*Sun. 8.*—In the fullness of my heart, I wrote the following words :

By the most infallible of proofs, inward feeling, I am convinced,

1. Of unbelief; having no such faith in Christ as will prevent my heart from being troubled; which it could not be, if I believed in God, and rightly believed also in Him :

2. Of pride, throughout my life past; inasmuch as I thought I had what I find I have not :

3. Of gross irrecollection; inasmuch as in a storm I cry to God every moment; in a calm, not :

4. Of levity and luxuriancy of spirit, recurring whenever the pressure is taken off, and appearing by my speaking words not tending to edify; but most by my manner of speaking of my enemies.

Lord, save, or I perish! Save me,

1. By such a faith as implies peace in life and in death :

2. By such humility as may fill my heart from this hour for ever,

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*Bibliography*, says: 'This is extracted from "The Holy Life of Monr. De Renty, a late Nobleman of France and sometimes Councillor to King Lewis the 13th. Written in French by John Baptist S. Jure, and faithfully translated into English, by E. S. Gent, London: John Crook, at the Sign of the Ship in St. Paul's Churchyard, 1658." The 358 pages of this translation are carefully

abridged to 67.' Six editions were published during Wesley's life. If Wesley blames the historian, he praises his subject. The French marquis is mentioned in Wesley's *Works*, vols. viii. x. xi. xii. and xiii. His proof of the Trinity by the testimony of consciousness influenced the Wesleys, E. Perronet, and others; it may be traced in the Wesleyan Hymn-book,

with a piercing uninterrupted sense, *Nihil est quod hactenus feci*;<sup>1</sup> having evidently built without a foundation :

3. By such a recollection as may cry to Thee every moment, especially when all is calm : Give me faith, or I die ; give me a lowly spirit ; otherwise, *mihi non sit suave vivere* :<sup>2</sup>

4. By steadiness, seriousness, *σεμνότης*, sobriety of spirit ; avoiding, as fire, every word that tendeth not to edifying ; and never speaking of any who oppose me, or sin against God, without all my own sins set in array before my face.

This morning, after explaining these words of St. Paul, 'I beseech you, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God,' I exhorted my fellow travellers with all my might to comply with the apostle's direction. But 'leaving them afterwards to themselves,' the seriousness they showed at first soon vanished away.

On *Monday* the 9th, and the following days, I reflected much on that vain desire, which had pursued me for so many years, of being in solitude in order to be a Christian. I have now, thought I, solitude enough. But am I therefore the nearer being a Christian? Not if Jesus Christ be the model of Christianity. I doubt, indeed, I am much nearer that mystery of Satan which some writers affect to call by that name. So near, that I had probably sunk wholly into it, had not the great mercy of God just now thrown me upon reading St. Cyprian's works.<sup>3</sup> 'O my soul, come not thou into their secret!' Stand thou in the good old paths.

<sup>1</sup> 'What I have hitherto done is nothing.' *Imitatio* of Thomas à Kempis, I. 19, i. (*W.H.S.* vol. vii. p. 34).

<sup>2</sup> 'Let life be a burden to me.' Or, more literally, 'Let it be no pleasure to me to live.' A reminiscence of Terence, *Heaut.* III. i. 73: 'Tibi autem porro ut non sit suave vivere.' (*W.H.S.* v. 25.)

<sup>3</sup> Cyprian embraced the Christian faith at Carthage, A.D. 246, and in two years became bishop of that See. For a time he fled from persecution, and, while away, wrote some of his works. In 288 he suffered martyrdom under Valerian. Wesley admired his writing,

and in his long letter to Dr. Conyers Middleton he defended Cyprian against that author's attack (*Wesley's Works*, vol. x. pp. 45-50). Cyprian had no sympathy with the dreamy and speculative genius of the East. His stern assertion of ecclesiastical order and sacerdotal domination, his rigid asceticism, and his dauntless heroism in the time of pestilence, appealed to Wesley at this juncture. Later in his *Journal* he refers to the famous bishop as a Governor of the Church. A study of Cyprian would probably reveal one of the many sources of Wesley's scheme of life and discipline.

*Fri.* 13.—We had a thorough storm, which obliged us to shut all close, the sea breaking over the ship continually. I was at first afraid<sup>1</sup>; but cried to God, and was strengthened. Before ten I lay down; I bless God, without fear. About midnight we were awakened by a confused noise of seas and wind and men's voices, the like to which I had never heard before. The sound of the sea breaking over and against the sides of the ship, I could compare to nothing but large cannon or American thunder. The rebounding, starting, quivering motion of the ship much resembled what is said of earthquakes. The captain was upon deck in an instant. But his men could not hear what he said. It blew a proper hurricane; which beginning at south-west, then went west, north-west, north, and, in a quarter of an hour, round by the east to the south-west point again. At the same time the sea running (as they term it) mountain-high, and that from many different points at once, the ship would not obey the helm; nor indeed could the steersman, through the violent rain, see the compass. So he was forced to let her run before the wind, and in half an hour the stress of the storm was over.

About noon the next day it ceased. But first I had resolved, God being my helper, not only to preach it to all, but to apply the word of God to every single soul in the ship; and if but one, yea, if not one of them will hear, I know 'my labour is not in vain.'

I no sooner executed this resolution than my spirit revived, so that from this day I had no more of that fearfulness and heaviness which before almost continually weighed me down. I am sensible one who thinks the being *in orco*, as they phrase it, an indispensable preparative for being a Christian, would say, I had better have continued in that state; and that this unseasonable relief was a curse, not a blessing.<sup>2</sup> Nay, but who art thou, O man, who, in favour of a wretched hypothesis, thus blasphemest the good gift of God? Hath not He Himself said, 'This also is the gift of God, if a man have power to

<sup>1</sup> Wesley speaks more strongly as to his fear on p. 140 (*W.M. Mag.* 1845, p. 656). Compare the storm mentioned, pp. 142-3; also that described by

Whitefield on his first return from America.

<sup>2</sup> 'Rather I would in darkness mourn.' (*Meth. Hymn-book*, 1904, No. 442, vv. 3 and 4.)



rejoice in his labour'? Yea, God setteth His own seal to his weak endeavours, while He thus 'answereth him in the joy of his heart.'

*Tues. 24.*—We spoke with two ships, outward-bound, from whom we had the welcome news of our wanting but one hundred and sixty leagues of the Land's End. My mind was now full of thought, part of which I writ down as follows :

I went to America, to convert the Indians; but oh, who shall convert me?<sup>1</sup> who, what is he that will deliver me from this evil heart of unbelief? I have a fair summer religion. I can talk well; nay, and believe myself, while no danger is near. But let death look me in the face, and my spirit is troubled. Nor can I say, 'To die is gain'!

I have a sin of fear, that when I've spun  
My last thread, I shall perish on the shore!<sup>2</sup>

I think, verily, if the gospel be true, I am safe: for I not only have given, and do give, all my goods to feed the poor; I not only give my body to be burned, drowned, or whatever God shall appoint for me; but I follow after charity (though not as I ought, yet as I can), if haply I may attain it. I *now* believe the gospel is true. 'I show my faith by my works,' by staking my all upon it. I would do so again and again a thousand times, if the choice were still to make. Whoever sees me, sees I would be a Christian. Therefore 'are my ways not like other men's ways.' Therefore I have been, I am, I am content to be, 'a by-word, a proverb of reproach.' But in a storm I think, What if the gospel be not true? Then thou art of all men most foolish. For what hast thou given thy goods, thy ease, thy friends, thy reputation, thy country, thy life? For what art thou wandering over the face of the earth?—A dream, a cunningly-devised fable! Oh, who will deliver me from this fear of death? What shall I do? Where shall I fly from it? Should I fight against it by thinking or by not thinking of it? A wise man advised me some time since, 'Be still, and go on.' Perhaps this is best, to look upon it as my cross; when it comes, to let it humble me, and quicken all my good resolutions, especially that of praying without ceasing; and at other times, to take no thought about it, but quietly to go on 'in the work of the Lord.'<sup>3</sup>

[For many years I have been tossed by various winds of doctrine.

<sup>1</sup> See this repeated on next page. 'Sir, I perceive that you would fain convert the world. But you must wait God's own time.' So Law wrote to Wesley. Law described the going out to Georgia as the project of a 'crack-brained enthusiast,' while others held

that Wesley had some expectation of being made bishop of the province.

<sup>2</sup> Donne.

<sup>3</sup> The paragraphs which follow are from a 'private paper' quoted by Moore (*Life*, vol. i. p. 342).

I asked long ago, 'What must I do to be saved?' The Scripture answered, Keep the commandments, believe, hope, love; follow after these tempers till thou hast fully attained, that is till death; by all those outward works and means which God hath appointed, by walking as Christ walked.

[I was early warned against laying, as the Papists do, too much stress on outward works, or on a faith without works; which, as it does not include, so it will never lead to, true hope or charity. Nor am I sensible that to this hour I have laid too much stress on either; having from the very beginning valued both faith, and the means of grace, and good works, not on their own account, but as believing God, who had appointed them, would by them bring me in due time to the mind that was in Christ.

[But before God's time was come, I fell among some Lutheran and Calvinist authors, whose confused and indigested accounts magnified faith to such an amazing size that it quite hid all the rest of the commandments. I did not then see that this was the natural effect of their overgrown fear of Popery; being so terrified with the cry of merit and good works, that they plunged at once into the other extreme. In this labyrinth I was utterly lost; not being able to find out what the error was, nor yet to reconcile this uncouth hypothesis either with Scripture or common sense.

[The English writers, such as Bishop Beveridge, Bishop Taylor, and Mr. Nelson, a little relieved me from these well-meaning, wrong-headed Germans. Their accounts of Christianity I could easily see to be, in the main, consistent both with reason and Scripture. Only when they interpreted Scripture in different ways, I was often much at a loss. And again, there was one thing much insisted on in Scripture—the unity of the Church—which none of them, I thought, clearly explained or strongly inculcated.

[But it was not long before Providence brought me to those who showed me a sure rule of interpreting Scripture, viz. 'Consensus veterum: quod ab omnibus, quod ubique, quod semper creditum.' At the same time they sufficiently insisted upon a due regard to the one Church at all times and in all places.

[Nor was it long before I bent the bow too far the other way: 1. By making antiquity a co-ordinate rather than subordinate rule with Scripture. 2. By admitting several doubtful writings as undoubted evidences of antiquity. 3. By extending antiquity too far, even to the middle or end of the fourth century. 4. By believing more practices to have been universal in the ancient Church than ever were so. 5. By not considering that the decrees of one Provincial Synod could bind only those provinces whose representatives met therein. 6. By not considering that the most of those decrees were adapted to particular

times and occasions ; and consequently, when those occasions ceased, must cease to bind even those provinces.

[These considerations insensibly stole upon me as I grew acquainted with the Mystic writers, whose noble descriptions of union with God and internal religion made everything else appear mean, flat, and insipid. But in truth they made good works appear so too ; yea, and faith itself, and what not ? These gave me an entire new view of religion—nothing like any I had before. But, alas ! it was nothing like that religion which Christ and His apostles lived and taught. I had a plenary dispensation from all the commands of God : the form ran thus, ‘Love is all ; all the commands beside are only means of love : you must choose those which you feel are means to you, and use them as long as they are so.’ Thus were all the bands burst at once. And though I could never fully come into this, nor contentedly omit what God enjoined ; yet, I know not how, I fluctuated between obedience and disobedience. I had no heart, no vigour, no zeal in obeying ; continually doubting whether I was right or wrong, and never out of perplexities and entanglements. Nor can I at this hour give a distinct account how or when I came a little back toward the right way : only my present sense is this—all the other enemies of Christianity are triflers ; the Mystics are the most dangerous of its enemies. They stab it in the vitals ; and its most serious professors are most likely to fall by them. May I praise Him who hath snatched me out of this fire likewise, by warning all others that it is set on fire of hell.]

We went on with a small, fair wind, till Thursday in the afternoon ; and then sounding, found a whitish sand at seventy-five fathoms : but having had no observation for several days, the captain began to be uneasy, fearing we might either get unawares into the Bristol Channel, or strike in the night on the rocks of Scilly.

*Sat.* 28.—Was another cloudy day ; but about ten in the morning, the wind continuing southerly, the clouds began to fly just contrary to the wind, and, to the surprise of us all, sank down under the sun, so that at noon we had an exact observation ; and by this we found we were as well as we could desire, about eleven leagues south of Scilly.

*Sun.* 29.—We saw English land once more, which about noon appeared to be the Lizard Point. We ran by it with a fair wind, and at noon the next day made the west end of the Isle of Wight.



Here the wind turned against us, and in the evening blew fresh ; so that we expected, the tide being likewise strong against us, to be driven some leagues backward in the night : but in the morning, to our great surprise, we saw Beachy Head just before us, and found we had gone forwards near forty miles.

Toward evening was a calm ; but in the night a strong north wind brought us safe into the Downs. The day before, Mr. Whitefield<sup>1</sup> had sailed out, neither of us then knowing anything of the other. At four in the morning we took boat, and in half an hour landed at Deal ; it being *Wednesday*, FEBRUARY 1, the anniversary festival in Georgia for Mr. Oglethorpe's landing there.

It is now two years and almost four months since I left my

<sup>1</sup> On Georgia's shore thy Wesley shall attend,  
To hail the wished arrival of his friend.

This was a prophecy not destined to be fulfilled. The lines are from the *Gent.'s Mag.* Nov. 1737. When Wesley landed at Deal at half-past four in the morning, great was his surprise to hear that Whitefield was close at hand. 'Still smarting from the wrongs he had suffered at Savannah, he immediately dispatched a letter advising the young evangelist to relinquish his mission.' On this Tyerman writes the following note : 'It is a well-known fact that in early life Wesley publicly maintained that in matters of importance, when the reasons on each side appeared to be of equal weight, it was right to decide the question by casting lots' (see Wesley's *Principles of a Methodist further Explained*, 1746). Strangely enough, this was the method he adopted to ascertain whether Whitefield ought to abandon his mission to Georgia. In his letter to Wesley in 1740, during their Calvinistic quarrel, Whitefield recalled the incident. Wesley, it may be remembered, resorted to the 'lot' to determine whether he could marry Miss Sophy or not. He also adopted the same means to decide whether he should preach and print his

memorable sermon on 'Free Grace.' Sortilege, as it was called, was one of the practices which Wesley learnt from the devout Moravians. (See p. 325 ; also Tyerman's *Life of Whitefield*, vol. i. p. 115.)

George Whitefield, born at the Bell Inn, Gloucester, in 1714, was admitted a servitor to Pembroke College, Oxford ; he watched the young men called 'Methodists' going through a scoffing crowd of comrades to the Sacrament at St. Mary's, and 'longed to be one of them' ; sought out by Charles Wesley, he gladly joined them. He was ordained by Bishop Benson, of Gloucester, when the Wesleys were in Georgia. With his natural gift of oratory and his early acquisition of dramatic power, he became at once amazingly popular. John Wesley, in Georgia, wrote to him : 'Only Mr. Delamotte is with me till God shall stir up the hearts of some of His servants, who, putting their lives in their hands, shall come over and help us where the harvest is so great and the labourers so few. What if thou art the man, Mr. Whitefield ?' Obeying the call, the *Whittaker*, in which he sailed, left Deal on the evening of Jan. 31, 1738, and the *Samuel*, with Wesley on board, arrived next morning.

native country, in order to teach the Georgian Indians<sup>1</sup> the nature of Christianity. But what have I learned myself in the meantime? Why, what I the least of all suspected, that I, who went to America to convert others, was never myself converted to God.<sup>2</sup> 'I am not mad,' though I thus speak; but 'I speak the words of truth and soberness'; if haply some of those who still dream may awake, and see, that as I am, so are they.<sup>3</sup>

Are they read in philosophy? So was I. In ancient or modern tongues? So was I also. Are they versed in the science of divinity? I too have studied it many years. Can they talk fluently upon spiritual things? The very same could

<sup>1</sup> The Moravians, too, had come on this errand, as well as to obtain a settlement where they could enjoy their religious observances without interference. Wesley's failure may be compared with that of the first missionary to Northumbria, St. Aidan. (Lightfoot's *Leaders of the Northern Church*, p. 37.)

<sup>2</sup> Wesley's own comment on this is, 'I am not sure of this.' This note, and those on the following page, which appear for the first time in Thomas Jackson's edition of the *Journal*, were without doubt taken by him from Wesley's corrected copy. In his *Autobiography* Jackson gives a clear account of the misfortunes which befell the earlier editions of the *Journal*. He writes (p. 234): 'Two editions of his *Works*, both of them professing to be complete, had already appeared; one in the years 1771-4, in thirty-two duodecimo volumes; and the other in 1809-13, in sixteen octavo volumes. The first of these editions was published under Mr. Wesley's personal sanction. The printer whom he employed was William Pine, of Bristol, a member of his own Society, but one of the most careless owners of a printing-press that ever tried the temper of an author. It was well for him that he had to deal with so meek a man as John Wesley, rather than with Dr. Samuel Johnson, who would certainly have felled him to the ground when the extent of

the mischief he had done was ascertained. He not only defeated Mr. Wesley's design to send out his *Works* in a correct and amended form, but sent them forth in a far worse condition than they had ever been in before. For this edition Mr. Wesley had provided excellent paper and an elegant type; but on reading the volumes after they had been issued, he found not only important words and clauses, but whole paragraphs left out, and more than a hundred pages of his *Journal* omitted! In many places the sense was seriously marred, and in others entirely perverted. Having found out the extent of the evil, the author affixed to each volume a frightful list of errata; and in the copy which he retained in his own library he corrected every volume with his own pen. . . . With respect to the Benson edition of the *Journal*, similar carelessness was displayed both by printer and editor, for they 'entirely overlooked the tables of errata which the author had prepared with great care.'

<sup>3</sup> And yet on Dec. 1, 1772, Wesley writes to his brother: 'Let me be again an Oxford Methodist! I am often in doubt whether it would not be best for me to resume all my Oxford rules, great and small. I did then walk closely with God, and redeemed the time. But what have I gained during these thirty years?' See distinctions between a son and a servant in Wesley's *Sermons*.

I do. Are they plenteous in alms? Behold, I gave all my goods to feed the poor. Do they give of their labour as well as of their substance? I have laboured more abundantly than they all. Are they willing to suffer for their brethren? I have thrown up my friends, reputation, ease, country; I have put my life in my hand, wandering into strange lands; I have given my body to be devoured by the deep, parched up with heat, consumed by toil and weariness, or whatsoever God should please to bring upon me. But does all this—be it more or less, it matters not—make me acceptable to God? Does all I ever did or can know, say, give, do, or suffer, justify me in His sight? Yea, or the constant use of all the means of grace? (which, nevertheless, is meet, right, and our bounden duty). Or that I know nothing of myself; that I am, as touching outward, moral righteousness, blameless? Or (to come closer yet) the having a rational conviction of all the truths of Christianity? Does all this give me a claim to the holy, heavenly, divine character of a Christian? By no means. If the oracles of God are true, if we are still to abide by ‘the law and the testimony,’ all these things, though, when ennobled by faith in Christ,<sup>1</sup> they are holy and just and good, yet without it are ‘dung and dross,’ meet only to be purged away by ‘the fire that never shall be quenched.’

This, then, have I learned in the ends of the earth,—that I ‘am fallen short of the glory of God’: that my whole heart is ‘altogether corrupt and abominable’; and consequently my whole life (seeing it cannot be that an ‘evil tree’ should ‘bring forth good fruit’): that, ‘alienated’ as I am from the life of God, I am ‘a child of wrath,’<sup>2</sup> an heir of hell: that my own works, my own sufferings, my own righteousness, are so far from reconciling me to an offended God, so far from making any atonement for the least of those sins, which ‘are more in number than the hairs of my head,’ that the most specious of them need an atonement themselves, or they cannot abide His righteous judgement: that ‘having the sentence of death’ in my heart, and having nothing in or of myself to plead, I have no hope, but that of being justified freely, ‘through the redemption

<sup>1</sup> ‘I had even then the faith of a *servant*, though not that of a *son*’ (Wesley).

<sup>2</sup> ‘I believe not’ (Wesley).



that is in Jesus'; I have no hope, but that if I seek I shall find Christ, and 'be found in Him, not having my own righteousness, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith.'

If it be said that I have faith (for many such things have I heard, from many miserable comforters), I answer, So have the devils—a sort of faith; but still they are strangers to the covenant of promise. So the apostles had even at Cana in Galilee, when Jesus first 'manifested forth His glory'; even then they, in a sort, 'believed on Him'; but they had not then 'the faith that overcometh the world.' The faith I want<sup>1</sup> is 'a sure trust and confidence in God, that, through the merits of Christ, my sins are forgiven, and I reconciled to the favour of God.' I want that faith which St. Paul recommends to all the world, especially in his Epistle to the Romans: that faith which enables every one that hath it to cry out, 'I live not; but Christ liveth in me; and the life which I now live, I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me, and gave Himself for me.' I want that faith which none can have without knowing that he hath it (though many imagine they have it, who have it not); for whosoever hath it, is 'freed from sin, the' whole 'body of sin is destroyed' in him: he is freed from fear, 'having peace with God through Christ, and rejoicing in hope of the glory of God.' And he is freed from doubt, 'having the love of God shed abroad in his heart, through the Holy Ghost which is given unto him'; which 'Spirit itself beareth witness with his spirit, that he is a child of God.'<sup>2</sup>

We cannot close the profoundly interesting volume of Wesley's Georgia Journal without attempting an estimate, however rough, of the writer's gains and losses. His losses for the most part were negative, and perhaps, under the circumstances, inevitable. He had a singularly vivacious and impressionable temperament. His ideal of Christian cheerfulness notwithstanding, he attempted to repress, if not destroy, that which should have

<sup>1</sup> 'The faith of a son' (Wesley).

<sup>2</sup> The following extract from the *Minutes of Conference*, 1774, illustrates this: 'Q. I.—Is a sense of God's pardon

ing love absolutely necessary to our being in His favour, or may there be some exempt cases? A.—We dare not say.'

been only curbed and guided (App. XIX. vol. vi.). He discovered, when too late, that the task was impossible. God would not by His grace work a miracle that was not really necessary. He placed himself on the horns of a dilemma that was not of God's creation, and suffered accordingly. Neither by nature nor vocation was he a loveless celibate. Nor is there any evidence that his call to evangelize the Indians was of God. His clear and candid letter to Dr. Burton shows that the mission was undertaken in the interests of his own salvation (App. XII. vol. vi.). He desired to save them in order that he might save himself! For a courageous man, he had a strange terror of death; also an overmastering fear lest, through some failure in doing or suffering, he should lose his own soul or be cast away.

His bondage to ecclesiastical law, his merciless adhesion to a system that did not belong to that age or to such a community, must have gone far to neutralize the benefit to himself of a life highly spiritual.

He lost what he might have gained, those primary fruits of the Spirit, in their highest development, 'Love, joy, peace.'

On the other hand, his gains were remarkable. He learnt German, Spanish, Italian, and conversational French. He compiled many grammars and some dictionaries, condensed several books of devotion, biography, theology, and ecclesiastical history; prepared a catechism for children and a manual for catechumens. The foundations of the expository work which in after years enabled him to instruct his societies in daily five-o'clock morning services, and in class-meetings, and which eventually made his *Notes* on the whole Bible possible, were laid in Oxford and Georgia. He wrote with the utmost care many of his finest sermons, not a few of which are to-day studied by candidates for the ministry and for ordination the world around. No inconsiderable portion of *The Christian Library* had its beginnings in Georgia. The decipherment of the Diaries, written day by day in Georgia, makes it certain that a large number of hymns published in the earliest Methodist 'Collections' were selected, considerably edited, translated, or composed by John Wesley. He popularized Watts, Herbert, Austin, his father, his elder brother, and the finest of the German and Moravian hymn-writers; he opened the windows of the Church, so that songs of

Spanish mystics and French Protestants were heard in the sanctuary ; and to these contributions, which could only have been made by a true poet with the soul of a musician, he added, if we mistake not, many original compositions. It was in Georgia that he compiled the first hymn-book ever prepared for use in the English Church, and in South Carolina he printed and published it. High Churchman though he was, he bowed to the behests of his literary conscience, and placed in the forefront of his *Collection of Psalms and Hymns* ten of the metrical psalms composed by the foremost Dissenter of the day. He learnt in Georgia the true and manifold uses of German hymns ; he translated them in versions that have never been surpassed ; and tested them, as he tested all his hymns, in the fellowship-meetings of Savannah and Frederica, at the bedside of the sick, and in homely social circles ; and the strong presumption is that to the compositions of English church psalmody he added choice examples of German music, singing immortal melodies to psalms and hymns of his own selection, translation, or composition.

He pursued his investigations into the then obscure regions of early church history, and ascertained the facts, doctrinal and disciplinary, concerning one of the most remarkable developments of modern ecclesiastical history—a development destined to play a great part in the making of Methodism and in the revival of religion generally. He mastered the geographical, historical, and economic facts concerning the new colony, and placed the information in due form at the disposal of the Trustees and the English Government. During many months of arduous labour and heavy trial he served Oglethorpe, Causton, and the people as political adviser or as an unrivalled secretary.

But the crowning achievement was the slow moulding of the Methodist system. The circuit, the society, the itinerant ministry, the class-meeting, the band-meeting, the lovefeast ; leaders and lay assistants ; extempore preaching and prayer ; and even the building of a meeting-house,—all this, and much else in the form and spirit of early Methodism, came to John Wesley in Georgia, and was transplanted by him to English and Irish cities and villages—a tree of life the leaves of which were to be for the healing of the nations.



PART THE SECOND  
THE JOURNAL

FROM FEBRUARY 1, 1738, TO AUGUST 12, 1738

(FROM THE ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND TO THE RETURN FROM GERMANY)

*[See note on next page]*

For this cause I obtained mercy, that in me first Jesus Christ might show forth all long-suffering, for a pattern to them which should hereafter believe on Him to life everlasting.—1 TIM. i. 16.

*Neither journal in MS. nor continuous diary assists the annotation of Wesley's Second Extract. The promise of the title-page—common to all the editions—is not fulfilled, for in this section the Journal proper ends with August 12, 1738. Wesley, however, did not return from Germany until Saturday, September 9. The title-page is probably, in part, the work of the printer. The dates in the journal-heading are correct. In the interval between August 12, 1738, and the date of publication (September 29, 1740), occurred the controversy with Philip Henry Mölther on Stillness, followed by the secession of Wesley and his adherents from the Fetter Lane Society and the organization of the United Societies at the Foundery. These events, coupled with the slanders of 'Fogg's Journal' and the Williams Affidavit, influenced the selection of extracts from the Journal, and account for allusions in the Preface to the Second Part.*

## PREFACE

1. THAT men revile me, and say all manner of evil against me ; that I am become as it were a monster unto many ; that the zealous of almost every denomination cry out, ' Away with such a fellow from the earth,'—this gives me, with regard to myself, no degree of uneasiness. For I know the scripture must be fulfilled, ' If they have called the Master of the house Beelzebub, how much more them of His household ? ' But it does give me a concern with regard to those who, by this artifice of the devil, are prevented from hearing that word which is able to save their souls.

2. For the sake of these, and indeed of all who desire to hear the truth of those things which have been so variously related, I have been induced to publish this further account ; and I doubt not but it will even hence appear to all candid and impartial judges that I have hitherto lived in all good conscience toward God.

3. I shall be easily excused, by those who either love or seek the Lord Jesus in sincerity, for speaking so largely of the Moravian Church ; a city which ought to be set upon a hill. Their light hath been too long hid under a bushel ; it is high time it should at length break forth, and ' so shine before men, that others also may glorify their Father which is in heaven.'

4. If any should ask, ' But do you think even this Church is perfect, without spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing ? ' I answer plainly, ' No ; though I trust it will be, when patience has had its perfect work.' But neither do I think it right to entertain the world with the spots of God's children.

5. It has been further asked whether I imagine God is to be found only among them. I reply, ' By no means. I know there is a God in England, and we need not go to seek Him in strange lands.' I know that in our own He is very nigh unto all that call upon Him ; and therefore I think those unwise (to say no more) who run to inquire after Him in Holland or Germany.

6. When I went, the case was widely different. God had not then ' made bare His arm ' before us as He hath now done ; in a manner, I will be bold to say, which had not been known either in Holland or Germany at that time, when He who ordereth all things wisely,



according to 'the counsel of His own will,' was pleased by me to open the intercourse between the English and the Moravian Church.

7. The particular reason which obliged me to relate so much of the conversation I had with those holy men is this: In September 1738, when I returned from Germany, I exhorted all I could to follow after that great salvation, which is through faith in the blood of Christ; waiting for it 'in all the ordinances of God,' and in 'doing good, as they had opportunity, to all men.' And many found the beginning of that salvation, being justified freely, having peace with God through Christ, rejoicing in hope of the glory of God, and having His love shed abroad in their hearts.

8. But about September 1739, while my brother and I were absent, certain men crept in among them unawares, greatly troubling and subverting their souls; telling them they were in a delusion, that they had deceived themselves, and had no true faith at all. 'For,' said they, 'none has any justifying faith who has ever any doubt or fear, which you know you have; or who has not a clean heart, which you know you have not: nor will you ever have it, till you leave off using the means of grace, so called; till you leave off running to church and sacrament, and praying, and singing, and reading either the Bible or any other book; for you cannot use these things without trusting in them. Therefore, till you leave them off, you can never have true faith; you can never till then trust in the blood of Christ.'

9. And this doctrine, from the beginning to this day, has been taught as the doctrine of the Moravian Church. I think, therefore, that it is my bounden duty to clear the Moravians from this aspersion; and the more, because I am perhaps the only person now in England that both can and will do it. And I believe it is the peculiar providence of God that I can, that two years since the most eminent members of that Church should so fully declare both their experience and judgement, touching the very points now in question.

10. The sum of what has been asserted, as from them, is this:—

'(1) That a man cannot have any degree of justifying faith till he is wholly freed from all doubt and fear, and till he has, in the full, proper sense, a new, a clean heart.

'(2) That a man may not use the ordinances of God, the Lord's Supper in particular, before he has such a faith as excludes all doubt and fear, and implies a new, a clean heart.'

In flat opposition to this, I assert,—

'(1) That a man may have a degree of justifying faith before he is wholly freed from all doubt and fear, and before he has, in the full, proper sense, a new, a clean heart.

'(2) That a man may use the ordinances of God, the Lord's Supper

in particular, before he has such a faith as excludes all doubt and fear, and implies a new, a clean heart.'

I further assert, 'This I learned (not only from the English, but also) from the Moravian Church.'

And I hereby openly and earnestly call upon that Church (and upon Count Zinzendorf in particular, who, I trust, is not ashamed or afraid to avow any part of the gospel of Christ) to correct me, and explain themselves, if I have misunderstood or misrepresented them.

JOHN WESLEY.

LONDON,

*September 29, 1740.*

## THE JOURNAL

*From February 1, 1738, to June 13, 1738*

1738. FEBRUARY 1, *Wed.*—After reading prayers and explaining a portion of Scripture to a large company at the inn, I left Deal,<sup>1</sup> and came in the evening to Faversham.

I here read prayers, and explained the Second Lesson to a few of those who were called Christians, but were indeed more savage in their behaviour than the wildest Indians I have yet met with.

*Fri. 3.*—I came to Mr. Delamotte's at Blendon,<sup>2</sup> where I expected a cold reception. But God had prepared the way before me; and I no sooner mentioned my name, than I was welcomed in such a manner as constrained me to say, 'Surely God is in this place, and I knew it not! Blessed be ye of the Lord! Ye have shown more kindness in the latter end than in the beginning.'

In the evening I came once more to London,<sup>3</sup> whence I had been absent two years and near four months.

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<sup>1</sup> The first Wesleyan preaching within the county of Kent (*Meth. Mag.* 1880, p. 39). The service at Faversham, like that at Deal, was also held, probably, at the inn, as were so many of the earliest devotional meetings before private houses were opened to Wesley. Later, rooms were hired, or built, in which the early-morning services were held and the societies met. But until comparatively recent times inns, especially those with 'assembly rooms,' were used for Methodist worship.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. De La Motte, J.P., of Blendon Hall, near Bexley. His place of business in London was at Fresh Wharfe, where,

on Nov. 2, 1737, he heard Charles Wesley read Bishop Hall. Charles was a frequent visitor at Blendon, as also were Ingham and Whitefield. (C. Wesley's Journal, vol. i. p. 76-9, &c.; Whitefield's Journal, pp. 132, 133.)

<sup>3</sup> The London home of the Wesleys was with the Huttons in Great College Street, on the south side of Westminster Abbey. John Hutton was a Nonjuring clergyman. His son James was led to Christ by the Wesleys. His was the dominant lay mind in the society founded May 1, 1738. Ultimately he became the leading layman amongst the English Moravians (*L.Q. Rev.* vol. cxliii. p. 189;





1. PETER BÖHLER.

3. COUNT ZINZENDORF.

2. JOHN GAMBOLD.

4. JAMES HUTTON.



Many reasons I have to bless God, though the design I went upon did not take effect, for my having been carried into that strange land, contrary to all my preceding resolutions. Hereby I trust He hath in some measure 'humbled me and proved me, and shown me what was in my heart.' Hereby I have been taught to 'beware of men.' Hereby I am come to know assuredly that, if 'in all our ways we acknowledge God,' He will, where reason fails, 'direct our path,' by lot or by the other means which He knoweth. Hereby I am delivered from the fear of the sea, which I had both dreaded and abhorred from my youth.

Hereby God has given me to know many of His servants ; particularly those of the church of Herrnhut. Hereby my passage is opened to the writings of holy men in the German, Spanish, and Italian tongues.<sup>1</sup> I hope, too, some good may come to others hereby. All in Georgia have heard the word of God. Some have believed, and begun to run well. A few steps have been taken towards publishing the glad tidings both to the African and American heathen. Many children have learned 'how they ought to serve God,' and to be useful to their neighbour. And those whom it most concerns have an opportunity of knowing the true state of their infant colony, and laying a firmer foundation of peace and happiness to many generations.

*Sat. 4.*—I told my friends some of the reasons which a little hastened my return to England.<sup>2</sup> They all agreed it would be proper to relate them to the Trustees of Georgia.

Accordingly the next morning I waited on Mr. Oglethorpe, but had not time to speak on that head. In the afternoon I

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*Meth. Mag.* 1857, p. 156; *Recorder*, Winter No. 1899, p. 64; and Benham's *Memoirs of James Hutton*). On *Friday*, Feb. 3, Charles Wesley writes: 'In the afternoon news was brought me at James Hutton's that my brother was come from America. I could not believe, till at night I saw him. He comes, not driven away, but to tell the true state of the colony; which according to his account is truly deplorable.'

<sup>1</sup> French authors he had read in Oxford.

<sup>2</sup> On Saturday the 4th Oglethorpe learnt from Charles Wesley of his brother's arrival. 'Oglethorpe,' Charles writes, 'was very inquisitive into the causes of his coming; said he ought not to have returned without the Trustees' leave. At ten, before the Council [of the Board of Trade] I heard the fresh pleadings for Carolina.'



was desired to preach at St. John the Evangelist's.<sup>1</sup> I did so on those strong words, 'If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature.' I was afterwards informed, many of the best in the parish were so offended, that I was not to preach there any more.

*Mon. 6.*—I visited many of my old friends, as well as most of my relations.<sup>2</sup> I find the time is not yet come when I am to be 'hated of all men.' Oh may I be prepared for that day!

*Tues. 7.*—(A day much to be remembered.) At the house of Mr. Weinantz,<sup>3</sup> a Dutch merchant, I met Peter Böhler,<sup>4</sup> Schulius, Richter,<sup>5</sup> and Wensel Neisser,<sup>6</sup> just then landed from

<sup>1</sup> At Millbank, Westminster. The sermon, in a more or less revised form, appears among the standard sermons under the title of 'Sin in Believers.' Some paragraphs (see 5-11) were certainly of later date. Wesley's brief popularity in Anglican and aristocratic circles at this time arose from the fact that he had just returned from a still popular colony.

<sup>2</sup> We miss the Diary which would have told us who were the friends and relatives he visited in London. Charles Wesley's Journal sheds light on the question. The Lamberts, Wrights, Dr. Matthew Wesley's family; Mrs. Pendarves, possibly other members of the Granville family, the Huttons; Thomas Broughton, curate at the Tower, and still a member of the Holy Club; the Delamottes at Fresh Wharfe; Archbishop Potter, whom Charles saw on this same day; Bishop Gibson, the Vernons, and others.

<sup>3</sup> Of Mr. Weinantz, the 'Dutch merchant,' we know nothing (the name of his son is spelt Wynantz, Dec. 27, 1783); nor do we know the house in which this memorable meeting took place.

<sup>4</sup> Peter Böhler, born in 1712 at Frankfurt-on-the-Maine, was brought up a Lutheran. In 1731 he entered the University at Jena. The religious influence in Lutheran churches nick-

named 'Pietism' led him to seek experimental religion and to adopt those views of justifying faith which he afterwards pressed upon the Wesleys. Count Zinzendorf, the protector of the Moravian refugees at Herrnhut, visited Jena, and became acquainted with Böhler and Professor Spangenberg. This interview eventually led these two Lutheran Pietists to join the Church of the Moravian Brethren. The Count appointed Böhler tutor to his son; and when he himself became a 'bishop of the Moravian Church, his first episcopal act was the ordination of Peter Böhler to the Moravian ministry, and this regardless of the fact that he had already been acting as a Lutheran minister at Berthelsdorf. When Wesley met him in London, Böhler was on his way to America as a missionary to Georgia and the negroes of Carolina. Possibly through the Delamottes at Fresh Wharfe Wesley heard of the arrival of these German brethren. A letter for Zinzendorf from John Töltchig, which he had brought from Savannah, he handed over to Böhler.

<sup>5</sup> 'The aged brother Richter from Stralsund remained about six months, ministering chiefly to the few Germans who in 1737 were united in London by Count Zinzendorf' (*Memoirs of James Hutton*, p. 27).

<sup>6</sup> Frederick Wensel Neisser had been on a mission to England ten years earlier.

Germany. Finding they had no acquaintance in England, I offered to procure them a lodging, and did so near Mr. Hutton's, where I then was.<sup>1</sup> And from this time I did not willingly lose any opportunity of conversing with them, while I stayed in London.

*Wed.* 8.—I went to Mr. Oglethorpe again, but had no opportunity of speaking as I designed. Afterwards I waited on the Board of Trustees, and gave them a short but plain account of the state of the colony: an account, I fear, not a little differing from those which they had frequently received before; and for which I have reason to believe some of them have not forgiven me to this day.<sup>2</sup>

Eventually George Schulius alone accompanied Böhler to Carolina and Georgia, Neisser returning to Germany (*Memoirs of James Hutton*, p. 17, et seq.).

<sup>1</sup> John Hutton's house was afterwards occupied for a time by Count Zinzendorf. On his return from Georgia Charles Wesley waited on the Primate, several noblemen, and members of the Georgia Trust. In August 1737 he saw the King and Queen, and was invited to dine with them. The Wesleys and their friends were welcome guests in College Street until, largely as the result of Peter Böhler's teaching, the Moravian-Methodist views on conversion, justification, and the new birth were more fully developed. To these views Mr. and Mrs. Hutton were exceedingly averse. Their son (James) and their daughter, both strongly attached to the Wesleys, also received the truth as expounded by Peter Böhler. The parents were irreconcilably offended. James Hutton was a printer and bookseller. His shop, 'at the Bible and Sun, without Temple Bar,' was in Little Wild Street. West End Methodists, in 1740, could buy there *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, vols. i. and ii., price, bound, 2s. 6d. each; two *Extracts of the Rev. Mr. John Wesley's Journal*, price, stitched, 8d. each; a *Collection of Forms of Prayer, for Every Day of the Week*; two Tracts; two Sermons, and *Nicodemus*;

or, a *Treatise on the Fear of Man* (see Wesley's Journal, 1st ed. adv. page). When Wesley had finished his *Abridgement of the Life of Haliburton*, he wished James Hutton to publish it. His father and mother absolutely forbade him to do so, on the ground that Haliburton was a Presbyterian, and wrote of religious experiences. They charged him to publish no books of a similar kind (Jackson's *Life of C. Wesley*, vol. i. p. 129). But for prejudice, Charles Rivington or James Hutton might have published Wesley's Journal. It would then have escaped the maltreatment it received at the hands of Felix Farley and Pine. Although James Hutton did not print and publish Haliburton's *Life*, he sold the book at the Bible and Sun.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Wesley gives a much fuller account: '*Wed.* Feb. 8.—I was with the Trustees, who were surprised at my brother's account of Georgia, the fewness of the people, &c. *Fri.* Feb. 10.—We dined at Vernon's, who accosted me, "Well, sir, I hope you intend returning to Georgia." I answered, "That is my desire and design." I heard more of the great discouragements the poor people labour under. *Sat.* Feb. 11.—I heard Clerk plead for Georgia before the Council [of the Board of Trade] and Mr. Oglethorpe's speech.'

*Sun.* 12.—I preached at St. Andrew's, Holborn,<sup>1</sup> on 'Though I give all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.' Oh, hard sayings! Who can hear them? Here too, it seems, I am to preach no more.

*Wed.* 15.—I waited on the Trustees again, and gave them in writing the substance of what I had said at the last Board.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the church of St. Andrew, Holborn, his father had been ordained priest by Bishop Compton (Feb. 26, 1689). The sermon preached by his son John was the one on 'Love,' with which he entered on his ministry in Savannah—the sermon in which he told the story of his father's death (No. cxxxix.). In the churches of St. John and St. Andrew, though he knew it not, he was entering upon a new and greater ministry. Two sermons on 1 Cor. xiii. were published in the *Works* (vol. vii. pp. 45, 482). The earlier version is published last. The one preached many years later also contains an autobiographical reminiscence: 'I knew a young man, fifty or sixty years ago, who, during the course of several years, never endeavoured to convince any one of a religious truth, but he *was* convinced; and he never endeavoured to persuade any one to engage in a religious practice, but he *was* persuaded. What then?' Recalling the wellnigh innumerable entries in the Diary in which such convictions and persuasions are recorded, one cannot doubt as to the identification of the 'young man.'

<sup>2</sup> The day following Charles writes: 'Mr. Oglethorpe told me, "Your brother must have a care. There is a very strong spirit raising against him. People say he is come over to do mischief to the colony. He will be called upon for his reasons, why he left the people." I answered, "Sir, he has been twice before at the Board for that purpose, but was not asked that question, and therefore had no opportunity to answer it. He will attend them again on Wednesday morning." I waited on his lordship of

London, and informed him of my brother's return. He spoke honourably of him; asked many questions about Georgia and the Trustees; forgot his usual reserve, and dismissed me very kindly.' In the Journal of the Georgia Trustees (Record Office C.O. 5), under date Dec. 7, 1737, is the following entry: 'Read several letters from Mr. Williamson at Savannah to the Trustees complaining of the Rev. Mr. John Wesley's having refused the Sacrament to his wife, Mrs. Sophia Williamson, with Mrs. Williamson's Affidavit thereupon, and two Presentments of the Grand Jury of the Rev. Mr. Wesley for the said refusal, and for several other facts laid to his charge. Ordered, That copies of the said letters and Affidavit be sent over to the Rev. Mr. John Wesley desiring him to return his answer to the same as soon as possible; and that a letter be sent to Mr. Williamson to acquaint him of the said copies being sent to Mr. Wesley; and that if he has anything new to lay before the Trustees he should show it first to Mr. Wesley and then send it over to them; and that the Trustees think he should not have made his application to the world by advertising his complaints before he had acquainted the Trustees with them.' There is no further reference to Wesley in the Journal of the Trustees until Wednesday, Feb. 22, 1738, when we find the following: 'The Rev. Mr. John Wesley attended and delivered into the Board a Narrative of his own relating to the complaints of Mrs. Williamson and three certificates: one signed by Mr. James Burnside dated Savannah, Nov. 1, 1737; another of the same



Whatsoever further questions they asked concerning the state of the province, I likewise answered to the best of my knowledge.

*Fri. 17.*—I set out for Oxford with Peter Böhler, where we were kindly received by Mr. Sarney,<sup>1</sup> the only one now remaining here of many who, at our embarking for America, were used to 'take sweet counsel together,' and rejoice in 'bearing the reproach of Christ.'

*Sat. 18.*—We went to Stanton Harcourt, to Mr. Gambold,<sup>2</sup>

date, signed by Margaret Burnside ; and another, signed by Charles Delamotte, dated Savannah, Oct. 25, 1737.' On Wednesday, April 26, 1738, 'The Rev. Mr. John Wesley attended and left the appointment of him by the Trustees to perform ecclesiastical offices in Georgia : Resolved, That the Authority granted to the Rev. Mr. John Wesley to do and perform all religious and ecclesiastical offices in Georgia dated Oct. 10, 1735, be revoked.' This closes the matter, so far as the Georgia Trustees and their records are concerned.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Sarney is frequently named in the answering portion of Charles Wesley's Journal. His name appears on John Wesley's list of friends with whom he corresponded whilst in Georgia. Charles writes (Feb. 17), 'I came in the Oxford coach to my old lodgings at Mr. Sarney's.' Later (Sept. 28) he writes, 'I called on my friend that *was*, John Sarney, now estranged by the offence of the Cross.' Peter Böhler, in a letter to Zinzendorf (*W.M. Mag.* 1854, p. 687), writes : 'I travelled with the two brothers, John and Charles Wesley, from London to Oxford. The elder, John, is a good-natured man : he knew he did not properly believe on the Saviour, and was willing to be taught. His brother . . . is at present very much distressed in his mind, but does not know how he shall begin to be acquainted with the Saviour.'

<sup>2</sup> John Gambold, born April 10, 1711, at Puncteston, Pembrokeshire : son of a clergyman of unaffected piety and purity.

At fifteen he entered as servitor in Christ Church, Oxford ; in 1730 he joined the Holy Club, and in 1733 was ordained by Dr. Potter. At Stanton Harcourt, in Oxfordshire, the living of which he held from Lord Harcourt for some years, his sister kept house for him. Kezia Wesley, the youngest child of the Epworth rectory, was a guest in the house when her brothers and Peter Böhler paid this visit. John Gambold and the Wesleys were strongly attached friends in their Oxford days. Some of Gambold's poems were introduced into *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, 1739. He afterwards became a Moravian. His farewell address to his old parishioners shows that, in resigning his living, he was moved by a desire to 'enjoy fellowship with a little flock of His sheep, who daily feed on the merits of His passion, and whose great concern it is to build up one another in their most holy truth, and to propagate the truth as it is in Jesus for the good of others.' He was made a Moravian bishop, preaching in Fetter Lane Chapel, living a blameless life, and cherishing a vain hope of union with the Anglican Church. We are indebted to John Gambold for the most vivid description of John Wesley and the Holy Club written during Wesley's absence in Georgia (*Meth. Mag.* 1798, p. 172). One of his sermons survives among the Wesley MSS. in the Colman Collection. Charles Wesley's note for Feb. 18 shows that he did not travel with John and Böhler to Stanton Harcourt, but met

and found my old friend recovered from his *mystic* delusion, and convinced that St. Paul was a better writer than either Tauler or Jacob Behmen. The next day I preached once more at the Castle (in Oxford) to a numerous and serious congregation.

All this time I conversed much with Peter Böhler<sup>1</sup>; but I understood him not, and least of all when he said, *Mi frater, mi frater, excoquenda est ista tua philosophia*. 'My brother, my brother, that philosophy of yours must be purged away.'

*Mon. 20.*—I returned to London. On Tuesday I preached at Great St. Helen's<sup>2</sup> on 'If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow Me.'

*Wed. 22.*—I was with the Trustees again, to whom I then gave a short account (and afterwards delivered it to them in writing) of the reasons why I left Georgia.

*Sun. 26.*—I preached at six at St. Lawrence's; at ten in St. Katherine Cree's church; and in the afternoon at St. John's, Wapping. I believe it pleased God to bless the first sermon most, because it gave most offence; being indeed an open defiance of that mystery of iniquity which the world calls *prudence*, grounded on those words of St. Paul to the Galatians, 'As many as desire to make a fair show in the flesh, they constrain you to be circumcised; only lest they should suffer persecution for the cross of Christ.'

*Mon. 27.*—I took coach for Salisbury, and had several opportunities of conversing seriously with my fellow travellers. But endeavouring to mend the wisdom of God by the worldly wisdom of prefacing serious with light conversation, and afterwards

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them there: 'We prayed and sang together. In the evening I prayed at Mr. Sarney's with some scholars and a Moravian.'

<sup>1</sup> When Wesley and Böhler walked through the college squares, they were mocked. When the former was troubled at this treatment of a stranger, Böhler said, 'My brother, it does not even stick to our clothes.'

<sup>2</sup> An aged and infirm clergyman, whose incumbency of Great St. Helen's, Bishops-

gate Street, involved a Tuesday lectureship, accepted Whitefield's recommendation of his friend Thomas Broughton for this service. Afterwards Broughton lost the lectureship because of his loyalty to Whitefield. Charles Wesley remained in Oxford. Whilst his brother was travelling to London, he was teaching Böhler English. The day following he fell sick. This was the severe attack of pleurisy which brought him to death's door and prevented his return to Georgia.

following that advice of the *Mystics*, 'Leave them to themselves,' all I had said was written on the sand. 'Lord, lay not this sin to' my 'charge!'

*Tues. 28.*—I saw my mother once more.<sup>1</sup> The next day I prepared for my journey to my brother at Tiverton. But on *Thursday* morning, March 2, a message<sup>2</sup> that my brother Charles was dying at Oxford obliged me to set out for that place immediately. Calling at an odd<sup>3</sup> house in the afternoon, I found several persons there who seemed well-wishers to religion, to whom I spake plainly; as I did in the evening, both to the servants and strangers at my inn.

With regard to my own behaviour, I now renewed and wrote down my former resolutions:<sup>4</sup>

1. To use absolute openness and unreserve with all I should converse with.

2. To labour after continual seriousness, not willingly indulging myself in any the least levity of behaviour, or in laughter,—no, not for a moment.

3. To speak no word which does not tend to the glory of God; in particular, not to talk of worldly things. Others may, nay, must. But what is that to thee? And,

<sup>1</sup> At Fisherton, now a suburb of Salisbury, Westley Hall had held a living from 1736. From his mother he inherited a house there; from his father, Homington Manor. In a manuscript chronicle it appears that his 'friends Ed. Baker, Westcot, Sydenham Burrough, Io: Marsh, and others fitted up a place of preaching in Fisherton.' Hall was one of John Wesley's pupils at Oxford. He married Martha Wesley, and at this time Mrs. Wesley was his guest. (See *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 146.)

<sup>2</sup> The message that arrested his journey to Tiverton was fraught with momentous consequences. It brought him, under impressive circumstances, again into close contact with Böhler; and it gave him days of leisure in Oxford for the careful transcription of the document in which he told the story of his relations with Miss Sophy

Hopkey in Georgia. (See above, p. 288.)

<sup>3</sup> Not a misprint. The word is used in the sense of 'out-of-the-way.' Ariel, in *The Tempest*, says: 'The king's son have I . . . left . . . in an odd angle of the isle' (I. ii. 223).

<sup>4</sup> The 'former resolutions' may refer to those made during the voyage home, to the undated series entered in his second Georgia Diary, or to the whole series written in Journal and Diary from 1725 onwards. (See above, pp. 47-52.) Students of Wesley's diaries, and indeed of all his writings, will be familiar with his insistence on 'openness' and 'seriousness.' *The Twelve Rules of a Helper* emphasize these virtues. Compare No. 7: 'Tell every one what you think wrong in him,' &c. And No. 2: 'Be serious. . . . Avoid all lightness, jesting, and foolish talking.'



4. To take no pleasure which does not tend to the glory of God ; thanking God every moment for all I do take, and therefore rejecting every sort and degree of it which I feel I cannot so thank Him *in* and *for*.<sup>1</sup>

MARCH 4, *Sat.*—I found my brother at Oxford, recovering from his pleurisy ; and with him Peter Böhler,<sup>2</sup> by whom (in the hand of the great God) I was, on *Sunday* the 5th, clearly convinced of unbelief, of the want of that faith whereby alone we are saved.<sup>3</sup>

Immediately it struck into my mind, 'Leave off preaching. How can you preach to others, who have not faith yourself?' I asked Böhler whether he thought I should leave it off or not. He answered, 'By no means.' I asked, 'But what can I preach?' He said, 'Preach faith *till* you have it ; and then, *because* you have it, you *will* preach faith.'

Accordingly, *Monday* the 6th, I began preaching this new doctrine, though my soul started back from the work. The first person to whom I offered salvation by faith alone was a prisoner under sentence of death. His name was Clifford.<sup>4</sup> Peter Böhler had many times desired me to speak to him before. But I could not prevail on myself so to do ; being still (as I had been many years) a zealous assertor of the impossibility of a death-bed repentance.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> With this we may compare the test for lawful and unlawful pleasure given to his young friends by one of Wesley's successors at Christ Church : 'That we should not dare to *live* in any scene in which we dare not *die*' (Pref. to Lewis Carroll's *Sylvie and Bruno*). The second Rule in the *Bennet Minutes* (*W.H.S.* Publ. No. 1) reads thus : 'Avoid all lightness as you would avoid hell-fire, and laughing as you would cursing and swearing.'

<sup>2</sup> At Oxford Böhler preached twice a day, in addition to holding private conversations. The students Washington, Watson, and Coombes met in his bands. Böhler relates a weighty conversation with Wesley, in which, as they walked, the latter said, 'If what stands in the Bible is true, then I am saved.'

<sup>3</sup> 'With the full Christian salvation.' This note is not in the first edition, or in *Works*, 1771-4, or in Benson's edition (1809). It is either Jackson's, or, more probably, Wesley's.

<sup>4</sup> See below, where the expression 'the condemned man' points to a person well known or referred to recently in the Journal—not improbably this 'Clifford.' If so, we have here not only Wesley's first offer of salvation through faith alone, but his first convert under the preaching of this doctrine.

<sup>5</sup> It was in the interval between Monday, March 6, and Tuesday, the 14th, that Wesley wrote the document which he entitles, 'An Affair with Miss Sophy Hopkey.' (See above, p. 288.) The autograph account is now in the possession of the W.M. Conference Office.

*Fri.* 10.—Peter Böhler returned to London.

*Tues.* 14.—I set out for Manchester with Mr. Kinchin,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Charles Kinchin was a Fellow of Corpus Christi College, rector of Dummer, a small parish in Hampshire, and one of the early members of the Holy Club. He strove both in Oxford and Dummer to carry out the principles of the Oxford Methodists (see Tyerman's *Life of Whitefield*, vol. i. p. 58). During an absence from his parish, occasioned by his election as dean of his college, Whitefield supplied for him, and, later, Hervey. Whitefield says that Kinchin was elected Dean of Corpus Christi; but he is never so styled in either John or Charles Wesley's Journal. He died in 1742—one of the humblest, truest, most faithful of the Methodist brotherhood of Oxford. In a letter to Charles Wesley (Dec. 1736) Whitefield says, 'Mr. Kinchin is all heart.' In the first volume of *The Arminian Magazine* are letters from Kinchin and his sister. See also Whitefield's letters, several of which were written to Kinchin. In the Colman Collection is a letter from Kinchin to Wesley, in which he craves his prayers 'that God would bless my journey and design of publishing.' He refers to a sermon upon *The Necessity and Works of the New Birth*, for the printing of which he desired from the Vice-Chancellor (Dr. Mather) 'the Liberty of the University Press.' 'The Vice-Chancellor,' he says, 'has wrote me no answer. I propose, therefore, to wait upon him at Oxford to know whether he received my letter, and to desire Mr. Gambold and Mr. Wells to peruse my sermon.' He would like Wesley 'to see it too.' He proceeds to expostulate with Wesley because, as he thinks, he has 'evaded' a promised service to Mr. Fox, who was in straits, could not pay his rent, was in debt, and without proper livelihood. Wesley had offered to 'recover' the 'Castle Stock by collecting the subscriptions in arrears.'

This he had failed to do, supposing, when he went away, that Kinchin would supply his place. The letter throws light on the work of the Holy Club, and it shows Wesley's continued interest in that work. It is addressed to 'The Rev. Mr. John Wesley, at Mrs. Grevil's, Grocer, in Wine Street, Bristol,' and is endorsed 'Oct. 9, 1739. Answered Dec. 17':

How so, my brother? Who is most concerned to fulfil your engagements? You or I? If the care of my parish would have allowed me to have resided in Oxford after I had resigned my fellowship, yet why should you imagine that I would of course take upon me your engagement to pay Mr. Fox's rent, without your giving me any intimation of what you had done, or of what you would have me do, in your stead? I knew nothing of what you had engaged, till Mr. Fox told me, which occasioned my writing to you upon the subject. And he said nothing, as I know of, as to your promising out of the Castle Stock. You say, 'While I am here, I can't solicit contributions at Oxford.' No more can I while I am *here*, by word of mouth, speak to you at Bristol. You say, 'I shall rejoice to hear you have fixt him in some business.' Mr. Fox is in debt. His debts should be paid first. The last business he and we can think of is to buy and sell fowl and pigs (which he could keep in his yard) and cheeses. There will be need of about £30. Mr. Hutchings writes every day to Mr. Ingham to ask charity for him. I am to write to Lady G—, Mr. Stonehouse, &c. We propose he shall have the money we can raise by way of loan, which we may withdraw upon mismanagement, and to make him accountable for everything. You know how much you was for his staying at Oxford, when there was a motion for his settling at London. If you shall rejoice to hear him fixt in some business, send a helping hand, my dear Brother, and do as we do upon this occasion; then it is likely, with God's blessing, you may see him fixt in some business soon. We all join in love to you and all friends around you. We constantly pray for you, and desire your prayers. If you write within a week, direct to Mr. Fox's.

Your unworthy brother,  
C. KINCHIN.

Under the influence of Böhler and his

Fellow of Corpus Christi, and Mr. Fox,<sup>1</sup> late a prisoner in the city prison. Between five and six we called at Chapel-on-the-Heath, where lived a poor man, sometime prisoner in the Castle of Oxford. He was not at home; but his wife came to us, to whom Mr. Kinchin spoke a few words, which so melted her heart that she burst out into tears, and we went on rejoicing and praising God.

About eight, it being rainy and very dark, we lost our way; but before nine came to Shipston [on Stour],<sup>2</sup> having rode over, I know not how, a narrow foot-bridge, which lay across a deep ditch near the town. After supper I read prayers to the people of the inn, and explained the Second Lesson; I hope not in vain.

The next day we dined at Birmingham, and, soon after we left it, were reprov'd for our negligence there (in letting those who attended us go without either exhortation or instruction), by a severe shower of hail. At Hednesford,<sup>3</sup> about five, we endeavoured to be more faithful; and all who heard seemed serious and affected.

In the evening we came to Stafford. The mistress of the house joined with us in family prayer. The next morning one of the servants appeared deeply affected, as did the ostler before we went. Soon after breakfast, stepping into the stable, I spake a few words to those who were there. A stranger who heard me said, 'Sir, I wish I was to travel with you'; and when I went into the house, followed me, and began abruptly, 'Sir, I believe you are a good man, and I come to tell you a little of my life.' The tears stood in his eyes all the time he

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Moravian friends, Kinchin resigned his deanery, fellowship, and parish, intending to become an itinerant preacher. Hervey protested in a letter of twelve printed pages, and Whitefield expostulated. Had he lived, Kinchin would probably have followed in the footsteps of Ingham, Gambold, and others. Members of the Kinchin family appear later in Moravian lists.

<sup>1</sup> As to the class of prisoners in the city prison of Oxford, see Wesley's Introductory letter to Richard Morgan,

senior (above p. 90). For Fox, see March 14, April 30, and Dec. 10. See also Wesley letters at Fetter Lane, Nov. 16, 1738; *Moravian Messenger*, 1877, p. 50. See especially letter of Richard Morgan to Wesley, Nov. 27, 1735 (App. IV. vol. vi.). One of the Societies met in Fox's house.

<sup>2</sup> In a detached part of Worcestershire.

<sup>3</sup> Wesley spells the word according to the popular pronunciation, 'Hedgeford.'



spoke ; and we hoped not a word which was said to him was lost.

At Newcastle, whither we came about ten, some to whom we spoke at our inn were very attentive ; but a gay young woman waited on us, quite unconcerned. However, we spoke on. When we went away she fixed her eyes, and neither moved nor said one word, but appeared as much astonished as if she had seen one risen from the dead.

Coming to Holmes Chapel about three, we were surprised at being shown into a room where a cloth and plates were laid. Soon after two men came in to dinner. Mr. Kinchin told them, if they pleased, that gentleman would ask a blessing for them. They stared, and, as it were, consented ; but sat still while I did it, one of them with his hat on. We began to speak on turning to God, and went on, though they appeared utterly regardless. After a while their countenances changed, and one of them stole off his hat, and, laying it down behind him, said all we said was true ; but he had been a grievous sinner, and not considered it as he ought ; but he was resolved, with God's help, now to turn to Him in earnest. We exhorted him and his companion, who now likewise drank in every word, to cry mightily to God, that He would 'send them help from His holy place.'

Being faint in the evening, I called at Altrincham, and there lit upon a Quaker, well skilled in, and therefore (as I soon found) sufficiently fond of, controversy. After an hour spent therein (perhaps not in vain), I advised him to dispute as little as possible ; but rather follow after holiness, and walk humbly with his God. Late at night we reached Manchester.

*Fri.* 17, we spent entirely with Mr. Clayton,<sup>1</sup> by whom, and the rest of our friends here, we were much refreshed and strengthened. Mr. Hoole,<sup>2</sup> the rector of St. Ann's Church, being

<sup>1</sup> Rev. John Clayton, son of a Manchester bookseller: named to Wesley by Rivington in 1732; joined the Holy Club; induced the Wesleys to adopt the fasts of the early Church. He entered Brasenose College in 1726, became Holme Exhibitioner in 1729, and went to Manchester in 1733, where he held the incumbency of Trinity Church, Salford,

and a chaplaincy and fellowship at the Collegiate Church. He was a Nonjuror, a High Churchman, and, with his friend Dr. Deacon, an active sympathizer with the Pretender in the rebellion of '45, for which he was inhibited by the Bishop of Chester, but shortly after restored. See p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> The translator of Tasso.

taken ill the next day, on *Sunday* the 19th, Mr. Kinchin and I officiated at Salford Chapel in the morning, by which means Mr. Clayton was at liberty to perform the service of St. Ann's;<sup>1</sup> and in the afternoon I preached there on those words of St. Paul, 'If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature.'

Early in the morning we left Manchester, taking with us Mr. Kinchin's brother, for whom we came, to be entered at Oxford. We were fully determined to lose no opportunity of awakening, instructing, or exhorting any whom we might meet with in our journey. At Knutsford, where we first stopped, all we spake to thankfully received the word of exhortation. But at Talk-o'-th'-Hill, where we dined, she with whom we were was so much of a gentlewoman that for near an hour our labour seemed to be in vain. However, we spoke on. Upon a sudden she looked as one just awaked out of a sleep. Every word sank into her heart. Nor have I seen so entire a change both in the eyes, face, and manner of speaking of any one in so short a time.

About five, Mr. Kinchin riding by a man and woman double-horsed, the man said, 'Sir, you ought to thank God it is a fair day; for if it rained, you would be sadly dirty with your little horse.' Mr. Kinchin answered, 'True; and we ought to thank God for our life, and health, and food, and raiment, and all things.' He then rode on, Mr. Fox following; the man said, 'Sir, my mistress would be glad to have some more talk with that gentleman.' We stayed, and when they came up began to search one another's hearts. They came to us again in the evening at our inn at Stone, where I explained both to them and many of their acquaintance who were come together that great truth, Godliness hath the promise both of this life and of that which is to come.

*Tues. 21.*—Between nine and ten we came to Hednesford. Just then one was giving an account of a young woman who had dropped down dead there the day before. This gave us a fair occasion to exhort all that were present, 'so to number' their own 'days' that they might apply their 'hearts unto wisdom.'

In the afternoon one overtook us whom we soon found more

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<sup>1</sup> Wesley had preached there June 3, 1733.

inclined to speak than to hear. However, we spoke, and spared not. In the evening we overtook a young man, a Quaker, who afterwards came to us to our inn at Henley, whither he sent for the rest of his family to join with us in prayer; to which I added, as usual, the exposition of the Second Lesson. Our other companion went with us a mile or two in the morning; and then not only spoke less than the day before, but took in good part a serious caution against talkativeness and vanity.

An hour after we were overtook by an elderly gentleman, who said he was going to enter his son at Oxford. We asked, 'At what college?' He said he did not know, having no acquaintance there on whose recommendation he could depend. After some conversation, he expressed a deep sense of the good providence of God; and told us he knew God had cast us in his way in answer to his prayer. In the evening we reached Oxford, rejoicing in our having received so many fresh instances of that great truth, 'In all thy ways acknowledge Him, and He shall direct thy paths.'

*Thur. 23.*—I met Peter Böhler again,<sup>1</sup> who now amazed me more and more by the account he gave of the fruits of living faith,—the holiness and happiness which he affirmed to attend it. The next morning I began the Greek Testament again, resolving to abide by 'the law and the testimony'; and being confident that God would hereby show me whether this doctrine was of God.

*Sun. 26.*—I preached at Whitam<sup>2</sup> on 'the new creature,' and went in the evening to a society in Oxford, where (as my manner then was at all societies), after using a collect or two and the Lord's Prayer, I expounded a chapter in the New

<sup>1</sup> Peter Böhler gives his own account of this interview, at which both the Wesleys were present. (See Lockwood's *Life of Peter Böhler*, p. 74.)

<sup>2</sup> It is suggested (*W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 94) that this is a printer's error for Wycombe (High); but this is highly improbable. They arrived in Oxford on the evening of Wednesday the 22nd, met Böhler on Thursday, Charles, still a convalescent,

being present. Friday the 24th Wesley 'began the Greek Testament again,' probably remained in Oxford with Charles or rode over to Stanton Harcourt to visit Gambold, and on Sunday morning preached at Wytham, which on Bacon's Road-map is only a few miles N.W. of Oxford. Wytham Abbey is not far from Stanton Harcourt, in the direction of South Leigh and Witney.



Testament, and concluded with three or four more collects and a psalm.<sup>1</sup>

*Mon. 27.*—Mr. Kinchin went with me to the Castle, where, after reading prayers, and preaching on 'It is appointed unto men once to die,' we prayed with the condemned man, first in several forms of prayer, and then in such words as were given us in that hour. He kneeled down in much heaviness and confusion, having 'no rest in' his 'bones, by reason of' his 'sins.' After a space he rose up, and eagerly said, 'I am now ready to die. I know Christ has taken away my sins; and there is no more condemnation for me.' The same composed cheerfulness he showed when he was carried to execution; and in his last moments he was the same, enjoying a perfect peace, in confidence that he was 'accepted in the Beloved.'<sup>2</sup>

APRIL 1, *Sat.*—Being at Mr. Fox's<sup>3</sup> society, my heart was

On April 1 the Diary is resumed. The form is considerably modified. The page is ruled into five compartments; but there is neither ejaculatory nor hourly prayer, and certain details, which abounded in earlier Diaries, have almost wholly disappeared. Byrom's shorthand is used. Errors are

<sup>1</sup> In devotional 'manner' these societies differed, it should be noted, from the untitled meetings held in Savannah and Frederica. The latter were held, as a rule, on Wednesday and Friday evenings, after evening prayers and exposition. Their characteristic features were singing, reading, and conversation. Hymns of an experimental character were used: the readings from Law, Kempis, Scougal, Haliburton were necessarily brief, and intended to incite conversation. The Sunday-afternoon meetings of the (still untitled) inner circle followed the same plan. The absence of 'prayer' (until Wesley learnt the value of extempore prayer from the Presbyterian Highlanders of Darien) is not remarkable when we remember that the meetings immediately followed evening prayers. So also the absence of the Bible from the meetings is accounted for. The 'religious societies' in London, Bristol, and here in Oxford, whether found by Wesley or, as in this case, founded by Wesley and his friends,

must be carefully distinguished from those meetings of an earlier and later period in which fellowship and experience were the most prominent features. No doubt the 'religious society' often merged into a Moravian or a Methodist society. But at first it was quite distinct.

<sup>2</sup> At the Castle, with this condemned man, we see these two earnest Churchmen anticipating the freer, more personal, and more experimental devotionalism of a time now close at hand. Churchmanship is in transition. First prayers, preaching, several forms of prayer; then 'such words as were given,' with conviction, faith, justification, assurance, perfect peace.

<sup>3</sup> In a letter to Wesley in Georgia (Nov. 27, 1735) Richard Morgan junior says: 'I read every Sunday night to a cheerful number of Christians at Mr. Fox's (Oxford). Mr. Fox and his wife are most zealous Christians, and are earnestly bent on going to Georgia.' Whitefield used to sing and pray there.

so full that I could not confine myself to the forms of prayer which we were accustomed to use there. Neither do I purpose to be confined to them any more; but to pray indifferently, with a form or without, as I may find suitable to particular occasions.<sup>1</sup>

*Sun.* 2.—Being Easter Day, I preached in our College chapel on ‘The hour cometh, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live.’ I preached in the afternoon, first at the Castle, and then at Carfax, on the same words. I see the promise; but it is afar off.

Believing it would be better for me to wait for the accomplishment of it in silence and retirement, on *Monday* the

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rather frequent. For this reason, or because he wished to ensure a correct record of persons and places, the writer, after the first few pages, inserts names in longhand. A few lines transliterated will sufficiently indicate the character of the Diary for this month :

- 4½ Prayer, writ sermon.
- 6 Prayer, sermon.
- 7 Coffee, sermon.
- 8 Prayers.
- 9 Charles read his Journal, prayer,      singing.
- 12½ Dinner, read my sermon.
- 1 At Mr Fox’s.
- 2 Castle, Prayers,
- 3 With Charles, he read his Journal,      tea.

In the evening he again read Charles’s Journal, and at eight attended a society at Washington’s for Bible reading, singing, &c. It was 10.30 before he lay down.

*Easter Sunday.*—He rose later than usual. At eight he robed for Prayers; at nine preached and took the Communion—‘all serious, all stayed.’ The rector on whom he called was ‘kind’; Charles read his Journal; twice he was at Fox’s; once at the Castle; in the afternoon he read prayers and preached at Carfax (the home of the Broughtons), and he saw his old friend Mr. Vesey.

*Mon.* 3.—He walked with Fox in the early morning; they preached and read sermons. At 11½ he was at Mrs. Pocock’s, where he conversed and drank tea. At three he left for Dummer, where he arrived at seven,

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<sup>1</sup> For their newly formed practice of extempore prayer the two brothers were greatly censured, particularly by their brother Samuel (Moore, *Life*, vol. i. p. 377; and Dr. Priestley’s *Original Letters*, p. 96: ‘Banish extempore

expositions and extempore prayers’). The letter from which this is quoted is from Samuel Wesley to John, April 16, 1739, and is obviously a reply to a letter in the *Works* (vol. xii. p. 30) which is misdated.

3rd I complied with Mr. Kinchin's desire,<sup>1</sup> and went to him at Dummer, in Hampshire. But I was not suffered to stay here

and found a Mr. Pike, who left an hour later. The day following (Tuesday the 4th) he wrote his Diary and Journal, and spent the day in devotions, reading, visiting, walking, and journal-reading. Miss Molly and Stephen enjoyed the benefit of his religious exercises.

*Wed. 5.*—He spent the day much in the same way; Bible-reading, Journal, logic, fasting, conversation with Miss Molly and Stephen, with visits in the village, occupied the time. At 'Vigor's' he sang and read the Bible.

*Thur. 6.*—To-day Kinchin and his sister accompanied Wesley to Woodmancot. Earlier in the day he read a sermon to Miss Molly, and later began M. De Renty's Life.

*Fri. 7.*—He read Morgan's letters to Miss Molly and Stephen. After dinner :

Read Morgan's letters, 3 visited, 4 conversed to Miss Molly,  $\frac{3}{4}$  catchup children.

Mr. Pike came to afternoon tea, prayers, and a reading of Mr. Collette's *Letters* by Stephen. They had further conversation, reading, and prayer, and retired to rest at 9.30.

*Sun. 9.*—He preached, gave the Communion, read Haliburton, catechized the children, read the Bible to 'Goody Rogers,' and ended the day conversing with Miss Molly.

*Mon. 10.*—Miss Molly was taken ill. The day and several days following are absorbed by the domestic calamity.

*Tues. 11.*—Sanderson, who seems to have been the doctor in attendance, pronounced Miss Molly a little better.

10 Read De Renty to them; 11 $\frac{1}{2}$  set out, meditating and praying.

2 At Stockbridge. Dinner, talked to the hostler.

3 $\frac{1}{2}$  Set out. 5 Sarum. In talk of Miss Molly.

Late at night he spent half an hour with 'my sister' (Mrs. Hall).

*Wed. 12.*—He left early and lost his way, but at 7 $\frac{3}{4}$  reached Stockbridge, where he talked seriously to all. At 8 $\frac{3}{4}$  he again set out, praying, singing, meditating, and conversing with a stranger by the way.

11 $\frac{3}{4}$  Woodmancot, Miss Molly there, in talk together, tea.

1 $\frac{1}{2}$  Dinner, she worse.

In the evening he went on to Dummer, after evening prayers visiting an old parishioner—'Goody Fist'—she reading letters, and he reading, singing, and praying with her.

<sup>1</sup> The Kinchin family as it appears in the Diary consisted of Charles, Stephen, and James (presumably brothers), and 'Miss Molly' (sister). Strangely Mrs. Kinchin ('Esther Kinchin,' of *Memoirs of James Hutton*) does not appear. During Wesley's visit the family removed

to Woodmancot, which was a few miles distant. Wesley remained by night in Dummer, sleeping part of the time at Mr. Terry's. Woodmancot was on the way both to Salisbury, where Wesley Hall and his wife (Martha Wesley) lived, and to Winchester.



$\begin{array}{l} 8 \text{ } \lambda_{24} \text{ } \lambda_{25} \text{ } \lambda_{26} \text{ } \lambda_{27} \text{ } \lambda_{28} \text{ } \lambda_{29} \text{ } \lambda_{30} \text{ } \lambda_{31} \text{ } \lambda_{32} \text{ } \lambda_{33} \text{ } \lambda_{34} \text{ } \lambda_{35} \text{ } \lambda_{36} \text{ } \lambda_{37} \text{ } \lambda_{38} \text{ } \lambda_{39} \text{ } \lambda_{40} \text{ } \lambda_{41} \text{ } \lambda_{42} \text{ } \lambda_{43} \text{ } \lambda_{44} \text{ } \lambda_{45} \text{ } \lambda_{46} \text{ } \lambda_{47} \text{ } \lambda_{48} \text{ } \lambda_{49} \text{ } \lambda_{50} \text{ } \lambda_{51} \text{ } \lambda_{52} \text{ } \lambda_{53} \text{ } \lambda_{54} \text{ } \lambda_{55} \text{ } \lambda_{56} \text{ } \lambda_{57} \text{ } \lambda_{58} \text{ } \lambda_{59} \text{ } \lambda_{60} \text{ } \lambda_{61} \text{ } \lambda_{62} \text{ } \lambda_{63} \text{ } \lambda_{64} \text{ } \lambda_{65} \text{ } \lambda_{66} \text{ } \lambda_{67} \text{ } \lambda_{68} \text{ } \lambda_{69} \text{ } \lambda_{70} \text{ } \lambda_{71} \text{ } \lambda_{72} \text{ } \lambda_{73} \text{ } \lambda_{74} \text{ } \lambda_{75} \text{ } \lambda_{76} \text{ } \lambda_{77} \text{ } \lambda_{78} \text{ } \lambda_{79} \text{ } \lambda_{80} \text{ } \lambda_{81} \text{ } \lambda_{82} \text{ } \lambda_{83} \text{ } \lambda_{84} \text{ } \lambda_{85} \text{ } \lambda_{86} \text{ } \lambda_{87} \text{ } \lambda_{88} \text{ } \lambda_{89} \text{ } \lambda_{90} \text{ } \lambda_{91} \text{ } \lambda_{92} \text{ } \lambda_{93} \text{ } \lambda_{94} \text{ } \lambda_{95} \text{ } \lambda_{96} \text{ } \lambda_{97} \text{ } \lambda_{98} \text{ } \lambda_{99} \text{ } \lambda_{100} \end{array}$



long; being earnestly pressed to come up to London, if it were only for a few days. Thither, therefore, I returned, on *Tuesday* the 18th.

*Thur.* 13.—He walked over to Woodmancot, spending the day there. His reading was Isaac Mills, De Renty, and logic. The day following he again went to Woodmancot. In the afternoon he accompanied Dr. Coombes to Winchester, talking with him of Miss Molly. Returning to Woodmancot in the evening, he found the patient 'very ill.' At Dummer, which was still his head quarters, he seems to have been the guest of Mr. Terry, whose father, 'old Mr. Terry,' was there.

*Sat.* 15.—So anxious was he for news of the sick woman that he left at six, reaching Woodmancot at seven. He read Haliburton to her—his chief remedy at this time for a troubled mind. A surgeon—Mr. Lawrence—'refused to bleed Miss Molly.' Twice the Diary records the fact that she was 'very ill.' In the evening, at Dummer, he visited 'Goody Vigors.'

*Sun.* 16.—He had a busy day. It began at 4.30, when he 'drest,' prayed, read his Bible, meditated, prepared a sermon, and at seven was at Woodmancot, about an hour's walk distant. At 8.30 he went to Popham, the next parish, where he read prayers, preached, and administered Holy Communion. At eleven he returned to Dummer for prayers and sermon, dining at Woodmancot, where also he read prayers and preached his sermon. Miss Molly was still ill. In the evening he set out with Stephen and 'Jimmy' (James) for Dummer, where he visited 'Goody Vigors.'

*Mon.* 17.—He left Dummer, visiting Woodmancot, where he conversed seriously to Stephen, Miss Molly, and James. After prayer he set out with Stephen and Charles (Kinchin), and dined at Mrs. Pocock's. He had parted with Stephen at Newbury. 'Washington,' 'Croutch,' and other Oxford persons are named. On Tuesday the 18th, at seven in the morning, he writes: 'At home, sang with Charles.' If this is Charles Wesley, the 'at home' must have been Oxford. He arrived in Oxford from Newbury on the 17th, found his brother still at Mr. Sarney's, and left the next day for London. At Oxford he began the *Life of A. M. Schurmann*.<sup>1</sup>

*Wed.* 19.—He travelled by way of Beaconsfield, arriving at James Hutton's about four in the afternoon. The same evening he went with Hutton to Mr. H[utton senr.] at Westminster. The negative evidence of the Diary points to the fact that, although the two brothers travelled the same day to London, they did not travel together.

*Thurs.* 20.—He wrote to Charles Kinchin, saw Mr. Broughton and friends, wrote to Charles Delamotte, to Mrs. Prince, and to Molly Kinchin; dressed, and went with James Hutton to Mr. Stonehouse's, at Islington, where they dined and talked of the Mystics. At four they had prayers, tea, and conversation. At 5.30 they set out, and at 6.15 arrived at Mr. Bray's, where they sang and, apparently, covenanted together, singing and reading prayers. He supped 'at home,' that is with James Hutton.

<sup>1</sup> Anna Maria Van Schurmann. See *blue-stocking* and Quaker of the seven-  
*Edinb. Review*, April 1908: 'A Dutch  
teenth century.' Born 1607, died 1678.



*Sat. 22.*—I met Peter Böhler once more.<sup>1</sup> I had now no objection to what he said of the nature of faith; namely, that it is (to use the words of our Church) 'a sure trust and confidence which a man hath in God, that through the merits of Christ his sins are forgiven and he reconciled to the favour of God.'<sup>2</sup> Neither could I deny either the happiness or holiness which he described as fruits of this living faith. 'The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit that we are the children of God,' and 'He that believeth hath the witness in himself' fully convinced me of the former; as 'Whatsoever is born of God doth not commit sin,' and 'Whosoever believeth is born of God' did of the latter. But I could not comprehend what he spoke of an *instantaneous work*. I could not understand how this faith should be given in a moment: how a man could *at once* be thus turned from darkness to light, from sin and misery to righteousness and joy in the Holy Ghost. I searched the Scriptures again touching this very thing, particularly the Acts of the Apostles: but, to my utter astonishment, found scarce any instances there of other than *instantaneous* conversions; scarce any so slow as that of St. Paul, who was three days in the pangs of the new birth. I had but one retreat left; namely, '*Thus, I grant, God*

*Fri. 21.*—In the early morning he preached at St. Antholin's, called at Bray's, returned home, called at Mr. H.'s, wrote to Mr. Brown of Highgate, saw Charles, Mr. Sha—, Captain Curran, and Mr. Broughton.

*Sat. 22.*—After early prayers he saw Mr. Clark. He talked Charles into conviction; at 11.45 set out, Dr. Cisporn; in talk of Miss Molly; 5.30 at Böhler's, sang; he (Böhler) read letters. Returning home, he supped and wrote to Charles Kinchin and wrote his Diary.

<sup>1</sup> 'A right searching conversation with the two Wesleys' is Böhler's verdict on this interview. (*Moravian Messenger*, 1875, p. 144.)

<sup>2</sup> These words are taken from the Homily 'Of Salvation,' which deals fully with the whole subject of Justification by Faith. In the above quotation reference is made to those who profess to be in a justified state, but show by their evil works they are not. The whole passage is as follows: 'How can a man have this true faith, this sure trust and confidence

in God, that by the merits of Christ his sins be forgiven, and he reconciled to the favour of God, and to be partaker of the kingdom of heaven by Christ, when he liveth ungodly, and denieth Christ in his deeds? Surely no such ungodly man can have this faith and trust in God.' On the faith which is followed by God's justifying grace, and on the faith of the justified, this great homily teaches the doctrines which Wesley taught on these subjects the remainder of his life. See *Lon. Q. Rev.* Jan. 1902, pp. 141-2.

wrought in the *first* ages of Christianity ; but the times are changed. What reason have I to believe He works in the same manner now ?'

But on *Sunday* the 23rd, I was beat out of this retreat too,<sup>1</sup> by the concurring evidence of several living witnesses ; who testified God had thus wrought in themselves, giving them in a moment such a faith in the blood of His Son as translated them out of darkness into light, out of sin and fear into holiness and happiness. Here ended my disputing. I could now only cry out, 'Lord, help Thou my unbelief !'

I asked Peter Böhler again whether I ought not to refrain from teaching others. He said, 'No ; do not hide in the earth the talent God hath given you.' Accordingly, on *Tuesday* the 25th, I spoke clearly and fully at Blendon to Mr.

*Sun.* 23.—At six in the morning he preached at St. Ann's. At Mrs. West's he drank tea. At ten he read prayers at Wapping, and preached. At Mr. Parker's he prayed, dined, and conversed. At 2.30 he read prayers and preached at St. Helen's. At five he was 'at home with Böhler and others, and was convinced . . . at once.'<sup>2</sup>

6 Tea, singing, the Cross ; 7 conversed to Böhler, prayer ; 7.30 Mr. H[utton]'s, the Cross.

8 Singing, prayer, 9 conversed with Metcalf,  $\frac{1}{2}$  supper, 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  at home.

*Mon.* 24.—Prayers, Mr. Metcalf's, learnt to sing, Mr. Broughton's, at home, Islington, conversation with Mr. Stonehouse ; 'read the way to the Sabbath of rest.' In the evening he was at Blendon with Mr. Broughton. At 7.30 Miss Hetty sang. Mrs. Delamotte, Miss B., and Charles sang and conversed till supper-time. Mr. Piers remained until 10.30. Once more he prayed and sang, not retiring until near midnight.

*Tues.* 25.—At 4.45 he was praying and singing with them again. He continued the same exercises, with an interval for meditation and tea, until

<sup>1</sup> 'I took,' says Böhler, 'four of my English brethren to John Wesley. They told, one after another, what had been wrought in them. Wesley and those that were with him were as if thunder-struck at these narratives. I asked John Wesley what he then believed. He said four examples were not enough. I replied I would bring eight more here in London. After a short time he stood up and said, "We will sing that hymn 'Hier legte mein Sinn,' &c." ["My soul before Thee prostrate lies"—a hymn translated by

Wesley and printed in his first hymn-books, but omitted in recent editions.] During the singing of the Moravian version he often wiped his eyes.' In his own room Wesley declared to Böhler that he was now satisfied as to what had been said of faith, and he would now question no more. See Green's *John Wesley, Evangelist*, p. 185, for a fuller account.

<sup>2</sup> Most of these names are found in the 'Lists of Moravian Officials.' See Benham, *Memoirs of James Hutton*.

Delamotte's family of the nature and fruits of faith. Mr. Broughton and my brother were there.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Broughton's<sup>2</sup> great objection was, he could never think that I had not faith, who had done and suffered such things. My brother was very angry, and told me I did not know what mischief I had done by talking thus. And, indeed, it did please God then to kindle a fire which I trust shall never be extinguished.

On *Wednesday* the 26th, the day fixed for my return to Oxford, I once more waited on the Trustees for Georgia; but,

eight, when he set out with Mr. Broughton. At ten he talked with John D[elamotte]. At 11.15 he was with Böhler—the 'Cross.' At one he was at Islington with Mr. Hall and Sister Patty.

3<sup>3</sup> At home, Miss Claggets<sup>1</sup> there, Böhler conversed, tea.

6 St. Helen's, read prayers, preached, 8 at home, writ to Mr. Kinchin, to Mr. Clayton, ro in talk together  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

*Wed.* 26.—Harvey and Metcalf appear. He calls at Mr. Bray's; at the Trustees' House, 'left my papers.' Mr. H., dinner. In the afternoon he set out with Böhler. They walked together an hour (towards Oxford), when Böhler left him. He read his Greek Testament until, at 4.15, he reached the Green Man, where he drank tea and conversed. At five he left and read the Greek Testament as far as Gerrard's Cross, where he supped and slept.

<sup>1</sup> Charles Wesley's description of this memorable discussion is graphic:

I took a ride to Blendon. In the afternoon we made Mr. Piers [Wesley spells the name Peers] a visit; and returning, found Mr. Broughton and my brother at Blendon.

APRIL 25, *Tues.*—Soon after five, as we were met in our little chapel, Mrs. Delamotte came to us. We sang and fell into a dispute whether conversion was gradual or instantaneous. My brother was very positive for the latter, and very shocking; mentioned some late instances of gross sinners believing in a moment. I was much offended at his worse than unedifying discourse. Mrs. Delamotte left us abruptly. I stayed, and insisted a man need not know when first he had faith. His obstinacy in favouring the contrary opinion drove me at last out of the room. Mr. Broughton was only not so much scandalized as myself. After dinner he and my brother returned to town. I stayed behind, and read them the *Life of Mr. Haliburton*: one instance, but only one, of instantaneous conversion.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Broughton was 'the son of Thomas Broughton, of Carfax, Oxon., gent., University College, matric. Dec.

17, 1731, aged nineteen; Fellow of Exeter College, 1734-41; rector of Wotton, Surrey, 1753 until his death, Dec. 21, 1777' (see above, p. 440). Broughton was drawn for a while towards the Moravian societies, reading prayers and preaching at a lecture that was maintained by those societies. But church questions, and especially a form of baptismal regeneration, separated him from his old friends. Jackson, in his *Life of Charles Wesley*, says that Broughton 'strenuously denied that sinners were justified by faith. One day, when Charles pressed him with *The Book of Homilies*, he confessed that was a work he had never read' (vol. i. p. 159). Some of the authorities on Broughton's subsequent career say that he became Secretary of the S.P.G. They confuse the S.P.G. with the S.P.C.K.

<sup>3</sup> The Claggets were wealthy and distinguished Moravians. See the Hutton Lists.



being straitened for time, was obliged to leave the papers for them which I had designed to give into their own hands. One of these was the instrument whereby they had appointed me minister of Savannah; which, having no more place in those parts, I thought it not right to keep any longer.<sup>1</sup>

Peter Böhler walked with me a few miles, and exhorted me not to stop short of the grace of God. At Gerrard's Cross<sup>2</sup> I plainly declared to those whom God gave into my hands the faith as it is in Jesus; as I did next day to a young man I overtook on the road, and in the evening to our friends at Oxford. A strange doctrine, which some, who did not care to contradict, yet knew not what to make of; but one or two, who were thoroughly bruised by sin, willingly heard and received it gladly.

In the day or two following I was much confirmed in the 'truth that is after godliness' by hearing the experiences of Mr. Hutchins,<sup>3</sup> of Pembroke College, and Mrs. Fox;<sup>4</sup> two living witnesses that God *can* (at least, if He *does* not always) give that faith whereof cometh salvation in a moment, as lightning falling from heaven.

*Thur. 27.*—He left at 4.30, reading Greek Testament, until, at 7.30, he reached Mr. Crouch's, where he had tea, conversation, and prayer.

9 Set out, overtook a man, conversed, read the Bible to him.

11½ At the hut, conversed ½, set out with the man 12¾, Tetsworth.

He reached Oxford at five. There, at his sister's, he met Mr. Evans. He seems to have lodged at Mr. Sarney's. The day following he spent with Mr. Kinchin, Mr. Hutchings, and at Mr. Fox's meeting. He wrote to Hugh Brian and others.

*Sat. 29.*—Letters and the Castle occupied most of the day. He notes an interview with Mr. F. (or V.) Hutchings. He closes the day's Diary with one of his cipher confessional marks.

*Sun. 30.*—He preached at the Castle and administered Holy Communion; wrote to Sal(mon) and James Kinchin, and heard a sermon.

Here occurs an unexplained break in the Diary. The next entry, on the same page, is '*Wed. May 23, 1739.*'

<sup>1</sup> Record Office, C.O. 5. See above, p. 109, and App. XI. vol. vi.

<sup>2</sup> Probably so named from Lord Gerhard, the Royalist leader at Newbury.

<sup>3</sup> Twice in the Diary Mr. Hutchins (or Hutchings, as the name is also spelt on the same page) is referred to. This is not, as Tyerman erroneously supposes,

Dr. Richard Hutchins, rector of Lincoln—also one of Wesley's friends—but a totally different person. See Thomas M'Cullagh in *Lon. Q. Rev.* Jan. 1905, p. 145; and *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 151, where the question is fully discussed.

<sup>4</sup> The meeting is referred to in later records as 'Mrs. Fox's Society.'

MAY 1, *Mon.*—The return of my brother's illness obliged me again to hasten to London.<sup>1</sup> In the evening I found him at James Hutton's, better as to his health than I expected; but strongly averse from what he called 'the new faith.'

This evening our little society<sup>2</sup> began, which afterwards met in Fetter Lane. Our fundamental rules<sup>3</sup> were as follow :

IN obedience to the command of God by St. James, and by the advice of Peter Böhler, it is agreed by us,

1. That we will meet together once a week to 'confess our

<sup>1</sup> On April 28 Charles writes: 'No sooner was I got to James Hutton's, having removed my things thither from his father's, than the pain in my side returned, and with that my fever. . . . Towards midnight I received some relief by bleeding. In the morning Dr. Cockburn came to see me; and a better physician, Peter Böhler, whom God had detained in England for my good.'

<sup>2</sup> This was not, as Whitehead, Tyerman, and others following their lead, have erroneously believed, a Moravian society; nor was it *the* Methodist Society. It is true, however, that out of it eventually sprang the organized Methodism of the 'United Societies,' and also the Moravian society which became the Moravian Church. The contemporary records that clearly define the nature of this society are the Journals of John and Charles Wesley and of George Whitefield; the letters of James Hutton (*Memoirs of James Hutton*, by D. Benham); and a manuscript account of the Fetter Lane Society, by William Holland, one of the original members. Holland's *Account* is preserved in the archives of the Moravian chapel, Fetter Lane. The facts, as first stated by the Rev. John Telford (*Life of Wesley*, 1st ed. p. 148, published 1886) and afterwards, in 1891, by the Rev. T. M'Cullagh, show clearly that it was a Church of England society :

Wild Street, west of Temple Bar, and not far from Drury Lane. The founders were John and Charles Wesley, Piers, vicar of Bexley, and a few others. It was formed at 'the command of God by St. James, and by the advice of Peter Böhler.' The last named was present, it being three days before he left for America. At its origin only two rules were agreed to; four weeks after three other rules were added, and on Sept. 25 the code was completed by the addition of twenty more rules. About the same time the meeting-place was changed from Little Wild Street to a room in Fetter Lane. The members professed to belong to the Church of England, and as such they went in a body to St. Paul's Cathedral, headed by Charles Wesley and George Whitefield, to receive the Lord's Supper. The society had lovefeasts and bands, as the Methodist societies had when formed. In the frequent absences of the Wesleys from London, the Fetter Lane society got into a condition of great confusion, and among the more drastic measures for restoring order was the exclusion from the society of two factious members named Wolff and Shaw, 'because,' says Charles Wesley, 'they disowned themselves members of the Church of England.'

Whether this little Church of England society ever met in Fetter Lane Chapel is doubtful. At its removal from James Hutton's house it met in 'a room in Fetter Lane.' The chapel was not leased by Hutton until after the disruption. See below, p. 475; *Homes and Haunts*, pp. 22-4; *Lon. Q. Rev.* vol. cxci. pp. 145-8.

<sup>3</sup> The Moravian theory respecting these rules is that they are Wesley's original draft, and that they were afterwards expanded into the thirty-three 'Orders' printed in *Memoirs of James Hutton*.

The 'little society' was formed May 1, 1738, at James Hutton's residence and bookseller's shop, The Bible and Sun, Little

faults one to another, and pray one for another, that we may be healed.'

2. That the persons so meeting be divided into several *bands*, or little companies, none of them consisting of fewer than five or more than ten persons.<sup>1</sup>

3. That every one in order speak as freely, plainly, and concisely as he can, the real state of his heart, with his several temptations and deliverances, since the last time of meeting.

4. That all the bands have a conference at eight every Wednesday evening,<sup>2</sup> begun and ended with singing and prayer.

5. That any who desire to be admitted into the society<sup>3</sup> be asked, 'What are your reasons for desiring this? Will you be entirely open; using no kind of reserve? Have you any objection to any of our orders?' (which may then be read).

6. That when any new member is proposed, every one present speak clearly and freely whatever objection he has to him.

7. That those against whom no reasonable objection appears be, in order for their trial, formed into one or more distinct bands, and some person agreed on to assist them.

8. That after two months' trial, if no objection then appear, they may be admitted into the society.

9. That every fourth Saturday be observed as a day of general intercession.

10. That on the Sunday seven-night following be a general lovefeast, from seven till ten in the evening.

11. That no particular member be allowed to act in anything contrary to any order of the society; and that if any persons, after being thrice admonished, do not conform thereto, they be not any longer esteemed as members.

*Wed. 3.*—My brother had a long and particular conversation with Peter Böhler. And it now pleased God to open his eyes; so that he also saw clearly what was the nature of that one true living faith, whereby alone, 'through grace, we are saved.'

*Thur. 4.*—Peter Böhler left London, in order to embark for Carolina. Oh what a work hath God begun, since his

<sup>1</sup> This Wesley did with his first Bristol converts, following, in general, the plan adopted in Savannah.

<sup>2</sup> This was the Bristol night, and one of the two Savannah nights.

<sup>3</sup> They obeyed this mode of proposal

of new members. From the beginning, in all forms of associated religious life, Wesley insisted on 'openness.' He imposed it on others and rigorously obeyed it himself, often thereby bringing himself into difficulty.



coming into England! Such an one as shall never come to an end till heaven and earth pass away.<sup>1</sup>

*Friday* and *Saturday* I was at Blendon. They now 'believed our report.' Oh may 'the arm of the Lord' be speedily 'revealed unto them'!

*Sun.* 7.—I preached at St. Lawrence's in the morning, and afterwards at St. Katherine Cree's church. I was enabled to speak strong words at both, and was therefore the less surprised at being informed I was not to preach any more in either of those churches.

*Tues.* 9.—I preached at Great St. Helen's, to a very numerous congregation, on 'He that spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all, how shall He not with Him also freely give us all things?' My heart was now so enlarged to declare the love of God to all that were oppressed by the devil, that I did not wonder in the least when I was afterwards told, 'Sir, you must preach here no more.'

*Wed.* 10.—Mr. Stonehouse,<sup>2</sup> vicar of Islington, was convinced of 'the truth as it is in Jesus.' From this time till *Saturday* the 13th, I was sorrowful and very heavy; being neither able to read, nor meditate, nor sing, nor pray, nor do any

<sup>1</sup> This is one of Wesley's exclamations added at a much later date. At this date nothing had occurred to justify such a thanksgiving. Perhaps all the persons at this time influenced by Böhler's teaching scarcely amounted to fifty. His usefulness consisted chiefly in preparing instruments for carrying on the work. Charles Wesley had given Peter Böhler lessons in English. Böhler addressed the Societies in Latin, his words being translated by Viney the tailor, who is mentioned Feb. 19 and June 16, 1744. When Böhler left, John Bray, a brazier living in Little Britain, near Smithfield—'an illiterate mechanic,' his friend Charles Wesley called him—was entrusted with Böhler's work. To the sympathetic quietness of this lowly home, Charles, still an invalid, was carried in a chair from the controversy and opposition of Great College Street.

<sup>2</sup> George Stonehouse was 'born at

Hungerford Park, Berks, Aug. 5, 1714, and became A.M. of Pembroke College, Cambridge, June 8, 1736, and in 1738 vicar of Islington, of which living his family were the impropiators, and which he sold on July 1, 1740, having resigned the cure. . . . He died at Bristol in 1793' (Benham's *Memoirs of James Hutton*, p. 268). Wesley called upon him at East Brent, near Bristol, Aug. 23, 1781, and quaintly describes him, adding, 'Perhaps if I had his immense fortune I might be as great an oddity as he.' He married Mary, daughter of Sir John Crispe, Bart. Benham at some length memorializes her and her husband and their connexion with Zinzendorf and the Moravians. The surmise that Charles Wesley was at one time his curate has been effectually disproved by an investigation of the Islington vestry records (*W.H.S.* vol. v. pp. 238-9).

thing. Yet I was a little refreshed by Peter Böhler's letter, which I insert in his own words :

CHARISSIME ET SUAVISSIME FRATER,

*INTENTISSIMO amore te diligo, multum tui recordans in itinere meo, optando et precando ut quamprimum viscera misericordiae crucifixi Jesu Christi, tui gratia jam ante sex mille annos commota, menti tuae appareant : ut gustare et tunc videre possis, quam vehementer te Filius Dei amaverit et hucusque amet, et ut sic confidere possis in eo omni tempore, vitamque ejus in te et in carne tua sentire. Cave tibi a peccato incredulitatis, et si nondum vicisti illud, fac ut proximo die illud vincas, per sanguinem Jesu Christi. Ne differ, quaeso, credere tuum in Jesum Christum ; sed potius promissionum ejus quae pertinent ad miserandos peccatores, coram facie ejus benigna sic mentionem fac, ut non aliter possit quam praestare tibi, quod multis aliis praestitit. O quam multus, quam magnus, quam ineffabilis, quam inexhaustus, est illius amor ! Ille certe jamjam paratus est ad auxilium ; et nihil potest illum offendere nisi incredulitas nostra. Crede igitur. Fratrem tuum Carolum et Hall, nomine meo saluta multum ; et admonete vos invicem ad credendum, et tunc ad ambulandum coram facie Domini ἀκριβῶς, et ad pugnandum contra diabolum et mundum νομικῶς, et ad crucifigendum et conculcandum peccatum omne sub pedibus nostris, quantum nobis datum est per gratiam secundi Adami, cujus vita excedit mortem prioris Adami, et cujus gratia antecellit corruptionem et damnationem prioris Adami.*

*Dominus tibi benedicat. Permane in fide, amore, doctrina, comunione sanctorum ; et breviter, in omni quod habemus in Novo Foedere. Ego sum et maneo,*

*Tuus indignus Frater,*

*PETRUS BÖHLER.*

*In Agris Southamptonianis,*

*Die 8vo Maii, 1738.*

I LOVE you greatly, and I think much of you in my journey, wishing and praying that the tender mercies of Jesus Christ the Crucified, whose bowels were moved towards you more than six thousand years ago, may be manifested to your soul : that you may taste, and then see, how exceedingly the Son of God has loved you, and loves you still ; and that so you may continually trust in Him, and feel His life in yourself. Beware of the sin of unbelief ; and if you have not conquered it yet, see that you conquer it this very day, through the blood of Jesus Christ. Delay not, I beseech you, to believe in *your* Jesus Christ ; but so put Him in mind of His promises to poor sinners that He may not be able to refrain from doing for you what He hath done for so many others. Oh how great, how inexpressible, how un-

exhausted is His love ! Surely He is now ready to help ; and nothing can offend Him but our unbelief.

Believe, therefore. Greet in my name your brother Charles and Hall ; and admonish one another to believe, and then to walk *circumspectly* in the sight of God, to fight *lawfully* against the devil and the world, and to crucify and to tread all sin under your feet, as far as you are permitted through the grace of the second Adam, whose life exceeds the death of the first Adam, and whose grace far surpasses the corruption and damnation of the first Adam.

The Lord bless you ! Abide in faith, love, teaching, the communion of saints ; and briefly, in all which we have in the New Testament. I am,

Your unworthy brother,

PETER BÖHLER.<sup>1</sup>

*Sun. 14.*—I preached in the morning at St. Ann's, Aldersgate, and in the afternoon at the Savoy chapel,<sup>2</sup> free salvation by faith in the blood of Christ. I was quickly apprised that at St. Ann's likewise I am to preach no more.<sup>3</sup>

So true did I find the words of a friend,<sup>4</sup> wrote to my brother about this time :

I have seen upon this occasion more than ever I could have imagined, how intolerable the doctrine of faith is to the mind of man, and how peculiarly intolerable to *religious* men. One may say the most unchristian things, even down to Deism ; the most enthusiastic things, so they proceed but upon mental raptures, lights, and unions ; the most severe things, even the whole rigour of ascetic mortification ; and all this will be forgiven. But if you speak of faith in such a manner as makes Christ a Saviour to the utmost, a most universal help and refuge ; in such a manner as takes away glorying, but adds happiness to wretched man ; as discovers a greater pollution in the best of us than we could before acknowledge, but brings a greater deliverance from it than we could before expect,—if any one offers to talk at this rate, he shall be heard with the same abhorrence as if he was going to rob mankind of their salvation, their Mediator, or their

<sup>1</sup> For notes on Wesley's translation see *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> The Savoy had been the scene of Horneck's awakening ministry, which, about 1676, originated the Religious Societies.

<sup>3</sup> It was during these days of waiting that the correspondence with William Law must be placed. It began on this

same Sunday. Henry Moore, who had access to the originals, prints Wesley's letter to Law, dated May 14, 1738. Law's reply was written on the 19th, and Wesley's reply on the 30th. Moore also gives a letter of earlier date : Oxford, June 26, 1734. (See App. XXVI. vol. vi.)

<sup>4</sup> Moore gives this fine letter (by John Gambold) at greater length (*Life*, i. 380).



hopes of forgiveness. I am persuaded that a *Montanist* or a *Novatian*, who from the height of his purity should look down with contempt upon poor sinners, and exclude them from all mercy, would not be thought such an overthrower of the gospel as he who should learn, from the Author of it, to be a friend of publicans and sinners, and to sit down upon the level with them as soon as they begin to repent.

But this is not to be wondered at. For all *religious* people have such a quantity of righteousness, acquired by much painful exercise, and formed at last into current habits; which is their wealth, both for this world and the next. Now, all other schemes of religion are either so complaisant as to tell them they are very rich, and have enough to triumph in; or else only a little rough, but friendly in the main, by telling them their riches are not yet sufficient, but by such arts of self-denial and mental refinement they may enlarge the stock. But the doctrine of faith is a downright robber. It takes away all this wealth, and only tells us it is deposited for us with somebody else, upon whose bounty we must live like mere beggars. Indeed, they that are truly beggars, vile and filthy sinners till very lately, may stoop to live in this dependent condition—it suits them well enough. But they who have long distinguished themselves from the herd of vicious wretches, or have even gone beyond *moral* men,—for them to be told that they are either not so well, or but the same needy, impotent, insignificant vessels of mercy with the others, this is more shocking to reason than transubstantiation. For reason had rather resign its pretensions to judge what is bread or flesh, than have this honour wrested from it—to be the architect of virtue and righteousness. But where am I running? My design was only to give you warning that, wherever you go, this ‘foolishness of preaching’ will alienate hearts from you and open mouths against you.

*Fri.* 19.—My brother had a second return of his pleurisy. A few of us spent Saturday night in prayer.<sup>1</sup> The next day, being Whit Sunday, after hearing Dr. Heylyn<sup>2</sup> preach a truly

<sup>1</sup> ‘The frequent returns of his pleurisy and his very enfeebled state appear to have alarmed his friends, who began to be apprehensive that his end was near. His brother John, therefore, and a few others met together on Saturday evening and spent the night in prayer. The next day was Whit Sunday, on the morning of which he was enabled to believe to the saving of his soul’ (Jackson’s *Life of Charles Wesley*, vol. i. p. 133).

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Heylyn was the popular rector of St. Mary-le-Strand. Wesley was well known to the doctor, in concert with whom it had been arranged that he should prepare an edition of Thomas à Kempis. Wesley was familiar with Heylyn’s writings, as his *Georgia Diary* proves. William Law was at one time Heylyn’s curate. Both he and Wesley were influenced by him. See Telford’s *Life of John Wesley*, p. 100.

Christian sermon (on 'They were all filled with the Holy Ghost'; 'and so,' said he, 'may *all you* be, if it is not your own fault'), and assisting him at the Holy Communion (his curate being taken ill in the church), I received the surprising news that my brother had found rest to his soul.<sup>1</sup> His bodily strength returned also from that hour. 'Who is so great a God as our God?'

I preached at St. John's, Wapping, at three, and at St. Benet's, Paul's Wharf, in the evening. At these churches likewise I am to preach no more. At St. Antholin's I preached on the *Thursday* following.<sup>2</sup>

*Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday*, I had 'continual sorrow and heaviness' in my 'heart'; something of which I described, in the broken manner I was able, in the following letter to a friend:

Oh, why is it that so great, so wise, so holy a God will use such an instrument as me! Lord, 'let the dead bury their dead!' But wilt Thou send the dead to raise the dead?<sup>3</sup> Yea, Thou sendest whom Thou *wilt* send, and showest mercy by whom Thou *wilt* show mercy! Amen! Be it then according to Thy will! If Thou speak the word, Judas shall cast out devils.

I feel what you say (though not enough), for I am under the same condemnation. I see that the whole law of God is holy, just, and good. I know every thought, every temper of my soul, ought to bear God's image and superscription. But how am I fallen from the glory of God! I feel that 'I am sold under sin.' I know that I too deserve nothing but wrath, being full of all abominations; and having no good thing in me to atone for them, or to remove the wrath of God. All my works, my righteousness, my prayers, need an atonement for themselves. So that my mouth is stopped. I have nothing to plead. God is holy, I am unholy. God is a consuming fire; I am altogether a sinner, meet to be consumed.

Yet I hear a voice (and is it not the voice of God?) saying, 'Believe, and thou shalt be saved. He that believeth is passed from

<sup>1</sup> For the full account of Charles Wesley's conversion, see his *Journal*, new edition, p. 146.

<sup>2</sup> 'For the last time' (1st ed.). So he may have thought at the time; but he preached there again, Nov. 9, Dec. 15, 1738, and, after a long

interval, Nov. 15, 1778, and Feb. 25, 1781. At this time Richard Venn (father of John Venn) was rector. He died in 1739.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. a remarkable letter (MS. Coll. Book-Room) of July 27, 1766, to Charles Wesley.

death unto life. God so loved the world that He gave His only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life.'

Oh let no one deceive us by vain words, as if we had already attained this faith!<sup>1</sup> By its fruits we shall know. Do we already feel 'peace with God' and 'joy in the Holy Ghost'? Does 'His Spirit bear witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God?' Alas! with mine He does not. Nor, I fear, with yours. O Thou Saviour of men, save us from trusting in anything but Thee! Draw us after Thee! Let us be emptied of ourselves, and then fill us with all peace and joy in believing; and let nothing separate us from Thy love, in time or in eternity.<sup>2</sup>

What occurred on *Wednesday* the 24th,<sup>3</sup> I think best to relate at large, after premissing what may make it the better understood. Let him that cannot receive it ask of the Father of lights that He would give more light to him and me.

1. I believe, till I was about ten years old I had not sinned away that 'washing of the Holy Ghost' which was given me in baptism; having been strictly educated and carefully taught<sup>4</sup> that I could only be saved 'by universal obedience, by keeping all the commandments of God'; in the meaning of which I was diligently instructed. And those instructions, so far as they respected outward duties and sins, I gladly received and often thought of. But all that was said to me of inward obedience or holiness I neither understood nor remembered. So that I was indeed as ignorant of the true meaning of the law as I was of the gospel of Christ.

2. The next six or seven years were spent at school;<sup>5</sup> where,

<sup>1</sup> 'That is, the proper Christian faith.' (This note is not in the first, or in the 1774, or in Benson's edition.)

<sup>2</sup> The name of this 'friend' has not yet been discovered. It may have been Gambold, Kinchin, Miss Molly, or Clayton. The last paragraph points to some one who, like himself, was seeking rest.

<sup>3</sup> Mrs. Hutton, in her letter to Samuel Wesley junior, makes the date for Charles Wesley's conversion May 22, and for John's 'just as he awaked' on May 25.

But she makes May 28 a Sunday, which agrees with the Journal. (*Memoirs of James Hutton*, pp. 33-40.)

<sup>4</sup> The details of the 'strict education' and 'careful teaching' are best studied in the letter written by Mrs. Susanna Wesley in 1732, and published in the Journal after her death (Aug. 1742).

<sup>5</sup> A memorandum in Wesley's own writing shows that on Jan. 28, 1714, he was nominated by the Duke of Buckingham on the foundation of Charterhouse. His Grace, who was at the



outward restraints being removed, I was much more negligent than before, even of outward duties, and almost continually guilty of outward sins, which I knew to be such, though they were not scandalous in the eye of the world. However, I still read the Scriptures, and said my prayers morning and evening. And what I now hoped to be saved by, was, (1) not being so bad as other people; (2) having still a kindness for religion; and (3) reading the Bible, going to church, and saying my prayers.

3. Being removed to the University for five years,<sup>1</sup> I still said my prayers both in public and in private, and read, with the Scriptures, several other books of religion, especially comments on the New Testament. Yet I had not all this while so much as a notion of inward holiness; nay, went on habitually, and for the most part very contentedly, in some or other known sin: indeed, with some intermission and short struggles, especially before and after the Holy Communion, which I was obliged to receive thrice a year. I cannot well tell what I hoped to be saved by now, when I was continually sinning against that little light I had; unless by those transient fits of what many divines taught me to call repentance.

4. When I was about twenty-two, my father pressed me to enter into holy orders.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, the providence of God directing me to Kempis's *Christian Pattern*,<sup>3</sup> I began to see, that true religion was seated in the heart, and that God's law extended to all our thoughts as well as words and actions. I was, however, very angry at Kempis for being too strict;

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time Lord Chamberlain, had long been a friend of the Wesleys. The charity, founded by Thomas Sutton, celebrated its centenary in the year that Wesley came up from Epworth. There were forty boys on the foundation. For particulars of the Charterhouse life see Telford's *Life of Wesley*, p. 23.

<sup>1</sup> He was elected from the Charterhouse to Christ Church, and entered Oxford University June 24, 1720, a week after his seventeenth birthday. The three brothers spent their undergraduate days at Christ Church.

<sup>2</sup> Our knowledge of Wesley's daily life at Oxford begins at this point. An

exhaustive and careful study of the first Oxford Diary, a fair sample of which has been given in the Introduction (above, pp. 36-70), would enable us to picture, with some fullness of detail, Wesley's life in Oxford and Wroot from 1722 to 1727.

<sup>3</sup> By what means 'the providence of God' directed him to Kempis's *Christian Pattern* would probably be revealed if the hitherto undiscovered correspondence of the year 1725 became accessible. For an extremely probable, if not certain, identification of his 'first religious friend,' see above, p. 12. For the letters and other extracts which throw light on this identification, see above, pp. 13-16.

though I read him only in Dean Stanhope's translation. Yet I had frequently much sensible comfort in reading him, such as I was an utter stranger to before ; and meeting likewise with a religious friend, which I never had till now, I began to alter the whole form of my conversation, and to set in earnest upon a new life. I set apart an hour or two a day for religious retirement. I communicated every week. I watched against all sin, whether in word or deed. I began to aim at, and pray for, inward holiness. So that now, 'doing so much, and living so good a life,' I doubted not but I was a good Christian.

5. Removing soon after to another College,<sup>1</sup> I executed a resolution which I was before convinced was of the utmost importance,—shaking off at once all my trifling acquaintance. I began to see more and more the value of time. I applied myself closer to study. I watched more carefully against actual sins ; I advised others to be religious, according to that scheme of religion by which I modelled my own life. But meeting now with Mr. Law's *Christian Perfection*<sup>2</sup> and *Serious Call*, although I was much offended at many parts of both, yet they convinced me more than ever of the exceeding height and breadth and depth of the law of God. The light flowed in so mightily upon my soul, that everything appeared in a new view. I cried to God for help, and resolved not to prolong the time of obeying Him as I had never done before. And by my continued endeavour to keep His whole law, inward and outward, to the utmost of my power, I was persuaded that I should be accepted of Him, and that I was even then in a state of salvation.

6. In 1730 I began visiting the prisons ; assisting the poor and sick in town ; and doing what other good I could, by my presence or my little fortune, to the bodies and souls of all men.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On March 17, 1726, Wesley was elected Fellow of Lincoln College. The Fellowship was for natives of Lincoln county, and had previously been held by John Thorold, afterwards Sir John Thorold, the ancestor of notable English Churchmen of the nineteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> In 1726 William Law's *Christian Perfection* was published. In December of the same year, immediately after a long visit to Stanton, as we learn from

the Diary, Wesley was diligently reading William Law.

<sup>3</sup> It was William Morgan, one of the first members of the Holy Club, if not the very first, who led the way in charitable work. Gambold, in his account of Wesley at Oxford (*Meth. Mag.* 1798), says that Wesley paid for the services of a schoolmaster to teach poor children. (See above, first subscription list of the Holy Club, p. 91.)

To this end I abridged myself of all superfluities, and many that are called necessities of life. I soon became a by-word for so doing, and I rejoiced that my name was cast out as evil. The next spring I began observing the Wednesday and Friday Fasts,<sup>1</sup> commonly observed in the ancient Church; tasting no food till three in the afternoon. And now I knew not how to go any further. I diligently strove against all sin. I omitted no sort of self-denial which I thought lawful; I carefully used, both in public and in private, all the means of grace at all opportunities. I omitted no occasion of doing good; I for that reason suffered evil. And all this I knew to be nothing, unless as it was directed toward inward holiness. Accordingly this, the image of God, was what I aimed at in all, by doing His will, not my own. Yet when, after continuing some years in this course, I apprehended myself to be near death, I could not find that all this gave me any comfort or any assurance of acceptance with God. At this I was then not a little surprised; not imagining I had been all this time building on the sand, nor considering that 'other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid' by God, 'even Christ Jesus.'

7. Soon after, a contemplative man<sup>2</sup> convinced me still more

<sup>1</sup> The addition of the Wednesday and Friday fasts of the early Church to the disciplinary rules of the Holy Club was the first outcome of Wesley's friendship with John Clayton (see above, p. 101). How literally and faithfully he carried out this rule of holy living is evidenced by the records of the Georgia Diary. Hitherto no biographer has surmised the extent to which, during his voluntary exile in Georgia, he denied himself in meats and drinks and sleeping and other things.

<sup>2</sup> The 'contemplative man' was not, apparently, a person casually met; nor is the reference to one interview, but to several 'conversations.' The date of this intercourse was shortly after the friendship formed with Clayton. William Law, Mystic and Nonjuror, presents himself as a probable candidate for the honour. But the credentials of Gambold, Clayton, or Hervey are worthy of con-

sideration. Or we may look farther afield. Little if any notice has been taken of the influence of the Rev. Mr. Hoole, rector of Haxey, Samuel Wesley's friend and nearest neighbour, on John Wesley and the earliest days of the Evangelical Revival. Yet he seems to have been a sympathetic friend, a wise counsellor, and a neighbour to be surely trusted in times of emergency. It was Mr. Hoole who, after the fire, first of all came to the rescue with practical help. The letter, copied in the handwriting of one of the rectory daughters, in which Susanna Wesley told Mr. Hoole the tragic story, is in the Colman Collection. It was first published, *in extenso*, in *Wesley Studies*, p. 43. Many years later, as we learn from the first Oxford Diary, Mr. Hoole was still the friend of the family. John Wesley, whilst serving as his father's curate at Wroot, frequently visited him. Still later, when persecu-



than I was convinced before, that outward works are nothing, being alone ; and in several conversations instructed me how to pursue inward holiness, or a union of the soul with God. But even of his instructions (though I then received them as the words of God) I cannot but now observe (1) that he spoke so incautiously against trusting in outward works, that he discouraged me from doing them at all ; (2) that he recommended (as it were, to supply what was wanting in them) *mental prayer*, and the like exercises, as the most effectual means of purifying the soul and uniting it with God. Now these were, in truth, as much my own works as visiting the sick or clothing the naked ; and the union with God thus pursued was as really my own righteousness as any I had before pursued under another name.

8. In this refined way of trusting to my own works and my own righteousness (so zealously inculcated by the Mystic

tion assailed the Holy Club, John Wesley wrote for advice to a 'clergyman of known wisdom and integrity,' giving him a particular account of all proceedings (May 18, 1731). This, as Whitehead learnt from the 'private Journal,' was Mr. Hoole. Henry Moore (vol. i. p. 162) says: 'About this time [early, probably, in 1729, when Wesley was still at Wroot], a serious man, whom he had travelled many miles to see [this would be true of the distance between Wroot and Haxey], said to him, "Sir, you wish to serve God and go to heaven? Remember that you cannot serve Him alone. You must therefore find companions or make them ; the Bible knows nothing of solitary religion." He never forgot this. Therefore on his return to the University he first spoke to his brother, Mr. Charles Wesley,' &c. Moore then proceeds to sketch the founding of the Holy Club. Who was Henry Moore's 'serious man'? No one, so far as we know, meets all the requirements of the case except Mr. Hoole. This, apparently, is the earliest suggestion of the idea of Christian fellowship in the religious experience of John Wesley. It amply accounts for the fact that, in the Morgan emergency, he wrote for advice

not only to his father, but also to the 'clergyman of known wisdom and integrity' who, on the hypothesis, had first suggested the idea of fellowship to his mind. It is quite possible that in Mr. Hoole we also have the 'contemplative man' of Wesley's autobiographical narrative.

Emphasis, however, must always be placed on Law's part in the preparatory work of the Evangelical Revival, and especially in the initiation of the Wesleys into the more mystical aspects of religious experience. 'It is true,' Wesley wrote in 1760, 'that Mr. Law, whom I love and reverence now, was once a kind of "oracle" to me (Sept. 17, 1760).' Charles Wesley used, even in old age, to say, 'Mr. Law was our John the Baptist.' Moore, who reports this (*Life*, vol. i. p. 107), adds, 'He (Mr. Law) put them on a kind of penance, which thoroughly showed them their own hearts, but which gave them no victory over sin, no peace or joy in believing.' Wesley's view of the influence of Mysticism upon his religious experience at this time is strongly stated in a remarkable passage of the Return-Voyage Journal (see above, p. 420). Wesley's first visit to Law was in July 1732 (Moore, *Life*, vol. i. p. 190).

writers), I dragged on heavily, finding no comfort or help therein till the time of my leaving England. On shipboard, however, I was again active in outward works; where it pleased God of His free mercy to give me twenty-six of the Moravian brethren for companions, who endeavoured to show me 'a more excellent way.' But I understood it not at first. I was too learned and too wise. So that it seemed foolishness unto me. And I continued preaching, and following after, and trusting in, that righteousness whereby no flesh can be justified.

9. All the time I was at Savannah I was thus beating the air. Being ignorant of the righteousness of Christ, which, by a living faith in Him, bringeth salvation 'to every one that believeth,' I sought to establish my own righteousness; and so laboured in the fire all my days. I was now properly 'under the law'; I knew that 'the law' of God was 'spiritual; I consented to it that it was good.' Yea, 'I delighted in it, after the inner man.' Yet was I 'carnal, sold under sin.' Every day was I constrained to cry out, 'What I do, I allow not: for what I would, I do not; but what I hate, that I do. To will is' indeed 'present with me: but how to perform that which is good, I find not. For the good which I would, I do not; but the evil which I would not, that I do. I find a law, that when I would do good, evil is present with me': even 'the law in my members, warring against the law of my mind,' and still 'bringing me into captivity to the law of sin.'

10. In this vile, abject state of bondage to sin, I was indeed fighting continually, but not conquering. Before, I had willingly served sin: now it was unwillingly; but still I served it. I fell, and rose, and fell again. Sometimes I was overcome, and in heaviness: sometimes I overcame, and was in joy. For as in the former state I had some foretastes of the terrors of the law; so had I in this, of the comforts of the gospel. During this whole struggle between nature and grace, which had now continued above ten years, I had many remarkable returns to prayer, especially when I was in trouble; I had many sensible comforts, which are indeed no other than short anticipations of the life of faith. But I was still 'under the law,' not 'under grace' (the state most who are called Christians are content

to live and die in); for I was only striving with, not freed from, sin. Neither had I the witness of the Spirit with my spirit, and indeed could not; for I 'sought it not by faith, but as it were by the works of the law.'

11. In my return to England, January 1738, being in imminent danger of death,<sup>1</sup> and very uneasy on that account, I was strongly convinced that the cause of that uneasiness was unbelief; and that the gaining a true, living faith was the 'one thing needful' for me. But still I fixed not this faith on its right object: I meant only faith in God, not faith in or through Christ. Again, I knew not that I was wholly void of this faith; but only thought I had not enough of it. So that when Peter Böhler, whom God prepared for me as soon as I came to London, affirmed of true faith in Christ (which is but one) that it had those two fruits inseparably attending it, 'dominion over sin and constant peace from a sense of forgiveness,' I was quite amazed, and looked upon it as a new gospel. If this was so, it was clear I had not faith. But I was not willing to be convinced of this. Therefore I disputed with all my might, and laboured to prove that faith might be where these were not: for all the scriptures relating to this I had been long since taught to construe away; and to call all Presbyterians who spoke otherwise. Besides, I well saw no one could, in the nature of things, have such a sense of forgiveness, and not *feel* it. But I felt it not. If, then, there was no faith without this, all my pretensions to faith dropped at once.

12. When I met Peter Böhler again, he consented to put the dispute upon the issue which I desired, namely, Scripture and experience. I first consulted the Scripture. But when I set aside the glosses of men, and simply considered the words of God, comparing them together, endeavouring to illustrate the obscure by the plainer passages, I found they all made against me, and was forced to retreat to my last hold, 'that experience would never agree with the *literal interpretation* of

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<sup>1</sup> The influence of storms on the experience of the Wesleys was an abiding memory, as may be gathered from the hymns. The storm of the return voyage brought John Wesley one step nearer to

the realization of his need for saving faith. Whilst the storm was still raging he resolved, not only to preach the new-found truth to all, but 'to apply the word of God to every soul in the ship.'



those scriptures. Nor could I therefore allow it to be true, till I found some living witnesses of it.' He replied, he could show me such at any time ; if I desired it, the next day. And accordingly the next day he came again with three others, all of whom testified, of their own personal experience, that a true living faith in Christ is inseparable from a sense of pardon for all past and freedom from all present sins. They added with one mouth that this faith was the gift, the free gift of God ; and that He would surely bestow it upon every soul who earnestly and perseveringly sought it. I was now thoroughly convinced ; and, by the grace of God, I resolved to seek it unto the end, (1) By absolutely renouncing all dependence, in whole or in part, upon *my own* works or righteousness ; on which I had really grounded my hope of salvation, though I knew it not, from my youth up ; (2) by adding to the constant use of all the other means of grace, continual prayer for this very thing, justifying, saving faith, a full reliance on the blood of Christ shed for *me* ; a trust in Him, as *my* Christ, as *my* sole justification, sanctification, and redemption.

13. I continued thus to seek it (though with strange indifference, dullness, and coldness, and unusually frequent relapses into sin) till *Wednesday*, May 24. I think it was about five this morning, that I opened my Testament on those words, *Τὰ μέγιστα ἡμῖν καὶ τίμια ἐπαγγέλματα δεδώρηται, ἵνα γένησθε θείας κοινωνοὶ φύσεως.* 'There are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises, even that ye should be partakers of the divine nature' (2 Pet. i. 4). Just as I went out, I opened it again on those words, 'Thou art not far from the kingdom of God.' In the afternoon I was asked to go to St. Paul's. The anthem was, 'Out of the deep have I called unto Thee, O Lord : Lord, hear my voice. O let Thine ears consider well the voice of my complaint. If Thou, Lord, wilt be extreme to mark what is done amiss, O Lord, who may abide it ? For there is mercy with Thee ; therefore shalt Thou be feared. O Israel, trust in the Lord : for with the Lord there is mercy, and with Him is plenteous redemption. And He shall redeem Israel from all his sins.' <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir Frederick Bridge states that 'the setting could have been none other than the one composed by Henry Purcell, a former organist of Westminster Abbey.'



ALDERSGATE, SHOWING SITES OF TRINITY HALL, LITTLE BRITAIN, AND OF NETTLETON COURT.





14. In the evening I went very unwillingly to a society in Aldersgate Street,<sup>1</sup> where one was reading Luther's preface to the *Epistle to the Romans*.<sup>2</sup> About a quarter before nine, while

<sup>1</sup> Two rival sites claim the honour of being the place of John Wesley's conversion—Trinity Hall, Little Britain, and Hall House, Nettleton Court. Both are, or rather were, 'in Aldersgate Street'; each at one time housed a religious society. The problem is discussed exhaustively, and without bias, by the Rev. H. J. Foster in *Wesley Studies*, p. 81-7; also in the *Proceedings of the W.H.S.* vol. iii. pp. 246-8; and vol. v. pp. 246-7. The authority for the Little Britain site is *The History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches and Meeting-Houses in London, Westminster, and Southwark, &c.*—By Walter Wilson, of the Inner Temple, 1810, vol. iii. pp. 350-64. Originally, Trinity Hall was part of a religious house belonging to the abbots of Clugni in France; in 1738 the lower part was a coffee-house, and the upper room served as a chapel for a congregation of Nonjurors, from whom, according to Wilson, 'it passed into the possession of the Methodists.' For this statement Wilson has no evidence except the two passages in Wesley's Journal, May 24, and Sept. 20, 1738. Wilson, however, is regarded as a trustworthy authority. Hall House was in Nettleton Court, on the other side of Aldersgate Street. The exact site has been located by Mr. Lupton in the south-east angle of the British Tea Table Company's room in Aldersgate Street. Until recently the sole evidence in support of this identification was a statement in Benham that James Hutton took a room in Nettleton Court, and had a 'Society' there. But in 1875 the Moravian *Messenger*, in an autobiographical memoir of Brother John West, a prominent member of the Fetter Lane church, threw additional light on Hutton's society. 'I attended,' West says, 'the ministry [of Whitefield] for the first time towards the latter end

of 1737. I thought within myself, this is indeed something new, and omitted no opportunity to hear him. About this time I heard of a religious society which met weekly in Nettleton Court, Aldersgate Street, and it was not long before I joined them. The brethren James Hutton and John Edmunds were of the number. When Brother Böhler came to England . . . at our request, he formed us into bands. After Mr. Wesley withdrew from us, I was in a great strait whom to follow. . . .' It should be remembered that whilst Charles Wesley was at this time the guest of Bray in Little Britain, his brother John was the guest of James Hutton in Great Wild Street, and the probability is that he would accompany his host to the society he had founded, which, it is clear, met in Nettleton Court. On the whole the balance of evidence is in favour of the Nettleton Court site.

<sup>2</sup> It has been suggested that William Holland was the 'one' who 'was reading Luther's Preface' on May 24. He was a remarkable man, a member of the Church of England, but in union with the Brethren. His name appears first in a List of 'The Congregation of the Lamb, with its officers and servants as settled in London, Oct. 30, 1742.' He is described in the List as: '1. William Holland, Painter, in a large way of business, of Basinghall Street, over against Blackwell Hall, near Guildhall.' He ranked in the Moravian Church as the first 'Congregation Elder.' It is to a manuscript account in his handwriting, in the archives of the Moravian church in Fetter Lane, that we are indebted for the facts that remove beyond doubt the vexed question as to the nature of the society founded by the Wesleys in Fetter Lane (May 1, 1738). The following is William Holland's account of what Charles Wesley has

he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation; and an assurance was given me that He had taken away *my* sins, even *mine*, and saved *me* from the law of sin and death.

15. I began to pray with all my might for those who had in a more especial manner despitely used me and persecuted me. I then testified openly to all there what I now first felt in my heart. But it was not long before the enemy suggested, 'This cannot be faith; for where is thy joy?' Then was I taught that peace and victory over sin are essential to faith in the Captain of our salvation; but that, as to the transports of joy that usually attend the beginning of it, especially in those who have mourned deeply, God sometimes giveth, sometimes withholdeth them, according to the counsels of His own will.

16. After my return home, I was much buffeted with temptations; but cried out, and they fled away. They returned again

chronicled more briefly in his Journal under May 17: 'Shortly before Peter Böhler's departure for Georgia, he and Mr. Wesley began a band. I was gone at that time for a few days into the country. After my return, in speaking with one of our society on the doctrine of Christ, as preached by him, and reading the eighth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, I was conscious that I was not in the state there described. I became very uneasy, made a diligent search for books treating of faith in Christ, and was providentially directed to Martin Luther's *Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians*. I carried it round to Mr. Charles Wesley, who was sick at Mr. Bray's, as a very precious treasure that I had found, and we three sat down together, Mr. Charles Wesley reading the Preface aloud. At the words, "What, have we then nothing to do? No, nothing! but only accept of Him who of God is made unto us wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and redemption," there came such a power over me as I cannot well describe; my great burden fell off in an instant; my

heart was so filled with peace and love that I burst into tears. I almost thought I saw our Saviour! My companions, perceiving me so affected, fell on their knees and prayed. When I afterwards went into the street, I could scarcely feel the ground I trod upon.' It should be added that Holland went to Yorkshire and left the Moravian Church in 1747, but only because he found it impracticable to be called a Moravian brother without separating from the National Church and her Thirty-nine Articles. He died in Feb. 1761. It is extremely probable that this was the reader under whom John Wesley's heart was strangely warmed. If so, we have the singular coincidence that Charles read to him and he read to John. But what was read? The text of the Journal, as it has reached us, says distinctly: *Luther's Preface to the Epistle to the Romans*. One can scarcely be surprised that a doubt has arisen with reference to this statement. Is 'Romans' a misprint, or error of association, for 'Galatians'? The discovery of a missing Diary would set the question at rest.

and again. I as often lifted up my eyes, and He 'sent me help from His holy place.' And herein I found the difference between this and my former state chiefly consisted. I was striving, yea, fighting with all my might under the law, as well as under grace. But then I was sometimes, if not often, conquered; now, I was always conqueror.<sup>1</sup>

17. *Thur.* 25.—The moment I awaked, 'Jesus, Master,' was in my heart and in my mouth; and I found all my strength lay in keeping my eye fixed upon Him, and my soul waiting on

<sup>1</sup> There can be no doubt that many of the finest hymns in the Wesley collections preserve the memory of the stirring spiritual experiences through which the two brothers coincidentally at this time passed. Who actually wrote these hymns of conversion, whether John or Charles, we may never now be able to ascertain. These and many other hymns of an early period were published by John and Charles Wesley in a volume entitled *Hymns and Sacred Poems*. The text on the title-page and the manner of its printing indicate the *motif* of the book:

*For the Grace of GOD that bringeth Salvation unto ALL MEN* hath appeared: [Ἐπεφάνη γὰρ ἡ χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ σωτήριος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις.] *Teaching us, that denying Ungodliness and worldly Lusts, we should live soberly, righteously and godly in this present World; looking for that blessed Hope, and the glorious Appearing of the great GOD, and our Saviour JESUS CHRIST; who gave Himself for us, that He might redeem us from ALL INIQUITY, and purify unto Himself a peculiar people, zealous of good Works.*—TIT. ii. 11, 12, 13, 14.

BRISTOL: Printed and sold by Felix Farley, &c., 1742.

In this volume three well-known 'Thanksgiving' hymns follow Charles Wesley's 'Wrestling Jacob.' They are of the same metre, and were probably written at or near the same time:

'O what shall I do my Saviour to praise?'

'O heavenly King, look down from above,'  
and

'My Father, my God, I long for Thy love.'

In the index of the 'Hymn-Book' (1875)

these hymns are marked W., with reference to which it is necessary to recall the note given in the Preface of that edition: 'Where no name follows the first line in the Index, the hymn may be taken as the production of Mr. Charles Wesley. The letter W. is affixed to those hymns which first appeared in publications for which the Wesleys were jointly responsible; in this case it cannot be determined with certainty to which of the two brothers a hymn should be ascribed.' It is possible that the three hymns in question were composed by Charles Wesley; but if so, there is strong presumptive evidence that when he wrote the last of the three his mind was running on the experiences described by his brother John in this section of the Journal. The hymn echoes the Journal:

I wrestle not now, but trample on sin,  
For with me art Thou, and shalt be within,  
Whilst, stronger and stronger in Jesus's  
power,  
I go on to conquer, till sin is no more.

The attack in Great College Street is reproduced:

My foes dost control and quiet their strife;  
Thou rulest my passion, my pride, and self-  
will.

The probabilities seem to favour the theory that John Wesley wrote this hymn, and perhaps the other two of the same series also. The internal evidence indicating Charles Wesley's authorship is limited to a single phrase, 'Thou savest me from sickness'; but John also was often sick.



Him continually. Being again at St. Paul's in the afternoon, I could taste the good word of God in the anthem, which began, 'My song shall be always of the loving-kindness of the Lord: with my mouth will I ever be showing forth Thy truth from one generation to another.' Yet the enemy injected a fear, 'If thou dost believe, why is there not a more sensible change?' I answered (yet not I), 'That I know not. But this I know, I have "now peace with God." And I sin not to-day, and Jesus my Master has forbid me to take thought for the morrow.'

18. 'But is not any sort of fear,' continued the tempter, 'a proof that thou dost not believe?' I desired my Master to answer for me, and opened His Book upon those words of St. Paul, 'Without were fightings, within were fears.' Then, inferred I, well may fears be within me; but I must go on, and tread them under my feet.<sup>1</sup>

*Fri. 26.*—My soul continued in peace, but yet in heaviness because of manifold temptations. I asked Mr. Töltzschig,<sup>2</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> On the nature of the change which took place on this memorable occasion, and on its immeasurable importance in relation to all the future, no one has written with greater insight than Dr. Rigg, not only in his *Living Wesley*, but also in his *Churchmanship of John Wesley*. From another point of view, one of the most illuminating comments will be found in the letter John Wesley wrote to Samuel and Ursula Wesley in the autumn of the same year (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 33).

<sup>2</sup> In Benham's *Memoirs of Hutton*, John Töltzschig is frequently named. After the settlement of the Moravian exiles in Upper Lusatia, and the establishment of the congregation in Herrnhut, messengers were sent to Count Zinzendorf's friends with historical accounts of the persecuted church. The deputation to England (1728) consisted of three Moravian brethren—Wenzel Neisser, John Töltzschig, and David Nitschmann. In the spring of the year 1735 a company of ten missionaries, under the conduct of Töltzschig, reached London on their way to Georgia. Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg had preceded them (Benham's

*Hutton*, pp. 17, 18). That this is the Töltzschig whose name so frequently appears in Wesley's Georgia Journal is placed beyond doubt by a note in Benham. Referring to Ingham's friendship with the Moravians in Georgia, he writes: 'The knowledge and love which he had of and for the Brethren in general induced him, at Br. Töltzschig's return from Georgia to London, to accompany him to Holland and Germany, to visit the congregations of the Brethren there.' A year later Töltzschig joined Ingham in Yorkshire, as, still later, did Böhler and Neisser. In the lists of the Pilgrim House Congregation (*Hutton*, pp. 229–33) are names around which interest gathers, as for instance, 'William Holland,' the reader of Luther's Preface; William Oxlee, one of Wesley's correspondents at this time; Stonehouse, vicar of Islington; and William Delamotte, brother of Charles, of whom it is recorded, 'who also preached the gospel with great blessings, and went soon after to the Lamb.' Among the sisters in the Pilgrim congregation, Judith Töltzschig is named; she is 'sick waiter'; also Mary Stone-

Moravian, what to do. He said, 'You must not fight with them, as you did before, but flee from them the moment they appear, and take shelter in the wounds of Jesus.' The same I learned also from the afternoon anthem,<sup>1</sup> which was, 'My soul truly waiteth still upon God : for of Him cometh my salvation ; He verily is my strength and my salvation, He is my defence, so that I shall not greatly fall. O put your trust in Him always, ye people ; pour out your hearts before Him ; for God is our hope.'

*Sat. 27.*—Believing one reason of my want of joy was want of time for prayer, I resolved to do no business till I went to church in the morning, but to continue pouring out my heart before Him. And this day my spirit was enlarged ; so that though I was now also assaulted by many temptations, I was more than conqueror, gaining more power thereby to trust and to rejoice in God my Saviour.

*Sun. 28.*—I waked in peace, but not in joy. In the same even, quiet state I was till the evening, when I was roughly attacked in a large company as an enthusiast, a seducer, and a setter-forth of new doctrines.<sup>2</sup> By the blessing of God, I was

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house and Louisa Hutton. Later, in a list of 'Boys and Girls,' who are called 'Labourers' Children,' we find Ignatius Töltschig, Isaac Holland, and Ignatius Ingham. Many of the names in these Yorkshire Moravian lists recall (perhaps accidentally) the names of north-country Methodist families. We must not forget that the Moravian and Ingham societies in Yorkshire prepared the way for Methodism. How Töltschig, together with 'Brother and Sister Spangenberg,' led the Pilgrim congregation to Yorkshire, settling at a place called New-house, near Halifax, and how they 'went in and out, preaching the gospel in many towns and villages around to many thousand souls,' is told quaintly by Benham ; also the story of 'Lamb's Hill,' near Pudsey ; the Synod having directed Mr. Ingham and his wife, Lady Margaret, to buy it for a settlement for the pilgrims, they gladly consented, 'from which time it has always been impressed upon our

hearts to build a congregation house, where the pilgrims might live and fly in and out.'

How often in times of doubt and perplexity had he consulted Töltschig ! By far the most influential man in the little community of Georgia Moravians, ranking in that respect before Bishop Anton Seifart, if not also before Spangenberg himself, was the venerable John Töltschig.

<sup>1</sup> Wesley's indebtedness to the anthems sung in St. Paul's at this time has often been noted.

<sup>2</sup> This scene took place in Mr. Hutton's house in College Street. Mrs. Hutton describes it in a letter to her old friend and next-door neighbour, Samuel Wesley junior. She recalls the hospitality which, after his departure from Westminster, she and her husband had shown to his brothers, and to 'ten or twelve of their friends.' 'But your brother John,' she writes, 'seems to be turned a wild

not moved to anger, but after a calm and short reply went away; though not with so tender a concern as was due to those who were seeking death in the error of their life.<sup>1</sup>

This day I preached in the morning at St. George's, Bloomsbury, on 'This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith,' and in the afternoon at the chapel in Long Acre on God's justifying the ungodly; the last time (I understand) I am to preach at either. 'Not as I will, but as Thou wilt.'

enthusiast, or fanatic, and, to our very great affliction, is drawing our two children into these wild notions by their great opinion of Mr. John's sanctity and judgement.' She implores him to 'confine or convert Mr. John when he is with you. For after his behaviour on Sunday, May 28, when you hear it, you will think him a not quite right man.' It was in Mr. Hutton's study, in the presence of a great number of people, that 'Mr. John got up and told the people that five days before he was not a Christian, and this he was as well, assured of as that five days before he was not in that room, and the way for them all to be Christians was to believe, and own that they were not now Christians. Mr. Hutton was much surprised at this unexpected, injudicious speech; but only said, "Have a care, Mr. Wesley, how you despise the benefits received by the two sacraments." At supper in the parlour, 'he made the same wild speech again, to which I made answer, "If you was not a Christian ever since I knew you, you was a great hypocrite, for you made us all believe you was one." She goes on to report a sharp discussion between her husband and Mr. John, and adds: 'Now it is a most melancholy thing to have not only our two children, but many others, to disregard all teaching, but by such a spirit as comes to some in dreams, to others in such visions as will surprise you to hear of. If there cannot be some stop put to this, and he can be taught true humility, the mischief he will do wherever he goes among the

ignorant but well-meaning Christians will be very great.'

<sup>1</sup> In the correspondence and Journals of this period, dates and other details are confused. Mrs. Hutton dates Charles's conversion May 22, 'as his brother John was praying.' She falls into a similar error with reference to John's conversion: 'Mr. John was converted, or I know not what, or how, but made a Christian, on May 25.' Charles Wesley says—and Moore follows the error—that on Sunday, May 28, his brother set out for Tiverton. He mistakes the month. It was on *March* 28 that this journey began—the journey that was arrested by Charles's illness, and diverted first to Oxford and then to Manchester. Charles Wesley's Journal was compiled—often some time after the events described—from diaries, letters, and memoranda. In the hurry of travel, in sickness, and especially during days of unwonted excitement, it was only natural that errors should creep in. If at this distance of time we read through the letters passing from one to another, not among godless enemies, but in the inner circle of kinsfolk and friends, and compare them with the Journals, we shall find abundant proof that the Wesleys were being driven hither and thither on waves of intense spiritual excitement. The phenomena recall the days of Pentecost and the prophecies of Joel. No wonder that godly and sober-minded people like Mrs. Wesley, and Martha Hall, and the Huttons, and Samuel Wesley, and Hervey, and Broughton were perplexed and distressed.



*Mon. 29.*—I set out for Dummer<sup>1</sup> with Mr. Wolf, one of the first-fruits of Peter Böhler's ministry in England. I was much strengthened by the grace of God in him: yet was his state so far above mine, that I was often tempted to doubt whether we had one faith. But, without much reasoning about it, I held here: 'Though his be strong and mine weak, yet that God hath given some degree of faith even to me, I know by its fruits. For I have constant peace; not one uneasy thought. And I have freedom from sin; not one unholy desire.'

Yet on *Wednesday* did I grieve the Spirit of God, not only by not watching unto prayer, but likewise by speaking with sharpness instead of tender love of one that was not sound in the faith. Immediately God hid His face, and I was troubled; and in this heaviness I continued till the next morning, June 1, when it pleased God, while I was exhorting another, to give comfort to my soul, and, after I had spent some time in prayer, to direct me to those gracious words, 'Having therefore boldness to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus, let us draw near with a true heart in full assurance of faith. Let us hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering (for He is faithful

<sup>1</sup> Nearly all the material facts belonging to the daily life are ignored. It is the ever-varying spiritual experience on which he dwells. He went to Dummer, no doubt, to see his friends the Kinchins. Mr. Wolf, who appears as 'Shepherd Wolf' in the Moravian lists, was one of the converts whose testimony had so greatly impressed him on May 1. Probably he hoped that his personal testimony might be equally helpful to Miss Molly and her brothers. When he left Dummer we are not told; but on Saturday the 3rd he was in London again. His second letter to Mr. Law, in which he complains bitterly of his master's imperfect teaching, was written on Tuesday, May 30, and therefore at Dummer. It was whilst exhorting one of his Dummer friends that the cloud began to lift. Even in these days, when alternating joy and depression characterized the new-found life of faith, good works were Wesley's surest remedy

against doubt within and temptation from without. Note his experience on Thursday, June 1, Saturday, June 3, and following days. It would be an instructive exercise to reproduce the thoughts, emotions, and doings of these days immediately following his conversion. For such a study we have ample materials in the daily lessons and prayers he read, in the anthems sung in St. Paul's, in the sermons he preached, some of which were afterwards printed, in the letters he wrote and received, in the collection of Psalms and Hymns published in 1738, and in his habit, so frequently referred to at this time, of opening the Testament and taking any Scripture, and especially any 'great and precious promise,' as a message from Heaven. The text, 2 Pet. i. 4, brought before him on the memorable 24th of May seems to have been a sacred centre around which his devotional thoughts gathered.

that promised); and let us consider one another to provoke unto love and to good works.'

JUNE 3, *Sat.*—I was so strongly assaulted by one of my old enemies, that I had scarce strength to open my lips, or even to look up for help. But after I had prayed, faintly, as I could, the temptation vanished away.

*Sun.* 4.—Was indeed a feast-day. For from the time of my rising till past one in the afternoon, I was praying, reading the Scriptures, singing praise, or calling sinners to repentance. All these days I scarce remember to have opened the Testament, but upon some 'great and precious promise.' And I saw more than ever that the gospel is in truth but one great promise, from the beginning of it to the end.

*Tues.* 6.—I had still more comfort, and peace, and joy; on which I fear I began to presume: for in the evening I received a letter from Oxford which threw me into much perplexity. It was asserted therein, 'That no doubting could consist with the least degree of true faith; that whoever at any time felt any doubt or fear was not weak in faith, but had no faith at all; and that none hath any faith till the law of the Spirit of life has made him wholly free from the law of sin and death.'

Begging of God to direct me, I opened my Testament on 1 Cor. iii. 1, &c., where St. Paul speaks of those whom he terms 'babes in Christ,' who were 'not able to bear strong meat,' nay (in a sense) 'carnal'; to whom nevertheless he says, 'Ye are God's building, ye are the temple of God.' Surely, then, these men had some degree of faith; though, it is plain, their faith was but weak.

After some hours spent in the Scripture and prayer, I was much comforted. Yet I felt a kind of soreness in my heart, so that I found my wound was not fully healed. O God, save Thou me, and all that are 'weak in the faith,' from 'doubtful disputations!'

*Wed.* 7.—I determined, if God should permit, to retire for a short time into Germany. I had fully proposed, before I left Georgia, so to do, if it should please God to bring me back to Europe.<sup>1</sup> And I now clearly saw the time was come. My

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<sup>1</sup> Charles Wesley had formed a similar resolution in 1737.

weak mind could not bear to be thus sawn asunder. And I hoped the conversing with those holy men who were themselves living witnesses of the full power of faith, and yet able to bear with those that are weak, would be a means, under God, of so establishing my soul, that I might go on from faith to faith and 'from strength to strength.'

*Thur. 8.*—I went to Salisbury, to take leave of my mother.<sup>1</sup> The next day I left Sarum, and on *Saturday* came to Stanton Harcourt. Having preached faith in Christ there on *Sunday* the 11th, I went on to Oxford<sup>2</sup>; and thence on *Monday* to

<sup>1</sup> The note in Journal, June 13, 1739, proves that on this occasion Wesley read to his mother the document describing his religious experience up to May 24. Mrs. Wesley's disapproval of her son's new faith and experience was not founded on this statement, against which she had no objection, but upon prejudiced accounts which reached her through Mrs. Hutton and her son Samuel. The Rev. Samuel Badcock, in a letter to Mr. John Nichols dated South Molton, Dec. 5, 1782, and published by Nichols first in No. xx. of the *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*, and afterwards in his *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. v. p. 217, and since copied by others, says, speaking of Mrs. Wesley, 'She lived long enough to deplore the extravagances of her two sons John and Charles. She considered them as under strong delusion to believe a lie; and states her objections to their enthusiastic principles (particularly in the matter of assurance) with great strength of argument in a correspondence with their brother Samuel.' This calumny, for it is one, may be easily rebutted. Mr. John Wesley answers it thus, quoting the first paragraph about 'deploring their extravagances.' 'By vile representations she was deceived for a time; but she no sooner heard them speak for themselves than she was thoroughly convinced they were in no delusion, but spoke the words of truth and soberness.

She afterwards lived with me several years, and died rejoicing and praising God.' The whole matter has been fully dealt with by Whitehead, Clarke, and others. A summary is given by Dr. Stampe in the Richmond College Interleaved Journal, from which the above is quoted.

<sup>2</sup> In the Journal Wesley ignores the fact that on Sunday afternoon, June 11, he preached in St. Mary's, Oxford, before the University, the sermon, afterwards published by James Hutton, on Salvation by Faith. It was his first publication after his conversion, and a great manifesto. In the edition of his *Works* published in 1771 he placed it first, before all the discourses which formed part of the doctrinal standard of Methodism. He had preached from the same text in Georgia and Charlestown. Another sermon on the same text he preached in the last year of his life. The true date of the sermon was not, as in the *Works*, June 18, but one week earlier, June 11. Apparently he preached it twice on the same Sunday, in the morning at Stanton Harcourt and in the afternoon at St. Mary's. Richard Green, in his *Wesley Bibliography*, suggests that the error began probably in an anonymous edition of the sermon printed in Dublin, 1747—the first if not the only edition on which any date appears. Wesley did not add the date until 1771. The absence of a Diary for these months of 1738



London, where I found Mr. Ingham just setting out. We went on board the next day, *Tuesday* the 13th, and fell down to Gravesend that night.

may partly account for Wesley's error, if we may suppose that the volume containing that Diary had been lost or destroyed before 1771. It was in St. Mary's, Oxford, that John Henry Newman, a century later, preached the sermons that heralded the advent of Tractarianism. Remembering this, how significant the words of Wesley in this great sermon—the sermon that heralded the advent of the Methodist Revival! 'At this time more especially will we speak, that "by grace we are saved through faith"; because never was the maintaining this doctrine more seasonable than it is at this day. Nothing but this can prevent the increase of the Romish delusion among us. 'Tis endless to attack, one by one, all the errors of that Church. But salvation by faith strikes 'at the root, and all fall at once where this is established. It was this doctrine (which our Church justly calls "the strong rock and foundation of the Christian religion") that first drove Popery out of these kingdoms, and 'tis this alone can keep it out.'

Wesley reminded the University that when salvation by faith was first preached it aroused the adversary; so also by lies and calumny he sought to affright Martin Luther from reviving it. And then, remembering, we cannot doubt, the debt

he himself owed to the teaching of Martin Luther, he added these remarkable words: 'Nor can we wonder thereat; for as that man of God observes, How would it enrage a proud, strong man armed, to be stopped and set at nought by a little child, coming against him with a reed in his hand? Especially when he knew that little child would surely overthrow him, and tread him underfoot. Even so, Lord Jesus! Thus hath Thy strength been ever made perfect in weakness! Go forth then, thou little child, that believest in Him, and His right hand shall teach thee terrible things! Though thou art weak and helpless as an infant of days, the strong man shall not be able to stand before thee. Thou shalt prevail over him, and subdue him, and overthrow him, and trample him under thy feet. Thou shalt march on under the great Captain of thy salvation, conquering and to conquer, until all thine enemies are destroyed, and death is swallowed up in victory.

'Now thanks be to God which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be blessing and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honour, and power, and might, for ever and ever. Amen.'

END OF VOL. I.









### The Late Rev. Nehemiah Curnock.

The Rev. Nehemiah Curnock, the eminent Wesleyan minister, who for twenty years—1886 to 1906—was editor of the *Methodist Recorder*, died at Folkestone on Monday at the age of seventy-five. He was all his life identified most closely with Methodism, and he occupied honourable positions in the ministry with great success. The chief work of his life, however, was the editorship of the *Methodist Recorder*. He took up this task when the inestimable energies of H. P. Hughes were manifesting themselves in many ways, and not least in the *Methodist Times*. Mr. Curnock, though a man of untiring devotion and many accomplishments, did not pretend to the brilliance of his friendly rival. But in spite of this he soon showed himself a born editor. During his reign the *Recorder* must, I think, have doubled its circulation. Mr. Curnock made it an illustrated paper. He was very happy in his descriptive articles signed "H. K.," and he soon mastered the detail of journalistic work, turning out the best denominational paper ever published in this country. Though he may be said on the whole to have represented the conservative side, he was a man of the most generous temper, and I gratefully remember the many letters he wrote me, always with cheer and encouragement, from the beginning till very near his end. Some years ago he was at the very gates of death, but he rallied in a wonderful manner, and edited with surpassing skill and care the journals of John Wesley. These will be his memorial. There have been few lives more fruitful and more full of Christian good will. Mr. Curnock's labours were for many years amazing in their extent and variety. He preached almost every Sunday, and his ministrations were most acceptable. Their effect was enhanced by his dignified and noble appearance, a fit index to the soul within.

### The Rev. Nehemiah Curnock and the "Methodist Recorder."

In the world of Fleet-street the news of Mr. Curnock's death at the age of seventy-five has been received with sincere regret. Nearly thirty years ago he was called from his work at Kentish Town to fill a vacancy in the office of the *Methodist Recorder*. He had already done strenuous work in the ministry. Born in Staffordshire in March, 1840, he came to Fleet-street at the age of forty-six. The *Recorder* was founded in 1861, and had Dr. Punshon as one of its early chiefs. Under Mr. Curnock's reign the paper reached a position of great prosperity and influence. In twenty years he more than doubled the circulation. He was one of the earliest journalistic photographers. When his first photographs appeared, some twenty-five years ago, it was seen that a new force had arisen in Methodist journalism. Mr. Curnock taught himself every detail of the photographic art. He used a stand camera, as Kodaks were not available, and used for years to develop his own pictures.

#### His Editorial Work.

Mr. Curnock's descriptive articles, signed "H. K.," were among the most admired features of the *Recorder*. It was his custom to leave London on Friday afternoon, or Saturday morning, for the circuit on which he proposed to found an article. Saturday afternoon would be spent in photographing, interviewing local Methodist leaders, and seeing places of interest. On Sunday he would preach twice or three times. On Monday morning he gathered the rest of his material, and on Monday night he returned to town. During his busiest years he was at his office every Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday. Friday was the day for consultation, Tuesday for the writing of articles. His contributions to the *Recorder* were the leader, the "H. K." articles, reviews and a good many of the notes. In all gatherings of chief Methodists Mr. Curnock's handsome presence will be missed. Visitors from America and the Colonies, as they surveyed a platform at City-road or St. James's Hall, never failed to ask who was the gentleman with the "well-thatched" grey head and benevolent countenance. No one could pass him without remark.

#### A Student of Nature.

All his life Mr. Curnock was a man of the open air as well as a bookman. While at Bournemouth and Penzance he developed a taste for sea dredging, and his scientific knowledge has brightened many a page of the *Recorder*. His best known books, apart from his great edition of Wesley's Journals, are "Nature Musings," "God and Nature," and his novel "The Thrales of Redlynch," published by Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton.



## JOHN WESLEY AND PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD.

*To the Editor of THE BRITISH WEEKLY.*

DEAR SIR,—In answer to your Canadian correspondent's inquiry, permit me to refer him to Vol. X. of John Wesley's works. Here he will find such prayers as the following :—"O grant that we, with those who are already dead in Thy faith and fear, may together partake of a joyful resurrection" (p. 40); "Bring us, with all those who have pleased Thee from the beginning of the world, into the glories of Thy Son's Kingdom" (p. 73); "By Thy infinite mercies, vouchsafe to bring us, with those that are dead in Thee, to rejoice together before Thee" (p. 77).

John Wesley defended his printing prayers for the dead for the people called Methodists against such Erastians as Bishop Lavington, saying: "I conceive myself to be clearly justified, both by the earliest Antiquity, by the Church of England, and by the Lord's Prayer." And in a manuscript published about the 'sixties he says: "I believe it to be a duty to observe to pray for the Faithful Departed."

Among the earlier Methodists there were none of those misgivings about this pious and primitive practice evidently present to the mind of your correspondent.—Yours sincerely, E. CORNWALL JONES

(Canon-Residentiary of Aberdeen).

Aboynæ Rectory.

*To the Editor of THE BRITISH WEEKLY.*

DEAR SIR,—In reply to your correspondent's inquiry *re* John Wesley's attitude on the above subject, I have pleasure in saying that the declaration referred to occurs in "A second letter to the author of the enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists compared," dated November 27, 1750, a first edition of which lies open before me.

Personally, I always feel that more has been read into Wesley's words than he intended. Dean Luckock, in his "After Death" (p. 250), quotes Wesley as an authority for prayers for the dead without any qualification or reserve. Perhaps it would be well to give the full text of Wesley's words, then your readers can judge for themselves :—

"Your fourth argument is, that in a collection of prayers I cite the words of an ancient liturgy 'for the faithful departed.' Sir, whenever I use those words in the burial service, I pray to the same effect, 'That we, with all those who are departed in Thy faith and fear, may have our perfect consummation of bliss, both in body and soul.' Yea, and whenever I say, 'Thy Kingdom come'; for I mean both the Kingdom of Grace and Glory. In this kind of general prayer, therefore, for the faithful departed, I conceive myself to be clearly justified, both by the earliest antiquity, by the Church of England, and by the Lord's Prayer, although the Papists have corrupted this Scriptural practice into praying for those who die in their sins."

Can any dissent from this, and, above all, can this be legitimately used as support for the general practice of prayers for the dead?—I am, sir, yours very truly,

ALBERT F. HALL.

4, Ladywood-road, Roundhay, Leeds.

## PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD.

*To the Editor of THE BRITISH WEEKLY.*

DEAR SIR,—There lies before me on my desk a pamphlet entitled "Why We Pray for the Dead," by the Rev. Canon Simpson, M.A., of St. Peter's Cathedral, Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island. After the usual arguments in favour of this practice he declares that "John Wesley not only prayed for the dead daily except Wednesdays, but when he was challenged concerning this practice, defended it by saying that such prayers were perfectly justifiable according to the earliest antiquity." As a constant reader of your valuable paper, I should be glad if you or your readers can tell me whether this statement has any foundation in fact.—Thanking you in anticipation, I am, sir, yours faithfully,

W. E. PIPER, B.A.

The Parsonage, Kingsborough,  
P.E.I., Canada. July 7, 1914.

[We do not know any such passage, but some reader may be able to help.—Ed. B.W.]



